HISTORY OF ENGLAND.
THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR
TO
THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

BY DAVID HUME, ESQ.

CONTINUED TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND,
BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

WITH THE
LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS OF THE AUTHORS,
PORTRAITS OF HUME AND SMOLLETT,
AND A SHORT MEMOIR OF HUME, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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MDCCCXL.
THE LIFE

OF

DAVID HUME, ESQ.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.
MY OWN LIFE.

It is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity; therefore I shall be short. It may be thought an instance of vanity that I pretend at all to write my life; but this narrative shall contain little more than the history of my writings; as, indeed, almost all my life has been spent in literary pursuits and occupations. The first success of most of my writings was not such as to be an object of vanity.

I was born the 26th of April, 1711, old style, at Edinburgh. I was of a good family, both by father and mother: my father's family is a branch of the Earl of Home's, or Hume's; and my ancestors had been proprietors of the estate which my brother possesses, for several generations. My mother was daughter of Sir David Falconer, President of the College of Justice: the title of Lord Halkerton came by succession to her brother.

My family, however, was not rich, and being myself a younger brother, my patrimony, according to the mode of my country, was of course very slender. My father, who passed for a man of parts, died when I was an infant, leaving me, with an elder brother and a sister, under the care of our mother, a woman of singular merit, who, though young and handsome, devoted herself entirely to the rearing and educating of her children. I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments. My studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me; but I found an unsurmountable aversion to every thing but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors which I was secretly devouring.

My very slender fortune, however, being unsuitable to this plan of life, and my health being a little broken by my ardent application, I was tempted, or rather forced, to make a very feeble trial into a more active scene of life. In 1734 I went to Bristol, with some recommendations to several merchants; but in a few months found that scene totally unsuitable to me. I went over to France with a view of prosecuting my studies in a country retreat; and I there laid that plan of life which I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the improvement of my talents in literature.

During my retreat in France, first at Rheims, but chiefly at La Fleche, in Anjou, I composed my Treatise of Human Nature. After passing three years very agreeably in that country, I came over to London in 1737. In the end of 1738 I published my Treatise, and immediately went down to my mother and my brother, who lived at his country-house, and employed himself very judiciously and successfully in the improvement of his fortune.
Never literary attempt was more unfortunate than my Treatise of Human Nature. It fell dead-born from the press, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country. In 1742 I printed at Edinburgh the first part of my Essays: the work was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment. I continued with my mother and brother in the country, and in that time recovered the knowledge of the Greek language, which I had too much neglected in my early youth.

In 1745 I received a letter from the Marquis of Annandale, inviting me to come and live with him in England; I found also, that the friends and family of that young nobleman were desirous of putting him under my care and direction, for the state of his mind and health required it. —I lived with him a twelvemonth. My appointments during that time made a considerable accession to my small fortune. I then received an invitation from General St. Clair to attend him as a secretary to his expedition, which was at first meant against Canada, but ended in an incursion on the coast of France. Next year, to wit, 1747, I received an invitation from the General, to attend him in the same station in his military embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin. I then wore the uniform of an officer, and was introduced at those courts as aid-de-camp to the General, along with Sir Harry Erskine and Captain Grant, now General Grant. These two years were almost the only interruptions which my studies have received during the course of my life: I passed them agreeably, and in good company; and my appointments, with my frugality, had made me reach a fortune, which I called independent, though most of my friends were inclined to smile when I said so: in short, I was now master of near a thousand pounds.

I had always entertained a notion, that my want of success, in publishing the Treatise of Human Nature, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very usual indiscretion, in going to the press too early. I therefore cast the first part of that work anew in the Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, which was published while I was at Turin. But this piece was at first little more successful than the Treatise of Human Nature. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected. A new edition which had been published in London, of my Essays, moral and political, met not with a much better reception.

Such is the force of natural temper, that these disappointments made little or no impression on me. I went down in 1749, and lived two years with my brother at his country-house, for my mother was now dead. I there composed the second part of my Essay, which I called Political Discourses, and also my Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, which is another part of my Treatise that I cast anew. Meanwhile my bookseller, A. Miller, informed me that my former publications (all but the unfortunate Treatise) were beginning to be the subject of conversation; and that the sale of them was gradually increasing, and that new editions were demanded. Answers by Reverends and Right Reverends came out two or three in a year; and I found, by Dr. Warburton's railing, that the books were beginning to be esteemed in good company. However, I had a fixed resolution, which I inflexibly maintained, never to reply to any body; and not being very irascible in my temper, I have easily kept myself clear of all literary squabbles. These symptoms of a rising reputation gave me encouragement, as I was ever more disposed to see the favourable than the unfavourable side of things; a turn of mind which it is more happy to possess, than to be born to an estate of ten thousand a year.

In 1751 I removed from the country to the town, the true scene for a man of letters. In 1752 were published at Edinburgh, where I then lived, my Political Discourses, the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received at home and abroad. In the same year was published at London, my Inquiry concerning the Principles
of Morals; which, in my own opinion, (who ought not to judge on that subject,) is of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world.

In 1752 the Faculty of Advocates chose me their Librarian, an office from which I received little or no emolument, but which gave me the command of a large library. I then formed the plan of writing the History of England; but being frightened with the notion of continuing a narrative through a period of 1700 years, I commenced with the accession of the house of Stuart, an epoch when, I thought, the misrepresentations of faction began chiefly to take place. I was, I own, sanguine in my expectations of the success of this work. I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited in every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment: I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scotch, and Irish, whig and tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the Earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion. Mr. Miller told me, that in a twelvemonth he sold only forty-five copies of it. I scarcely, indeed, heard of one man in the three kingdoms, considerable for rank or letters, that could endure the book. I must only except the primate of England, Dr. Herring, and the primate of Ireland, Dr. Stone, which seem two odd exceptions. These dignified prelates separately sent me a message not to be discouraged.

I was, however, I confess, discouraged; and had not the war at that time been breaking out between France and England, I had certainly retired to some provincial town of the former kingdom, have changed my name, and never more have returned to my native country. But as this scheme was not now practicable, and the subsequent volume was considerably advanced, I resolved to pick up courage and to persevere.

In this interval, I published at London my Natural History of Religion, along with some other small pieces: its public entry was rather obscure, except only that Dr. Hurd wrote a pamphlet against it, with all the illiberal petulance, arrogance, and scurrility, which distinguish the Warburtonian school. This pamphlet gave me some consolation for the otherwise indifferent reception of my performance.

In 1756, two years after the fall of the first volume, was published the second volume of my History, containing the period from the death of Charles I. till the Revolution. This performance happened to give less displeasure to the whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother.

But though I had been taught by experience, that the whig party were in possession of bestowing all places, both in the state and in literature, I was so little inclined to yield to their senseless clamour, that in above a hundred alterations, which further study, reading, or reflection engaged me to make in the reigns of the two first Stuarts, I have made all of them invariably to the tory side. It is ridiculous to consider the English constitution before that period as a regular plan of liberty.

In 1759 I published my History of the House of Tudor. The clamour against this performance was almost equal to that against the History of the two first Stuarts. The reign of Elizabeth was particularly obnoxious. But I was now callous against the impressions of public folly, and continued very peaceably and contentedly in my retreat at Edinburgh, to finish, in two volumes, the more early part of the English History, which I gave to the public in 1761, with tolerable, and but tolerable, success.

But notwithstanding this variety of winds and seasons to which my writings had been exposed, they had still been making such advances, that the copy-money given me by the booksellers much exceeded any thing formerly known in England; I was become not only
independent, but opulent. I retired to my native country of Scotland, determined never more to set my foot out of it; and retaining the satisfaction of never having preferred a request to one great man, or even making advances of friendship to any of them. As I was now turned of fifty, I thought of passing all the rest of my life in this philosophical manner, when I received, in 1763, an invitation from the Earl of Hertford, with whom I was not in the least acquainted, to attend him on his embassy to Paris, with a near prospect of being appointed secretary to his embassy; and, in the meanwhile, of performing the functions of that office. This offer, however inviting, I at first declined, both because I was reluctant to begin connexions with the great, and because I was afraid that the civilities and gay company of Paris would prove disagreeable to a person of my age and humour; but on his lordship’s repeating the invitation, I accepted of it. I have every reason, both of pleasure and interest, to think myself happy in my connexions with that nobleman, as well as afterwards with his brother General Conway.

Those who have not seen the strange effects of modes, will never imagine the reception I met with at Paris, from men and women of all ranks and stations. The more I resiled from their excessive civilities, the more I was loaded with them. There is, however, a real satisfaction in living at Paris, from the great number of sensible, knowing, and polite company with which that city abounds above all places in the universe. I thought once of settling there for life.

I was appointed secretary to the embassy; and, in summer, 1765, Lord Hertford left me, being appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. I was Chargé d’Affaires till the arrival of the Duke of Richmond, towards the end of the year. In the beginning of 1766, I left Paris, and next summer went to Edinburgh, with the same view as formerly, of burying myself in a philosophical retreat. I returned to that place, not richer, but with much more money, and a much larger income, by means of Lord Hertford’s friendship, than I left it; and I was desirous of trying what superfluity could produce, as I had formerly made an experiment of a competency. But in 1767 I received from Mr. Conway an invitation to be under-secretary; and this invitation, both the character of the person, and my connexions with Lord Hertford, prevented me from declining. I returned to Edinburgh in 1769, very opulent, (for I possessed a revenue of £1000 a-year,) healthy, and though somewhat stricken in years, with the prospect of enjoying long my ease, and of seeing the increase of my reputation.

In spring 1775 I was struck with a disorder in my bowels, which at first gave me no alarm, but has since, as I apprehend it, become mortal and incurable. I now reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never suffered a moment’s abatement of my spirits; insomuch, that were I to name a period of my life which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this later period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gaiety in company. I consider, besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities; and though I see many symptoms of my literary reputation’s breaking out at last with additional lustre, I knew that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present.

To conclude historically with my own character. I am, or rather was; (for that is the style I must now use in speaking of myself, which emboldens me the more to speak my sentiments;) I was, I say, a man of mild disposition, of command of temper, of an open, social, and cheerful humour, capable of attachment, but little susceptible of enmity, and of great moderation in all my passions. Even my love of literary fame, my ruling passion, never soured my temper, notwithstanding my frequent disappointments. My company was not unacceptable to the young and careless, as well as to the studious and literary; and as I took a particular pleasure in the company of modest women, I had no reason to be displeased with the reception I met with from them. In a word, though most men, anywise eminent, have found reason to com-
plain of calumny, I never was touched, or even attacked, by her baleful tooth; and though I
wantonly exposed myself to the rage of both civil and religious factions, they seemed to be
disarmed in my behalf of their wonted fury. My friends never had occasion to vindicate any
one circumstance of my character and conduct: not but that the zealots, we may well sup-
pose, would have been glad to invent and propagate any story to my disadvantage, but they
could never find any which they thought would wear the face of probability. I cannot say
there is no vanity in making this funeral oration of myself; but I hope it is not a misplaced
one; and this is a matter of fact which is easily cleared and ascertained.

April 18, 1776.

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LETTER

FROM

ADAM SMITH, LL. D. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

Kirkaldy Fifeshire, Nov. 9. 1776.

It is with a real, though a very melancholy, pleasure, that I sit down to give you some account
of the behaviour of our late excellent friend, Mr. Hume, during his last illness.

Though in his own judgment his disease was mortal and incurable, yet he allowed himself
to be prevailed upon, by the entreaty of his friends, to try what might be the effects of a long
journey. A few days before he set out, he wrote that account of his own life, which, to-
gether with his own papers, he has left to your care. My account, therefore, shall begin
where his ends.

He set out for London towards the end of April, and at Morpeth met with Mr. John Home
and myself, who had both come down from London on purpose to see him, expecting to have
found him at Edinburgh. Mr. Home returned with him, and attended him during the whole
of his stay in England with that care and attention which might be expected from a temper
so perfectly friendly and affectionate. As I had written to my mother that she might expect
me in Scotland, I was under the necessity of continuing my journey. His disease seemed to
yield to exercise and change of air, and when he arrived in London, he was apparently in
much better health than when he left Edinburgh. He was advised to go to Bath to drink
the waters, which appeared for some time to have so good an effect upon him, that even he
himself began to entertain, what he was not apt to do, a better opinion of his own health.
His symptoms, however, soon returned with their usual violence, and from that moment he
gave up all thoughts of recovery, but submitted with the utmost cheerfulness, and the most
perfect complacency and resignation. Upon his return to Edinburgh, though he found him-
self much weaker, yet his cheerfulness never abated, and he continued to divert himself, as
usual, with correcting his own works for a new edition, with reading books of amusement,
with the conversation of his friends; and sometimes in the evening with a party at his
favourite game of whist. His cheerfulness was so great, and his conversation and amuse-
ments ran so much in their usual strain, that notwithstanding all bad symptoms, many
people could not believe he was dying. "I shall tell your friend, Colonel Edmonstone," said Doctor Dundas to him one day, "that I left you much better, and in a fair way of
recovery." "Doctor," said he, "as I believe you would not choose to tell any thing but the
truth, you had better tell him, that I am dying as fast as my enemies, if I have any, could
wish, and as easily and cheerfully as my best friends could desire." Colonel Edmonstone
soon afterwards came to see him, and take leave of him; and on his way home he could not
forbear writing him a letter, bidding him once more an eternal adieu, and applying to him,
as to a dying man, the beautiful French verses in which the Abbé Chaulieu, in expectation of
his own death, laments his approaching separation from his friend the Marquis de la Fare.
Mr. Hume's magnanimity and firmness were such, that his most affectionate friends knew
that they hazarded nothing in talking or writing to him as to a dying man, and that, so far
from being hurt by this frankness, he was rather pleased and flattered by it. I happened to
come into his room while he was reading this letter, which he had just received, and which
he immediately showed me. I told him, that though I was sensible how very much he was
weakened, and that appearances were in many respects very bad, yet his cheerfulness was
still so great, the spirit of life seemed still to be so very strong in him, that I could not help
entertaining some faint hopes. He answered, "Your hopes are groundless. An habitual
diarrhoea of more than a year's standing, would be a very bad disease at any age: at my age
it is a mortal one. When I lie down in the evening I feel myself weaker than when I rose
in the morning, and when I rise in the morning weaker than when I lay down in the evening.
I am sensible, besides, that some of my vital parts are affected, so that I must soon die."
"Well, said I, "if it must be so, you have at least the satisfaction of leaving all your friends,
your brother's family in particular, in great prosperity." He said that he felt that satisfaction
so sensibly, that when he was reading, a few days before, Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead,
among all the excuses which are alleged to Charon for not entering readily into his boat, he
could not find one that fitted him; he had no house to finish, he had no daughter to provide for,
he had no enemies upon whom he wished to revenge himself. "I could not well imagine," said
he, "what excuse I could make to Charon in order to obtain a little delay. I have done
every thing of consequence which I ever meant to do, and I could at no time expect to leave
my relations and friends in a better situation than that in which I am now likely to leave
them; I therefore have all reason to die contented." He then diverted himself with inventing
several jocular excuses which he supposed he might make to Charon, and with imagining the
very surly answers which it might suit the character of Charon to return to them. "Upon
further consideration," said he, "I thought I might say to him, 'Good Charon, I have been
correcting my works for a new edition. Allow me a little time, that I may see how the public
receives the alterations.' But Charon would answer, 'When you have seen the effect of these,
you will be for making other alterations.' There will be no end of such excuses; so, honest
friend, please step into the boat. But I might still urge, 'Have a little patience, good Charon,
I have been endeavouring to open the eyes of the public. If I live a few years longer, I
may have the satisfaction of seeing the downfall of some of the prevailing systems of super-
stition.' But Charon would then lose all temper and decency. 'You loitering rogue, that
will not happen these many hundred years. Do you fancy I will grant you a lease for so long
a term? Get into the boat this instant, you lazy loitering rogue.'"

But, though Mr. Hume always talked of his approaching dissolution with great cheerfulness,
he never affected to make any parade of his magnanimity. He never mentioned the
subject but when the conversation naturally led to it, and never dwelt longer upon it than the
course of the conversation happened to require: it was a subject, indeed, which occurred
pretty frequently, in consequence of the inquiries which his friends, who came to see him,
naturally made concerning the state of his health. The conversation which I mentioned
above, and which passed on Thursday the 8th of August, was the last, except one, that I ever had with him. He had now become so very weak, that the company of his most intimate friends fatigued him; for his cheerfulness was still so great, his complaisance and social disposition were still so entire, that when any friend was with him, he could not help talking more, and with greater exertion, than suited the weakness of his body. At his own desire, therefore, I agreed to leave Edinburgh, where I was staying partly upon his account, and returned to my mother's house here, at Kirkaldy, upon condition that he would send for me whenever he wished to see me; the physician who saw him most frequently, Doctor Black, undertaking in the meantime to write me occasionally an account of the state of his health.

On the 22d of August, the Doctor wrote me the following letter:

"Since my last, Mr. Hume has passed his time pretty easily, but is much weaker. He sits up, goes down stairs once a day, and amuses himself with reading, but seldom sees any body. He finds, that the conversation of his most intimate friends fatigues and oppress him; and it is happy that he does not need it, for he is quite free from anxiety, impatience, or low spirits, and passes his time very well with the assistance of amusing books."

I received the day after a letter from Mr. Hume himself, of which the following is an extract:

"My dearest Friend,

Edinburgh, Aug. 23, 1776.

I am obliged to make use of my nephew's hand in writing to you, as I do not rise to-day.

I go very fast to decline, and last night had a small fever, which I hoped might put a quicker period to this tedious illness; but unluckily it has in a great measure gone off. I cannot submit to your coming over here on my account, as it is possible for me to see you so small a part of the day, but Dr. Black can better inform you concerning the degree of strength which may from time to time remain with me. Adieu, &c.

Three days after, I received the following letter from Doctor Black:

"Dear Sir,

Edinburgh, Monday, Aug. 26, 1776.

"Yesterday, about four o'clock afternoon, Mr. Hume expired. The near approach of his death became evident in the night between Thursday and Friday, when his disease became excessive, and soon weakened him so much, that he could no longer rise out of his bed. He continued to the last perfectly sensible, and free from much pain or feelings of distress. He never dropped the smallest expression of impatience; but when he had occasion to speak to the people about him, always did it with affection and tenderness. I thought it improper to write to bring you over, especially as I heard that he had dictated a letter to you, desiring you not to come. When he became very weak, it cost him an effort to speak, and he died in such a happy composure of mind that nothing could exceed it."

Thus died our most excellent and never to be forgotten friend; concerning whose philosophical opinions men will no doubt judge variously, every one approving or condemning them, according as they happen to coincide or disagree with his own? but concerning whose character and conduct there can scarce be a difference of opinion. His temper, indeed, seemed to be more happily balanced, if I may be allowed such an expression, than that perhaps of any other man I have ever known. Even in the lowest state of his fortune, his great and necessary frugality never hindered him from exercising, upon proper occasions, acts both
of charity and generosity. It was a frugality founded not upon avarice, but upon the love of independency. The extreme gentleness of his nature never weakened either the firmness of his mind or the steadiness of his resolutions. His constant pleasantry was the genuine effusion of good nature and good humour, tempered with delicacy and modesty, and without even the slightest tincture of malignity, so frequently the disagreeable source of what is called wit in other men. It never was the meaning of his raillery to mortify; and therefore, far from offending, it seldom failed to please and delight, even those who were the objects of it. To his friends, who were frequently the objects of it, there was not perhaps one of all his great and amiable qualities which contributed more to endear his conversation. And that gaiety of temper, so agreeable in society, but which is so often accompanied with frivolous and superficial qualities, was in him certainly attended with the most severe application, the most extensive learning, the greatest depth of thought, and a capacity in every respect the most comprehensive. Upon the whole, I have always considered him, both in his life-time and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit.

I ever am, dear Sir,

Most affectionately yours,

ADAM SMITH.
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Peace between the king and the Commons. The King being desirous of peace, and desiring to end the war, sent a message to Parliament, offering terms of peace. The Commons were divided in their opinions, some being in favor of peace, while others were against it.

Chapter I.

A parliament being assembled at Oxford, on Monday next, a naval expedition against Spain, seconded by the Commons, was authorized. The Commons withdrew from the House of Lords, and went to the Commons, and proceeded to the House of Commons, whereupon the House of Lords returned to the House of Commons, and the Commons proceeded to the House of Lords, whereupon the House of Lords returned to the House of Commons, and the Commons proceeded to the House of Lords, and so on, until the King was satisfied with the proceedings of the Commons.

Chapter II.

The King's proposal for peace was rejected by the Commons, who were unwilling to grant it. The King then proceeded to the House of Lords, whereupon the House of Lords returned to the House of Commons, and the Commons proceeded to the House of Lords, whereupon the House of Lords returned to the House of Commons, and the Commons proceeded to the House of Lords, and so on, until the King was satisfied with the proceedings of the Commons.

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Chapter IX.

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Brief statement of the armies and fleets of Great Britain, about the middle of the year 1733.
CHAPTER I.


THE BRITONS.

The curiosity entertained by all civilized nations, of insinuating into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction. Ingenious men, possessed of leisure, are apt to push their researches beyond the period in which literary monuments are framed or preserved; without reflecting, that the history of past events is immediately lost or disfigured when intrusted to memory and oral tradition, and that the adventures of barbarous nations, even if they were recorded, could afford little or no entertainment to men born in a more cultivated age. The convulsions of a civilized state usually compose the most instructive and most interesting part of its history; but the sudden, violent, and unprepared revolutions incident to barbarians, are so much guided by caprice and terminate so often in cruelty, that they disgust us by the uniformity of their appearance; and it is rather fortunate for letters that they are buried in silence and oblivion. The only certain means by which nations can indulge their curiosity in researches concerning their remote origin, is to consider the language, manners, and customs of their ancestors, and to compare them with those of the neighbouring nations. The fables which are commonly employed to supply the place of true history, ought entirely to be disregarded; or if any exception be admitted to this general rule, it can only be in favour of the ancient Grecian fictions, which are so celebrated and so agreeable, that they will ever be the objects of the attention of mankind. Neglecting, therefore, all traditions, or rather tales, concerning the more early history of Britain, we shall only consider the state of the inhabitants as it appeared to the Romans on their invasion of this country; we shall briefly run over the events which attended the conquest made by that empire, as belonging more to Roman than British story; we shall hasten through the obscure and uninteresting period of Saxon annals: and shall reserve a more full narration for those times when the truth is both so well ascertained and so complete as to promise entertainment and instruction to the reader.

All ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celts, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. Their language was the same; their manners, their government, their superstition, varied only by those small differences, which time or a communication with the bordering nations must necessarily introduce. The inhabitants of Gaul, especially in those parts which lie contiguous to Italy, had acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbours, some refinement in the arts, which gradually diffused themselves northwards, and spread but a very faint light over this island. The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants (for there were scarcely any other travellers in those ages) brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. The south-east parts, however, of Britain, had already, before the age of Caesar, made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had these increased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture: they were clothed with skins of beasts. They dwelt in huts, which they reared in the forests and marshes, with which the country was covered: they shifted easily their habitation, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder, or the fear of an enemy: the convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their seats: and as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.

The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes; and being a military people, whose sole property was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish for liberty, for their princes or chief men to establish any despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free, as well as those of all the Celtic nations; and the common people seem even to have enjoyed more liberty among them, than among the nations of Gaul, from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself: it was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighbouring states: and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition, among the people.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerate parts of their government; and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. Besides ministering at the altar, and directing all religious duties, they presided over the education of youth; they enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes; they possessed both the civil and criminal jurisdiction; they decided all controversies among states as well as among private
persons, and whoever refused to submit to their decree was exposed to the most severe penalties. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him: he was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship; he was debarred all intercourse with his fellow-citizens, even in the common affairs of life: his company was universally shunned, as profane and dangerous: he was refused the protection of law: and death itself became an inevitable issue from the misery and infamy to which he was exposed. Thus, the bands of government, which were naturally loose among that rude and turbulent people, were happily corbelled by the terrors of their superstition.

No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties, which it was in the power of the ecclesiastics to inflict in this world, they insinuated the eternal transmigration of souls; and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their timorous vassals. They practised their rites in dark groves or other secret recesses; and in order to throw a greater mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines only to the initiated, and strictly forbade the committing of them to writing; lest they should at any time be exposed to the examination of the profane vulgar. Human sacrifices were practised among them: the spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities; and they punished with the severest tortures whoever dared to secrete any part of the consecrated offerings. These treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than that of their religion; but this steady guard over human art and may be regarded as more signal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent effects. No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, while it maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by penal statutes; a violence which, in any other instance, has been practised by those tolerating conquerors

The ROMANS.

The Britons had long remained in this rude but independent state, when Cæsar, having overrun all Gaul by his victories, first cast his eye on their island. He was not allure either by its riches or its renown, but being ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, then mostly unknown, he took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars, and made an invasion on Britain. He appointed certain vessels, informed of the excellence of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submissions, which, however, retarded not the execution of his design. After some receipts of some sacrifices, which the Britons decreed to their gods, and having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained, by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and that haughty conqueror resolved next summer to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassivelaunus, one of their petty princes, he demolished them in every action. He advanced into the country, passed the Thames, and having obviated the means of the enemy, as who had been the capital of Cassivelaunus; established his ally, Mandubrius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make new submissions, he again retired with the mastery and infamy in all his army, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

The civil wars which ensued, and which prepared the way for the triumph of monarchy in Rome, swept away the Britons from that yoke which was ready to be imposed upon them. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and being apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion, which had subverted the republic, might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretext for such modern wars as that of Calgula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule: and the Britons had now, during almost a century, enjoyed their liberty. But when the Romans, after the reign of Claudius, began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. Without seeking any more justifiable reasons of hostility than were employed by the late Europeans in subjecting the Africans and Americans, they sent over an army under the command of Plautius, an able general, who punished some victories, and made a considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants. Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited the south-east parts of the island, and whom their powerful neighbour easily subverted. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the Britons were not subdued; and this island was regarded by the ambitious Romans as a field in which military honour might still be acquired. Under the reign of Nero, Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command, and prepared to signalize his name by victories over those barbarians. Finding that the island of Mona, now Anglesey, was the chief seat of the Druids, he resolved to attack it, and to subject a place which was the centre of their superstition, and which afforded protection to all their rebellious forces. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct his landing on this sacred island, both by the force of numbers and by personal resistance; and women and priests were intermingled with the soldiers upon the shore; and running about with flaming torches in their hands, and tossing their dishevelled hair, they struck ghastly scenes, composed, at once, of mourning, execration, and the real danger from the armed forces was able to inspire. But Suetonius, exhorting his troops to despise the monaces of a superstition which they despised, impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the same fires which those priests had prepared for their captive enemies, destroyed all the consecrated groves and altars; and, having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, as well as over his Roman soldiery, but in reducing the people to submission. But he was disappointed in his expectations. The Britons, taking advantage of his absence, were all in arms; and headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, arrested the march of the Romans and all strangers, to the number of 70,000, were every where put to the sword without distinction; and

the Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hopes of peace or composition with the enemy. But this cruelty was revenged by Sestos

n in a great and decisive battle, where 80,000 of the Britons are said to have perished; and Beadoea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victors, put an end to her own life by poison.3

Nero soon after recalled Sestonius from a government, where, by suffering and inflicting so many severities, he was judged improper for conducting so important a war. The same year he established the dominion of the Romans in this island, was Julius Agricola, who governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself in that scene of action.

This great commander formed a regular plan for subduing Britain, and rendering the acquisition useful to the conquerors. He carried his victorious arms northwards, defeated the Britons in every encounter, pierced into the northern forests and mountains of Caledonia, reduced

ev every state to subjection in the southern part of the island, and chased before him all the men of fiercer and more intractable spirits, who deemed war and death itself insufficient to terrify them; and, having at last defeated them in a decisive action, which they fought under Galgacus, their leader; and having fixed a chain of garrisons between the frifs of Clyde and Forth, thereby cut off communication with their incursions, and driven the Romano-Celtic into the more remote districts, he secured the Roman province from the incursions of the barbarous inhabitants.4

During these military enterprises, he neglected not the arts of peace. He improved laws and civility among the Britons; he sought to desire and raise all the consequences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those laws which he had made more easy and desirable to them. The

inhabitants, having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated as a part of that mighty empire.

This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans; and Britain, once subdued, gave no further inquietude to the victor. Caledonia alone, defended by its ice-bound forests and mountains, and the Romans, tired of it, sometimes infested the more cultivated parts of the island by the incursions of its inhabitants. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, Adrian, who visited this island in a autumn, built the river Tyne to the sea, opposite to the mouth of Solway, Lollis Urbicet, and Antoninus Pius, erected one in the place where Agricola had formerly established his garrisons: Severus, who made an expedition into Britain, and carried his arms to the most northern extremity of it, added new fortifications to the wall of Adrian: and, during the reigns of all the Roman emperors, such a profound tranquility prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that island by any historian. The only incidents which occur, are some seditions or rebellions of the Roman legions quartered there, and some usurpations of the imperial dignity by the governors. The natives, dispirited, and submissive, had lost all desire, and even ideas, of their former liberty and independence.5

But the period was now come when that enormous fabric of the Roman empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression, together with peace and civility, over so considerable a part of the globe, was approaching towards its final dissolution. Italy and the centre of the empire, removed, during so many ages, from all concern in the wars, had entirely lost the military spirit, and were peopled by an enervated and alarmed body of inhabitants. At last, the emperor Figet had, by the division into provinces, and the appointment of vicars and praetors, more or less, to the provinces, them with the Roman province, where dwelling freely, and theoretically submersed and new seats, to infest the Roman province by piracy and rapine.6 These tribes, finding their more populous neighbours exposed to invasion, soon broke over the Roman

borders or places, where the provincial Britons called Scots or Scotla; a name which was probably used as a form of reproach, and which their conquerors bestowed themselves as they acknowledged no other. We may infer from the history of the Roman province in Caledonia, and another in his history, had the chief seat of the Scots in Ireland. That same part

of the island, the island of Ireland, of the Irish freemen, and the reference of the English to the name of Scots, as seems to

have been the case with the Britons also, in the name of Scota, and isolated, with so many names of other Britons and Roman legions quartered there, and some usurpations of the imperial dignity by the governors. The natives, dispirited, and submissive, had lost all desire, and even ideas, of their former liberty and independence.5

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wall, no longer defended by the Roman arms; and, though a contumible enemy in themselves, met with no resistance from the unwarlike inhabitants. The Britons, accustomed to have recourse to the emperors for defence as well as government, made supplications to Rome; and one legion was sent over for their protection. This force was an overmatch for the barbarians, repelled their invasion, routed them in every engagement, and having chased them into their ancient limits, returned in triumph to the defence of the southern provinces of the empire. Their retreat brought on a new invasion of the enemy. The Britons made again an application to Rome, and again obtained the assistance of a legion, which proved effectual for their relief; but the Romans, reduced to extremities at home, and fatigued with those distant expeditions, informed the Britons that they must no longer look to them for succour, exhorted them to arm in their own defence, and urged as they were now their own masters, it became them to protect by their valour that independence which their ancient forefathers had conferred upon them. That they might leave the island with the better grace, the Romans assisted them in erecting new the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of stone, and which the Britons had not at that time artificers skilful enough to repair. And having done this last good office to them, they left a small number of their soldiers, about the year 448; after being masters of the more considerable part of it during the course of near four centuries.

THE BRITONS.

The chief Britons regarded this present of liberty as fatal to them; and were in no condition to put in practice the protection given them by the Romans, to arm in their own defence. Unacquainted both to the perils of war and to the cares of civil government, they found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for resisting the incursions of the barbarians. Gratian also did not consider the Britons, who, a little before, had assumed the purple in Britain, had carried over to the continent the flower of the British youth; and having perished in their unsuccessful attempts on the imperial throne, they deserted the idea. The Britons who, in their desperate extremity, were best able to defend it. The Piets and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally relinquished Britain, now regarded the whole as their prey, and attacked the northern wall with redoubled forces. The Britons, already subdued by their own fears, found the ramparts but a weak defence for them; and deserting their station, left the country entirely open to the incursions of the Saxons. The invasion proved devastating and ruin along with them; and exerted to the utmost their native ferocity, which was not mitigated by the helpless condition and submissive behaviour of the inhabitants. The unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, which had declared its resolution for ever to abandon them. But, with the patience, which was as well, the discipline, of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their courtiers, which was inscribed, the Grown of the Britons. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. The barbarian, say they, on the one hand, drive us into the sea; the sea, on the other, throw us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us, of perishing by the sword or by the waves. But, with the assurance of the British ambassadors, that the greatest and most terrible energy of the British empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies, whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. The Britons, thus rejected, were reduced to despair, independent of their country: yet, in no more distant period than ten years after the departure of the Roman legions, a small body of English, led by a few private noblemen. All history is full of such events. The Irish revolt, as an example of two nations, was the subject of a small force, which disregarded the greater part of the northern and eastern provinces of England, led by a few noble inhabitants, too late and too small to settle on North Britain, though we can neither among the Britons. The battles that have taken place between great nations and races of men, have often occasioned the overthrow of those mighty powers, which, a little before, have flourished in the world. The assemblies of a few people, who have been the only instruments of the most magnificent triumphs.
THE SAXONS.

of or overrun by other German tribes, found it easy to persuade their countrymen to embrace the sole enterprise which promised a favourable opportunity of displaying their valour and gratifying their avarice. They embarked their troops in three vessels, and about the year 449 or 450, carried over 1600 men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and immediately marched to the defence of the Britons against the northern invaders. The Scots and Picts were unable to resist the valour of these auxiliaries; and finding that 3000 men of their race, who had the Saxons, hoped thenceforth to enjoy peace and security under the powerful protection of that warlike people.

But Hengist and Horsa, perceiving, from their easy victory over the Scots and Picts, with what facility they might subdue the Britons themselves, who had not been able to resist those feeble invaders, were determined to conquer and fight for their own ground, not for the defence of their degenerate allies. They sent intelligence to Saxony of the fertility and riches of Britain; and represented as certain the subjection of a people so long disused to arms, who, being now cut off from the Roman empire, of which they had been a province during so many ages, had not yet acquired any union among themselves, and were destitute of all affection to their new liberties, and of all national attachments and regards. The vices and misfortunes of their race were so dear to them, and the ground of hope; and the Saxons in Germany, following such agreeable prospects, soon reinforced Hengist and Horsa with 5000 men, who came over in seventeen vessels. The Britons now endeavoured to extricate themselves, whose numbers they found continually augmenting; but thought of no remedy, except a passive submission and compliance. This weak expedition soon failed them. The Saxons were next quoted, by complaining that their subsidies were ill paid, and their demands drawn; and immediately taking off the mask, they formed an alliance with the Picts and Scots, and proceeded to open hostility against the Britons.

The Britons, impelled by these violent extremities, and roused to indignation against their treacherous auxiliaries, were necessitated to take arms; and having deposed Vortigern, who had become odious from his vices, and from the bad event of his rash expeditions, they put themselves under the command of his son, Vortimer. They fought many battles with their enemies; and though the victories in these actions were disputed between the British and Saxon annalists, it appears certain that the latter prove that the advantage was commonly on their side. In one battle, however, fought at Eaglesford, now Alsford, Horsa, the Saxon general, was slain, and left the sole command over his countrymen in the hands of Hengist. This active general was visibly marked by fresh numbers from Germany, carried devastation into the most remote corners of Britain; and being chiefly anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition, wherever he marched with his victorious forces. The private and public edifices of the Britons were reduced to ashes: the priests were slaughtered on the altars by those inhuman ravagers: the bishops and nobility shared the fate of the vulgar: the people, flying to the mountains and deserts, were intercepted and butchered in heaps; some were glad to accept of life and servitude under their victors: others, despairing of their native country, took shelter among the Gallic, or even the German people; when their first leaders, Known in any true history, were believed by them to be the fourth in descent from a fabulous deity, or from a man exalted by ignorance into that character. The English, however, by a sort of antiquities, led by imaginary analogies of names, or by uncertain traditions, would in vain attempt to pierce into that deep obscurity which covers the remote history of those nations.

These two brothers, observing the other provinces of Britain, and being occupied by a warlike and neglectful people, and the rich provinces of Gaul already conquered

the people in their great councils; and though regard was paid to nobility in the choice, their personal qualities, chiefly their valour, procured them from the suffrages of their fellow-citizens that honourable but dangerous distinction. The warriors of each tribe attached themselves to their leader with the most devoted affection and most unshaken constancy. They attended him as his ornament in peace, as his defence in war, as his council in the administration of justice. Their constant emulation in military expeditions, and their readiness to receive that inviolable friendship which they professed to their chief, and to each other:

to die for the honour of their band was their chief ambition: to survive its disgrace, or the death of their leader, was an irremediable misfortune. They gloried in the field of their women and children, who adopted all the martial sentiments of the men: and being thus impelled by every human motive, they were inviolable; where they were not opposed either by the similar manners and institutions of the neighbouring Germans, or by the superior discipline, arms, and numbers of the Romans. The leaders and their military companions were maintained by the labour of their slaves, or by that of the warlike less wealthy part of the community, whom they defended. The contributions which they levied went not beyond a bare subsistence; and the honours, acquired by a superior rank, were the only reward of their superior danger. The famous arts of life were unknown among the Germans; tillage itself was almost wholly neglected: they seem to have been anxious to prevent any improvements of that nature; and the leaders seem to have encouraged the inhabitants of each village, kept them from attaching themselves to particular possessions, or making such prosp- in agriculture as might divert their attention from military expeditions, the chief occupation of the community.

The Saxons had been for some time regarded as one of the warlike tribes of this fierce people, and had become the terror of the neighbouring nations. They had diffused themselves from the northern parts of Germany and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and had taken possession of all the sea-coast from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland; whence they had long infested by their piracies all the eastern and southern parts of Britain, and the northern part of Gaul. In order to oppose their inroads, the Romans had established an officer, whom they called Count of the Saxons above, and as the naval arts could flourish among a civilized people, the Romans regarded the Saxons as a useful auxiliary in repelling the Saxons, than any of the other barbarians by whom they were invaded. The dissolution of the Roman power invited them to renew their inroads; and, it was an habitual circumstance, that the deputies of the Britons appeared much more anxious than prompt to send them to undertake an enterprise, to which they were of themselves sufficiently inclined.

Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, possessed great credit among the Saxons, and were much celebrated both for their valour and nobility. They were reputed, as most of the Saxon princes, to be sprung from Woden, who was worshipped as a god among those nations, and they are said to be his great grandsons; a circumstance which added much to their authority. We shall not attempt to trace any higher the origin of those princes and nations. It is evident what fruitless labour it must be to search, in their barbarous annals, for the history of a people, when their first leaders, Known in any true history, were believed by them to be the fourth in descent from a fabulous deity, or from a man exalted by ignorance into that character. The dark indistinct outline of antiquities, led by imaginary analogies of names, or by uncertain traditions, would in vain attempt to pierce into that deep obscurity which covers the remote history of those nations.

1 Caesar, lib. 6. Taric de Mor. Germ. 2 Ibid. 3 Chron. Mexb. lib. 90. 4 Auson. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 7. Ibid. 29. cap. 7. 5 Beda. lib. 1. cap. 15. 6 Beda. lib. 1. cap. 16. Saxon Chron. p. 13. Nennius. cap. 28.
or exerted such valour and perseverance in pushing their conquests. Cerdic was even obliged to call for the assistance of his countrymen from the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, as well as from Germany, and he was therefore joined by a fresh army under the command of Porte, and of his sons Bleda and Megla. Strengthened by these succours, he fought, in the year 508, a desperate battle with the Britons, commanded by Nana-Leod, who was victorious, and not without much success, to unite them in their resistance against the Saxons. These contests increased the animosity between the two nations, and roused the military spirit of the ancient inhabitants, who rose up before their last battle of lethargy. Hengist, however, notwithstanding their opposition, still maintained his ground in Britain; and in order to divide the forces and attention of the natives, he called over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and of Elissa, the son of Octa; and he settled them in Northumberland. He himself remained in the southern parts of the island, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surrey. He fixed his royal seat at Canterbury; where he governed about forty years, and he died in or near the year 488; leaving his new-acquired dominions to his posterity.

The success of Hengist excited the avidity of the other northern Germans; and at different times, and under different leaders, they flokked over in multitudes to the invasion of this island. These conquerors were chiefly composed of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who all passed under the common appellation, sometimes of Saxons, sometimes of Angles; and speaking the same language, and being governed by the same institutions, they were therefore united, and from these enemies, on their common interest, unite themselves against the ascendant inhabitants. The resistance, however, though unequal, was still maintained by the Britons; but became ever more desperate; and their countrymen admitted them for a few intervals, till they were driven into Cornwall and Wales, and received protection from the remote situation or inaccessible mountains of those countries.

The Britons, after that of Kent, which was established in Britain, was the kingdom of South Saxony. In the year 477, Ella, a Saxon chief, brought over an army from Germany; and landing on the southern coast, proceeded to take possession of the neighbouring territory. The Britons, now armed, did not tuneily abandon their pos sessions; nor were they expelled, till defeated in many battles by their warlike invaders. The most memorable action, mentioned by historians, is that of Verulam in which the Saxons won the victory, they suffered so considerable a loss, as somewhat retarded the progress of their conquests. But Ella, reinforced by fresh numbers of his countrymen, again took the field against the Britons, and laid siege to Andred easter, which was defended by the garrison and inhabitants with desperate valor. The Saxons, enraged by this resistance, and by the fatigue and dangers which they had sustained, redoubled their efforts against the place, and when masters of it, put all their enemies to the sword without distinction. This decisive advantage secured the conquests of Ella, who assumed the name of king, and extended his dominion over Sussex and a great part of Surrey. He was stopped in his progress to the east by the kingdom of Kent: in that to the west by another tribe of Saxons, who had taken possession of that territory. The Britons, in the meantime, retired to the northern country in which they settled, were called the West Saxons, and landed in the year 493, under the command of Cerdic, and of his son Kenna. The Britons were, by past experience, so much on their guard, and so well prepared to receive the enemy, that they gave battle, and the very day of their landing; and though vanquished, still defended, for some time, their liberties against the invaders. None of the other tribes of Saxons met with such vigorous resistance,
having conquered Lancashire, and the greater part of Yorkshirc, received the appellation of king of Deiri. These two kingdoms were united in the person of Edwin, grandson of Illa, who married Aethelflaed, and expelling her brother Edwin, established one of the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, by the title of Northumberland. How far his dominions extended into the country now called Scotland, is uncertain; but it cannot be doubted, that all the kingdoms, especially the eastern coast of that country, were peopled in a great measure from Germany; though the expeditions made by the several Saxon adventurers have escaped the records of history. The language spoken in those countries, which is purely Saxon, is a stronger proof of this event than can be opposed by the imperfect, or rather fabulous, annals, which are obviated on us by the Scottish historians.

THE HEPTARCHY.

This was established, after a violent contest of near a hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms in Britain; and the whole southern part of the island, except Wales and Cornwall, had totally changed its inhabitants, language, customs, and political institutions. The Britons, under the Roman dominion, had made such suitable improvements, that the ancient inhabitants, who had twenty-eight considerable cities within their province, besides a great number of villages and country seats. But the fierce conquerors, by whom they were overthrown, were not content with the theory of bar- barity; and those few natives who were not either massacred or expelled their habitations, were reduced to the most abject slavery. None of the other northern conquerors, the Franks, Goths, Vandals, or Burgundians, though they overran the southern provinces of the empire like a mighty torrent, made such devastations as the conquered territories, or were inflamed into so violent an animosity against the ancient inhabitants. The Saxons, who came over at intervals in separate bodies, the Britons, however at first unwilling, were tempted to make resistance; and hostilities being thereby prolonged, proved more destructive to both parties, especially to the vanquished. The first invader from Germany, instead of excluding other adventurers, who must share with them the spoils of ancient inhabitants, were obliged to solicit fresh supplies from their own country; and a total extermination of the Britons became the sole expedient for providing a settlement and subsistence to the new planters. Hence there have been found in history few conquests more ruinous than that of the Saxons; and few revolutions in the course of human affairs more desolating.

So long as the contest was maintained with the natives, the several Saxon princes preserved a union of counsels and interests; but after the Britons were shut up in the barren counties of Cornwall and Wales, and gave no further disturbance to the conquerors, the band of alliances was in a great measure dissolved among the princes of the Heptarchy. Though one prince seems still to have been allowed, or to have assumed, an ascendant over the whole, his authority, if it ought ever to be deemed regular or legal, was extremely limited; and each state acted as if it had been independent, and wholly separate from the rest. Wars, therefore, and revolutions and dissensions, were unavoidable among a turbulent and military population; and these events, however intricate or confused, ought now to become the objects of our attention. But, added to the difficulty of carrying on at once the history of seven independent kingdoms, there is a discouragement to the writer, arising from the uncertainty, at least bareness, of the accounts transmitted to us. The monks, who were the only annalists during those ages, lived remote from public affairs, considered the civil transactions as entirely subordinate to ecclesiastical, and therefore discoursed of their ignorance and barbarity which were then universal, were strongly infected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to imposture; races almost insensible to the claims of an ancient family, and which have in the...
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consequence, became their supreme deity, and the chief object of their religious worship. They believed, that, if they obtained the favor of this divinity by their valor, (for they made less account of the other virtues,) they should be admitted after their death into his hall; and, reposing on couches, should squatiate themselves with ale from the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle. For this idea of paradise, which grounded at once the passion of revenge and that of intermixture, the ruling inclinations of barbarians, they despised the dangers of war, and increased their nature ferocity against the vanquished by their religious prejudices. We know little of the religious tenets of the Saxons; we only learn that they were polytheists; that they worshipped the sun and moon; that they adored the god thunder under the name of Thor; that they had images in their temples; that they practiced sacrifices; believed firmly in spells and enchantments; and admitted in general a system of doctrines which they held as sacred, but which, like all other superstitions, must carry the air of the wildest extravagance, if propounded to those who are not familiarized to it from their earliest infancy.

The constant hostilities which the Saxons maintained against the Britons, would naturally indispose them for receiving the Christian faith, when proposed to them by such invertebrate enemies; and perhaps the Britons, as is objected to them by Gildas and Hede, were not over fond of communicating to their cruel invaders the doctrine of eternal life and salvation. But as a civilized people, however, the Saxons were superior to the barbarous and ignorant nations, all the other northern conquerors of Europe had been already induced to embrace the Christian faith, which they found established in the empire; and it was impossible but the Saxons, informed of this event, must have regarded with some degree of veneration a doctrine which had acquired the ascendant over all their brethren. However limited to the Britons, in the beginning of the 3rd century, the cultivation of the southern countries beyond what they themselves possessed; and it was natural for in to yield to that superior knowledge, as well as zeal, by which the innumerable host of the Christian kingdoms were even at that time distinguished.

But these causes might long have failed of producing any considerable effect, had not a favourable incident precipitated the means of introducing Christianity into Kent. Ethelbert, in his father's lifetime, had married Bertha, the only daughter of Carlit, king of Paris, one of the descendants of Clovis, the conqueror of Gaul; but before he was admitted to this alliance, he was obliged to stipulate an article, that he should enjoy his own religion; a concession not difficult to be obtained from the idolatrous Saxons. Bertha brought over a French bishop to the court of Canterbury; and being abroad the propagator of the gospel in that region, she had been very assiduous in her devotional exercises, and supported the credit of her faith by an unapproachable conduct, and had employed every art of persuasion and address to reconcile her husband to her religious principles. Her popularity in the court, and her influence over Ethelbert, had so well paved the way for the reception of the Christian doctrine, that Gregory, summoned the Great, then Heman pontiff, began to entertain hopes of effecting a project, which he himself, before he mounted the imperial throne, had once embraced, of converting the British Saxons.

It happened, that this prelate, at that time in a private situation, had observed in the market-place of Home some Saxon youth exposed to sale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents. Strengthened with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory assiduously approached them, and, Without their being Angels, he replied, that they ought more properly to be denominated angels: it were a pity that the Prince of Darkness should enjoy so fair a prey, and that so beauti-ful a frontispiece should ever a mind destitute of internal grace and righteousness. Inquiring further concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was Deira, a district of Northumberland: Dei(r) replied he, that is a good! They are called to the mercy of God from his anger, De in. But what is the name of the king of that province? He was told it was £alla or Alia: Alleluia, cried he: we are now arrived at the province and of the Saxon nation in their country. Moved by these allusions, which appeared to him so happy, he determined to undertake himself a mission into Britain; and having obtained the pope's approbation, he prepared for that perilous journey; but his journey in the home was still attended with the same misfortunes. By the violence of these peoples, he was exposed to dangers, his design being of such a nature that the Christians, unwilling to expose him to such dangers, opposed his design; and he was obliged, for the present, to lay aside all further thoughts of executing that pious purpose.

The controversy between the pagans and the Christians was not entirely cooled in that age; and no point, before Gregory, had ever carried to greater excess an intemperate zeal against the former religion. He had waged war with all the precious monuments of the ancients, and even with their writings, which, as appears from the strain of his own wit, as well as from the style of his compositions, he had not taste or genius sufficient to comprehend.

Amidst the fury with which the adherents of the British Saxons, he pitched on Augustine, a Roman monk, and sent him with forty associates to preach the gospel in this island. These missionaries, termed with the dangers which might attend their proposing a new doctrine to the Britons, if not to the Saxons, they were ignorant, stopped some time in France, and sent back Augustine to lay the hazards and difficulties before the pope, and crave his permission to desist from the undertaking. But Gregory exhorted them to persevere in their design, advised them to choose some interpreters from among the Franks, who still spoke the same language with the Saxons; and recommended them to the good offices of Hild, who, as a powerful monarch, possessed the sovereign power in France. This process, though stained with every vice of treachery and cruelty, either possessed or pretended great zeal for the cause; and Gregory acknowledged that to her friendly assistance was, in a great measure, owing the success of that undertaking.

Augustine, on his arrival in Kent in the year 597, found the danger much less than he had apprehended. Ethelbert, already well disposed towards the Christian faith, assigned him a habitation in the isle of Thanet; and soon after admitted him to a conference. Apprehensive, however, lest spells or enchantments might be employed against him, or his exercise of the sacred worship from a distant country, he had the precaution to receive them in the open air, where he believed the force of their magic would be more easily dissipated. Here Augustine, who found in his intercourse with him, the tenets of the Christian faith, and promised him eternal joys above, and a kingdom in heaven without end, if he would be persuaded to receive that salutary doctrine. Your words and promises, replied Ethelbert, are fair; but because they are new and uncertain, I cannot entirely yield to them, and relinquish the principles which I and my ancestors have so long maintained. You are welcome, however, to remain here in peace; and as you have undertaken so long a journey, safely, as you have desired for what you believe to be for our advantage, I will supply you with all necessary, and permit you to deliver your doctrine to my subjects.

Augustine, encouraged by this favourable reception, and seeing now a prospect of success, proceeded with doubled zeal to preach the gospel to the Kentish Saxons. He attracted their attention by the austerity of his manners, by the exercise of his gifts, by the adoration he paid himself, by the abstinence and self-denial which he practised; and having excited their wonder by a course of life which appeared so contrary to nature, he procured more easily their belief of miracles, which, it was pretended, he

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [CHAP. I.

1 Greg. of Tours, lib. 9, cap. 26. H. Horming, lib. 2.
2 Greg. of Tours, lib. 9, cap. 28. H. Horming, lib. 21.
7 Gregory, Polyarcham, lib. 5. Histor. Sax, p. 25.
wrought for their conversion. Influenced by these motives, and by the declared favour of the court, numbers of the Kentish men were baptized; and the king himself was persuaded to submit to that rite of Christianity. His example had great influence with his subjects; but he employed no force to bring them over to the new doctrine. Augustine thought proper, in the commencement of his mission, to assume the appearance of the greatest lenity; he told Ethelbert, that the service of Christ must be entirely voluntary, and that no one was bound to conform to it against their will. The king, in consequence, employed no force to bring his subjects over to the new doctrine.

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Augustine wrote a letter to Ethelbert, in which, after informing him that the end of the world was approaching, he exhorted him to display his zeal in the conversion of his subjects, to extirpate against the worship of idols, and to build up the good work of holiness by every expedient of exhortation, terror, blasphe- mation, or correction; a doctrine more suitable to that age, and to the usual maxims, than the tolerating principles which Augustine had thought it prudent to inculcate. The pontiff also answered some questions which the missionary had put concerning the government of the new church of Kent. Peremptorily, and at length, Augustine asked, Whether cousin-german might be allowed to marry? Gregory answered, that that liberty had indeed been formerly granted by the Roman law; but that the laws of the Church had not retained it, though it was derived from such marriages; and he therefore prohibited them. Augustine asked, Whether a woman pregnant might be baptized? Gregory answered that he saw no objection. How soon after the birth the child might receive baptism? It was answered, Immediately, if necessary. How soon after the birth the child might receive baptism? It was answered, Immediately, if necessary. How soon after the birth the child might receive baptism? It was answered, Immediately, if necessary. How soon after the birth the child might receive baptism? It was answered, Immediately, if necessary. Whether a man might have commerce with his wife after her delivery? Not till she had given suck to her child: a practice to which the proceeds of some poor man might enter the church, or receive the sacrament, after having had commerce with his wife? It was replied, that unless he had approached her without desire, merely for the sake of propagating his species, he was not without sin; but in all cases it was requisite for him, before he entered the church, or communicated, to purge himself by prayer and abstinence; and he ought not, even after using these precautions, to participate immediately of the sacred mystery. There are many other questions which Augustine raised, and which Gregory answered; and making a progress with the ignorant and barbarous Saxons.

The more to facilitate the reception of Christianity, Gregory enjoined Augustine to remove the idols from the heathen altars, but not to destroy the images themselves; because the people, he said, would be allured to frequent the Christian worship, when they found it placed in a place which they were accustomed to reverre. And as the pagans practised sacrifices, and feasted with the priests on their offerings, he also exhorted the missionary to persuade them, on Christian festivals, to kill their cattle in the neighbourhood of the church, and to indulge themselves in those cheerful entertainments, to which they had been habituated; and in some other religious and civil ceremonies, showing that notwithstanding his ignorance and prejudices, he was not unacquainted with the arts of governing mankind. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and was endowed with all the temporal and spiritual rights of the old church of Rome. He received the pall, a badge of ecclesiastical honour, from Rome. Gregory also advised him not to be too much elated with his gift of working miracles; and as Augustine, proud of the success of his mission, seemed to think himself entitled to extend his authority over the bishops of Gaul, the pope informed him, that they lay entirely without the bounds of his jurisdiction.

The marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, and much more his embraces of Christianity, opened a subject to the King of France, in order to escape the mortification of preaching the gospel without fruit to the infidels. M Eliud and Justus, who had been consecrated bishops of London and Rochester, had already departed the kingdom; when Laurentius, before he should entirely abandon his dignity, made one effort to reclaim the king. He appeared before one of the councils, and, melting into his eyes, showed his body all torn with bruises and stripes, which he had received. He advised, hoping that any man should have dared to treat in that manner a person of his rank, to be on him; and that his conduct was a sufficient reproof for the chastisement from St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, who had appeared to him in a vision, and, severely reproving him for his intention to desert his charge, had inflicted on him these visible marks of his displeasure; Whether Eadbald was struck with the miracle, or inflamed by some other motive, he divorced himself from his mother-in-law, and returned to the profession of Christianity; his wife being allowed to keep her faith. He afterwards reached not the fame or authority of his father, and died in 640, after a reign of twenty-five years; leaving two sons, Erminfrid and Eocombert.

Eocombert, though the younger son, by Emma, a French princess, found means to mount the throne. He was consecrated by Bede for two exploits, for establishing the fast of Lent in his kingdom, and for utterly extirpating idolatry; which, notwithstanding the prevalence of Christianity, had hitherto been tolerated by the two preceding monarchs. He ruled twenty-four years; and left the crown to Ecgbert, his son, who reigned nine years. This prince is renowned for his encouragement of learning; but infamous for his great thirst of riches, and for the innovations of Erminfrid, his uncle. The ecclesiastical writers praise him for bestowing on his sister, Domnuna, some lands in the isle of Thanet, where she founded a monastery. The bloody precipitation of Ecgbert could not fix the crown on the head of his son, Edric. L with the deceased prince, took possession of the kingdom; and, in order to secure the power in his family, he associated with him Richard, his son, in the administration of the government. Edric, the possessed princes, had recourse to Edwulf, king of Sussex, for assistance; and being supported by that prince, fought a battle with his uncle, who was defeated and slain. Richard fled into Germany, and afterwards died of fever, in the city of Paris. The prelates of Malmesbury ascribes Lothair's hate to two crimes, his concurrence in the murder of his cousins, and his contempt for relics.

Lothair reigned three years; Edric, his successor, only two. Upon the death of the latter, which happened in 686, Widred, the brother, obtained possession of the crown. But as the succession had been of late so much disputed by revolutions and usurpations, faction began...
to prevail among the nobility; which invited Ceddwalla, king of Wessex, with his brother Mollo, to attack the kingdom. These invaders committed great devastations in Kent; but the death of Mollo, who was slain in a skirmish, gave a short breathing time to that kingdom. Widred restored the affairs of Kent; and, after a reign of thirty-two years, left the crown to his postercy. Eadbért, Ethelbert, and Alne, his successors, succcssively mounted the throne of Kent. A bloody war, which happened between them, in the year 794, the royal family of Kent was extinguished; and every fanatical leader who could entertain hopes of ascending the throne, threw the state into confusion. ¹ Egbert, who had been rejected by the crown, took the hand of the king, who, after a troublesome and precarious reign, he was, in the year 827, expelled by Egbert, king of Wessex, who dissolved the Saxon Heptarchy, and united the several kingdoms under his dominion.

THE KINGDOM OF NORTHBURGIA.

Adelfrid, king of Bernicia, having married Aecus, the daughter of Ælla, king of Deirii, and expelled her infant brother, Edwin, had united all the counties north of Heavenly's dominions, and acquired a great ascendency in the Heptarchy. He also spread the terror of the Saxon arms to the neighbouring people, and by his victories over the Scotts and Picts, as well as Welsh, extended on all sides of his dominions. Having learned the siege to Chester, the Britons marched out with all their forces to engage them; and they were attended by a body of 1250 monks from the monastery of Bangor, who stood at their post. Edwin was obliged to surrender; and Adelfrid, pursuing his victory, made himself master of Bangor, and entirely demolished the monastery; a building so extensive, that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another, and it contained two thousand one hundred monks, who are said to have been there maintained by their own labour. ²

Notwithstanding Adelfrid's success in war, he lived in ignorance to the account of young Etelrich, who had unjustly dispossessed the crown of Deirii. This prince was now grown to man's estate, wandered from place to place in continual danger from the attempts of Adelfrid; and received at last protection in the court of Redwald, king of the East Angles; where his engaging and gallant deportment procured him general esteem and affection. Redwald, however, was strongly solicited by the king of Northburghia to kill or deliver up his guest; rich presents were promised him if he would comply; and war denounced against him in case of his refusal. After rejecting several messages of this kind, his generosity began to yield to the motives of interest; and he retained the last ambassador, till he should come to a resolution in a case of such importance. Edwin, informed of his friend's perplexity, was yet determined at all hazards to remain in East Anglia; and thought, that if the protection of that court failed him, it were better to die, than prolong a life so much exposed to the persecutions of his powerful rival. This confidence in Redwald's honour and friendship, with his other accomplishments, engaged the queen on his side; and she effectually represented to her husband the importance of coming up to certain destruction their royal guest, who had fled to them for protection against his cruel and jealous enemies. ³ Redwald, embracing more

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5 W. Malms. lib. 1. cap. 5. ⁶ W. Malms. lib. 2. cap. 12. ⁷ Brompton, p. 271.

8 B. Hunting. lib. 5. ⁸ B. Hunting. lib. 5. ⁹ B. Hunting. lib. 5. ¹⁰ B. Hunting. lib. 5. ¹¹ B. Hunting. lib. 5. ¹² B. Hunting. lib. 5. ¹³ B. Hunting. lib. 5. ¹⁴ W. Malms. lib. 1. cap. 5.
Edwin's cousin-german, established himself in Deiri, the inheritance of his family; but to which the sons of Edwin had a preferable title. Eanfrid, the elder surviving son, fled to Penda, by whom he was treacherously slain. The younger son, Eadfrid, with Yfli, the grandson of Edwin, by Osfrid, son of Edwin, and his wife, who brought themselves in safety there, retired into France to King Dagobert, where they died. Osric, king of Deiri, and Eanfrid, of Bernicia, returned to the north of England; and the Saxons did not find them; with them; since Paulinus, who was the first archbishop of York, and who had converted them, thought proper to retire with Ethelburga, the queen Dowager, into Kent. Both these Northumbrian kings perished, the first in battle against Ceddwalla, the Briton; the second, by the treachery of that prince. Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, of the race of Bernicia, united again the kingdom of Northumberland in the year 654, and restored the Christian religion in his dominions. He gained a bloody and well-disputed battle against Ceddwalla; the last vigorous effort which the Britons made against the Saxons. Oswald is much celebrated for his sanctity and charity by the monkish historians; and they pretend that his relics wrought miracles, particularly the curing of a sick horse, which had approached the place of his interment.

He died in battle against Penda, king of Mercia, and was not hurried by him for fifty years of age, before the metempsychosis assigned him in the government of the whole Northumbrian kingdom, by putting to death Oswin, the son of Osric, the last king of the race of Deiri. His son Ecgfrid succeeded him, and in by his invincible and victorious wars, secured his peace, without leaving any children, because Adelethric, his wife, refused to violate her vow of chastity. Alfred, his natural brother, acquired possession of the kingdom, which he governed for nineteen years; and he left it to Osred, his son, a boy of eight years of age. This prince, after a reign of eleven years, was murdered by Kenred his kinsman, who, after enjoying the crown only a year, perished by a like fate. Oswin, son of Osred, was slain in a sedition, a year after his accession to the crown; and Molle, who was not of the royal family, seized the crown. He perished by the treachery of Aelfred, a prince of the blood; and Alfred, having succeeded in his design upon the throne, was soon after expelled by his subjects. Ethelred, his successor, the son of Mollc, underwent a like fate. Ceolwold, the next king, the brother of Alfred, was deposed and slain by the people, and his place was filled by his son, Ecgfrid, who, after four years, was made way for Ethelbert, another son of Mollc, whose death was equally tragic with that of almost all his predecessors. After Ethelbert's death a universal anarchy prevailed in Northumberland; and the people having, by so many fatal revolutions, lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for submission to a foreign yoke; which Egbert, king of Wessex, finally imposed on them.

THE KINGDOM OF EAST ANGLIA.

The history of this kingdom contains nothing memorable, except the conversion of Easwine, the fourth king, and great-grandson of Iffla, the founder of the monarchy. The authority of Edwin, king of Northumberland, on whom that prince entirely depended, engaged him to take this son; but soon after, his wife, who was an idolaress, brought him back to her religion; and he was found unable to resist those allurements which had seduced the wast of mankind. After his death, which was violent, like that of most of the Saxon princes, that did not early retire into monasteries, Sigeberht, his successor, and half-brother, who had been educated in France, restored Christianity, and introduced learning among the East Angles. Some pretend that he founded the university of Cambridge, or rather some schools in that place. It is impossible, and quite needless, to be more particular in relating the transactions of the East Angles. What instruction or entertainment can it give the reader, to bear a long bead-roll of barbarous names, Egrea, Annas, Ethelbert, Ethelwald, Aldulf, Eofwald, Eorled, Ethelbert, who successively murdered, expelled, or inherited from each other, and obscurely filled the throne of that kingdom? Ethelbert, the last of these princes, was treacherously murdered by Offa, king of Mercia; and thus died the year 792, and his state was thenceforward united with that of Offa, as we shall relate presently.

THE KINGDOM OF MERCIA.

Mercia, the largest, if not the most powerful, kingdom of the Heptarchy, comprehended all the middle counties of England; and as its frontiers extended to those of all the other six kingdoms, as well as to Wales, it received its name from that circumstance. Wibba, the son of Cridu, founder of the monarchy, being placed on the throne by Ethelbert, king of Kent, governed his paternal dominions by a precarious authority; and after his death, Ceorl, his kinsman, was, by the influence of the Kentish monarch, preferred to his son Penda, whose turbulent character appeared dangerous to that prince. Penda was not born before the marriage of his father, and by his temerity and restless disposition were found nowise abated by time, experience, or reflection. He engaged in continual hostilities against all the neighbouring states, and thus exposed Mercia, his kingdom, to the incursions of the Irish and of the Northumbrians. He had never ceased to drift between the two factions, and, consequently, was not of a mind entirely equal to the influence of his own subjects and to strangers. Sigeberht, Egrea, and Annas, three kings of East Anglia, perished successively in battle against him; as did also Edwin and Oswald, the two greatest princes that had ever reigned over Northumberland. At last, Oswy, brother to Oswald, having defeated and slain him in a decisive battle, freed the world from this sanguinary tyrant. Penda, his son, mounted the throne: and after, and died the year 795, and lived under the protection of Oswy, whose daughter he had espoused. This prince was educated in the Christian faith, and she employed her influence with success, in converting her husband and his subjects to that religion. Thus the fair sex have had the merit of introducing the Christian doctrine into all the most considerable kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. Penda died a violent death. His son, Wulhere, succeeded to the government; and, after having reduced to fictitious naught the crown of East Anglia, he left the crown to his brother Ethelred, who, though a lover of peace, showed himself not unfit for military enterprises. Besides making a successful expedition against the Frisians, and reducing to subjection into Kent the province of Essex, he made way for Ethelbert, another son of Mollc, whose death was equally tragic with that of almost all his predecessors. After Ethelbert's death a universal anarchy prevailed in Northumberland; and the people having, by so many fatal revolutions, lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for submission to a foreign yoke; which Egbert, king of Wessex, finally imposed on them.

THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Northumbria, the largest of the seven kingdoms of this island, comprehended the whole country of modern England, from the eastern part of York northward, to the sea; and included the kingdom of Mercia, beyond the river Humber. It comprised the ancient kingdom of Northumberland, and was a sort of semisupranational state, consisting of the three ancient provinces of Deiri, Bernicia, and Deira.
young prince, who is said to have possessed great merit, had paid his addresses to Eelfrida, the daughter of Offa, and was invited with all his retinue to Hereford, in order to solemnize the nuptials. Amidst the joy and festivity of these entertainments, he was seized by Offa, and secretly beheaded: and though Eelfrida, who abhorred her father's treachery, had time to give warning to the East Anglian nobility, who escaped into their own country, Offa, having extinguished the royal family, succeeded in his design of subduing that kingdom.8 The perfidious prince, desirous of re-establishing his character in the world, and perhaps of appeasing the remorses of his own conscience, sent his highest courtiers to the clergy, and practised all the monkish devotion so much esteemed in that ignorant and superstitious age. He gave the tenth of his goods to the church;9 bestowed rich donations on the cathedral of Hereford; and even made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his great power and riches could not fail of procuring him the papal absolution. The better to ingratiate himself with the sovereign pontiff, he engaged to pay him a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome; and in order to raise the sum, he imposed the tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year. This imposition being afterwards levied on all England, was commonly denominated Peter's Pence:10 and though contrary to the spirit of the Roman pontiff, was afterwards raised as a tribute by the Roman pontiff. Carrying his hypocrisy still further, Offa, feigning to be directed by a vision from heaven, discovered at Venulam the relics of St. Alban, the martyr, and consecrated an magnificent monastery on that place.11 Moved by these acts of piety, Malmesbury, one of the best of the old English historians, declares himself at a loss to determine whether the merits or crimes of this prince preponderated. Offa died after a reign of thirty-nine years, in 794.12

This prince was become so considerable in the Heptarchy, that the Emperor Charlemagne entered into an alliance and friendship with him; a circumstance which did honour to this distant prince, who rarely had received so much little communication with each other. That emperor being a great lover of learning and learned men, in an age very barren of that ornament, Offa, at his desire, sent him over his Aelian, a clergyman, much celebrated for his knowledge, who received great honours from Charlemagne, and even became his preceptor in the sciences. The chief reason why he had at first desired the company of Aelian, was, that he might oppose his learning to the heresy of Felix, Bishop of Uergel in Catalonia; who maintained that Jesus Christ, considered in his human nature, could, more properly, be denominated the adoptive, than that of the Logos. This heresy was condemned in the council of Frankfort, held in 794, and consisting of 300 bishops. Such were the questions which were agitated in that age, and which employed the attention not only of elocutior scholars, but of the wisest and greatest princes.13

Ecgbert succeeded to his father Offa, but survived him only five months:14 when he made way for Kenulph, a descendant of the royal family. This prince waged war against Kent; and taking Egbert the king prisoner, he cut off his hands, and put out his eyes; leaving Cuthred, his own brother, in possession of the crown of that kingdom. Kenulph was killed in an insurrection of the East Anglians, whose crown his predecessor, Offa, had usurped. He had his son, Kenelm, a miner; who was afterwards, in the same year by his sister, Quendrake, who had entertained the ambitious views of assuming the government.15 But she was supplanted by her uncle, Ceolulf; who, two years after, was first assassinated by his own burn. The reign of that usurper, who was not of the royal family, was short and unfortunate: he was defeated by the West Saxons, and killed by his own subjects, the East Angles.16 Ludician, his son, and one of the leading men of Wessex, and Wigluff, who mounted this unstable throne, and fountain of impostures and of the utmost confusion, could not withstand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy.

THE KINGDOM OF ESSEX.

This kingdom made no great figure in the Heptarchy; and the history of it is very imperfect. Sleada succeeded to his father, Erkingwin, the founder of the monarchy; and made way for his son, Seberht, who, being nephew to Edbelbert, King of Kent, was persuaded by that prince to embrace the Christian faith.17 His sons and conjunct successors, Sextred and Seward, expelled into idolatry, and were soon after slain in a battle against the West Saxons. To show the rude manner of living in that age, Bede tells us,18 that these two kings expressed great desire to eat the white bread, distributed by Mellitus, the bishop, at the communion. But on his refusing them, unless they would submit to be baptized, they expelled him and their dominion. The names of the other princes who reigned successively in Essex, are Sigered the Little, Sigered the Good, who restored Christianity, Swinelm, Siger, Offa. This last prince having made a vow of chastity, notwithstanding his marriage with Keneswith, a Mercian princess, daughter to Penda, went in pilgrimage to Rome, and shut himself up during the rest of his life in a cloister. Selred, his successor, was killed at the battle of Maldon, in 994, by the Saxons, who had invaded his kingdom. For an account of his reign, and of the death of this king, see the history of England.21

THE KINGDOM OF SUSSEX.

The history of this kingdom, the smallest in the Heptarchy, is still more imperfect than that of Essex. Alla, who was, the founder of the monarchy, was slain in a battle against the Britons, who were possessed of this titular sovereignty. Adevalph, the last of them, was subdued in battle by Ceadwalla, King of Wessex, and was slain in the action, leaving two infant sons, who, falling into the hands of the conquerors, were murdered by him. The Abbot of Retford opposed the order for this execution; but could only prevail on Ceadwalla to suspend it till they should be baptized. But on their return, they were executed by order of the Briton, his son, Kenrie, who had fought many successful, and some unsuccessful, battles against the natives; and the martial spirit, common to all the Saxons, was, by means of these hostilities, carried to the greatest height among this tribe. Ceasulm, who was the son and successor of Kenrie, and who began his reign in 650, was still more ambitious and enterprising than his predecessors; and by waging continual war against the Britons, he added a great part of the counties of Mercia to the kingdom of Wessex. Of his other dominions. Carried along by the tide of success, he invaded

date of a hundred miles in length, from Basingwerk to Flintshire, in the south-northern Brithol, Sea Spectra's Description of Wales.20

the other Saxon states in his neighbourhood, and becoming terrible to all, he provoked a general contention against him. This alliance proved successful under the conduct of Ethelbert, King of Kent; and Cædwalla, who had lost the aforesaid of his own subjects by his violent death, and having a new accession of misfortunes, was expelled the throne, and died in exile and misery. Cædwinne and Cæthwine, his sons, governed jointly the kingdom, till the expulsion of the latter in 591, and the death of the former in 592. Cædwalla, by whom succeeded Ceoldred in 593, by whose death, which happened in 611, Kyneheard inherited the crown. This prince embraced Christianity, through the persuasion of Oswiu, King of Northumbria, who had married his daughter, and who had attained a great ascendancy in the Heptarchy. Kenwulf next succeeded to the monarchy, and dying in 672, left the succession so much disputed, that Sexburga, his widow, a woman of spirit, kept possession of the crown, and though he was disturbed by some risings, which happened two years after. Escwein then peaceably acquired the crown; and, after a short reign of two years, made way for Kentwulf, who governed nine years. Ceodwalla, his successor, mounted not the throne with opposition; but proved a great prince according to the ideas of those times; that is, he was enterprising, warlike, and successful. He entirely subdued the kingdom of Sussex, and annexed it to his dominion. At the same time he had met with resistance from Wredred, the king, who proved successful against Murolo, brother to Ceodwalla, and slew him in a skirmish. Ceodwalla, at last, tried with wars and battles; but he was finally overthrown by several endowments on the church; and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received baptism, and died in 689. Ina, his successor, inherited the military virtues of his ancestors; he acquired an ascendency which enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne. And familiarizing himself to the manners of the French, who, as Malmsbury observes, were eminent both for valour and civility above all the western nations, he learned to polish the radius and surplus of the Christian observer. His early misfortunes thus proved of singular advantage to him.

It was not long ere Egbert had opportunities of displaying his natural and acquired talents. Britric, King of Wessex, had married Eadburga, natural daughter of Offa, King of Mercia, a profligate woman, equally infamous for cruelty and for inconstancy. Having great influence over her husband, she contrived to obtain his death, and adopted her brother Albin, who was several times the object of her jealousy: but, unfortunately, the king drank of the fatal cup along with his favourite, and so soon after expired. This tragical incident, it seems, was the cause of so many things, rendered Edburga so odious, that she was obliged to fly into France; whence Egbert was at the same time recalled by the nobility, in order to ascend the throne of his ancestors. He attained that dignity in the last year of the eighth century.

In the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, an exact rule of succession was either unknown or not strictly observed; and thence the reigning prince was continually agitated with jealousy against the princes of the blood, whom he still considered as rivals, and whose death alone could give him entire security in his possession of the throne. From this fatal cause, together with the admiration of the monastic life, and the opinion of merit and chivalry, preservation of chastity even in a married state, the royal families had been entirely extinguished in all the kingdoms except that of Wessex; and the emulations, suspicions, and conspiracies, which had formerly been confined to the princes of the blood alone, were now diffused among all the nobility in the several Saxon states. Egbert was the sole descendant of those first conquerors who subdued Britain, and who enhanced the glory of their country by claim-
ing a pedigree from Woden, the supreme divinity of their ancestors. But that prince, though invited by this favourable circumstance to make attempts on the neighbouring Saxons, gave them for some time no disturbance, and rather chose to turn his arms against the Britons in Cornwall, whom he defeated in several battles. He was called from the conquest of that country by an invasion made upon his dominions by Bernulf, king of Mercia. The Mercians, before the accession of Egbert, had very nearly attained the absolute sovereignty in the Heptarchy; they had reduced the East Angles under subjection, and established tributary princes in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex. Northumbria was involved in anarchy; and most of the other provinces submitted to that of Wessex, which, much inferior in extent to Mercia, was supported solely by the great qualities of its sovereign. Egbert led his army against the invaders; and encountering them at Ellandun in Wiltshire, obtained a complete victory, and by the great slaughter which he made of them in their flight, gave a mortal blow to the power of the Mercians. Whilst he himself, in prosecution of his victory, entered their country on the side of Oxfordshire, and threatened the heart of their dominions; he sent an army into Kent, commanded by Ethelwolph, his eldest son,* and expelling Baldred, the tributary king, soon made himself master of that country. The kingdom of Essex was conquered with the same promptitude; and the East Angles, from the hatred to the Mercian government, which had been established over them by treachery and violence, and probably exercised with tyranny, immediately rose in arms, and craved the protection of Egbert. If the Mercian king, instead of attacking them, was defeated and slain in two years after, Ludican, his successor, met with the same fate. These surrenders and capitulations facilitated the enterprises of Egbert, who advanced into the centre of the kingdom of Kent, and placed mercenaries, and dispirited and divided people. In order to engage them more easily to submission, he allowed Wiglaf, their countryman, to retain the title of king, while he himself exercised all the powers of sovereignty. The anarchy which prevailed in Northumbria, tempted him to carry still further his victorious arms; and the inhabitants, unable to resist his power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies, who submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign. Egbert, however, still allowed to Northumbria, as he had done to Mercia and East Anglia, the power of electing a king of their own. This act was independent of the See.

Thus were united all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in one great state, near four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain; and the fortunate arms and prudent and general policy of Egbert at length reflected what had been so often attempted in vain by so many princes. Kent, Northumbria, and Mercia, which had successively aspired to general dominion, were now incorporated in his empire, and the other subordinate kingdoms seemed willing to share the same fate. His territories were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly called England; and a favourable prospect was afforded to the Anglo Saxons, of establishing a civilized monarchy, possessed of tranquillity within itself, and secure against foreign invasion. This great event happened in the year 827.9

The Saxons, though they had been so long settled in the island, had not as yet to have been much improved beyond their German ancestors, either in arts, industry, knowledge, humanity, justice, or obedience to the laws. Even Christianity, though it opened the way to connections between them and the more polished states of Europe, had not hitherto been very effectual in banishing their ignorance, or soothing their barbarous manners. As they received that doctrine through the corrupted channels of Rome, it carried along with it a great mixture of credibility and superstition, equally destructive to the understanding and to morals. The reverence towards saints and relics seemed to have almost supplanted the adoration of the Supreme Being. Monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues; the knowledge of natural causes was neglected from the universal belief of miraculous interpositions and judgments: bounty to the church atoned for every violence against society; and the remorses for cruelty, murder, treachery, assassination, and the mere robbery, were appeased, not by amendment of life, but by penances, servility to the monks, and an abject and illiberal devotion. The reverence for the clergy had been carried to such a degree as to deprive them of all that is peculiar to the sacred habit, though, on the highway, the people flocked around him; and, showing him all marks of profound respect, revered every word he uttered as the most sacred oracle. Even the military virtues, so inherent in all the Saxon tribes, began to be neglected; and the nobility, preferring the security and sloth of the cloister to the tumults and glory of war, valued themselves chiefly on endowing monasteries, of which they assumed the government. Of several kings, too, being extremely impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, to which the states of their kingdoms had weakly asentted, could bestow no rewards on valour or military services, and had even been sufficient influence to support their government.

Another inconvenience which attended this corrupt species of Christianity, was the superstitious attachment to Rome, and the gradual subjection of the kingdom to a foreign prelacy. Egbert, who had been consecrated by the Roman pontiff, had conducted all the ecclesiastical government by his domestic synods and councils;* but the Saxons, receiving their religion from Roman monks, were taught at the same time a profound reverence for that see, and were naturally led to regard it as the capital of their religion. Pilgrimages to Rome were represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion. Not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themselves, abdicating their crowns, sought for a secure passport to heaven at the feet of the Roman pontiff. New reliques perpetually sent from the endless miracles of imagination, and magnified by lying miracles invented in convents, operated on the astonished minds of the multitude. And every prince has attained the eulogies of the monks, the only historians of those ages, not in proportion to his civil and military success, but his inclinations towards his order, and his superstitious reverence for Rome.

The Sovereign pontiff, encouraged by this blindness and superstition among the people, advanced a third day in his encroachments on the independence of the English churches. Wilfrid, bishop of Lindsey, the sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, increased this subjection in the eighth century, by his making an appeal to Rome against the decisions of an English synod, which had abridged his diocese by the erection of some new bishoprics. Agatho, the pope, readily embraced this precedent of an appeal to his court; and Wilfrid, though the haughtiest and most luxurious prelate of his age, having obtained with the people the character of sanctity, was thus able to lay the foundation of this papal pretension.

The great topic by which Wilfrid confounded the imagination of men was that St. Peter, to whose custody the keys of heaven were intrusted, would certainly refuse admittance to every one who should be wanting in respect to his successor. This conceit, well suited to vulgar conceptions, made great impression on some persons for several ages; and has not even at present lost all influence in the Catholic countries.

Had this abject superstition produced general peace and were wholly Saxons, and almost as ignorant and barbarous as the last. They received the church, little to the improvement of society in knowledge or the arts. 41 Chron. Sax. p. 69. 51. 2 1 ibid. 63. 1 3 E. Halevel. Lib. 5. cap. 2. 54 Histor. Sax. p. 71. 61 The same; according to the Sax. chronicles, but the priests in Italy, Spain, and Gaul, made some attempt for them, by other means. 7 11 For the most ancient ages, they had almost all Romans, or, in other words, the ancient nations; and they were all clerks, or the seeds of the Roman, in the very greatest divinity. But the priests in the Heptarchy, after the first monarchies,
triumph, it had made some atonement for the ill attending it; but besides the usual avidity of men for power and riches, frivolous controversies in theology were engendered by it, which were so much the more fatal, as they admitted not, like the others, of any final determination from established possession. The disputes excited were of the most ridiculous kind, and entirely worthy of those ignorant and barbarous ages. There were some intricacies, observed by all the Christian churches, in adjusting the day of keeping Easter; which depended upon the most considered decision of the course of the sun and moon; and it happened that the missionaries, who had converted the Scots and Britons, had followed a different calendar from that which was observed in Rome in the age when Augustine had resided there. The priests also of all the Christian churches were accustomed to shave part of their head; but the form given to this tonsure was different in the former from what was practised in the latter. The Scots and Britons pleaded the antiquity of their usage, the Romans, and their churches, insisted on the universality of theirs. That Easter must necessarily be kept by a rule, which comprehended both of the year and age of the moon, was agreed by all; that the tonsure of the head, as a mark of their own impiety, was a point undisputed; but the Romans and Saxons called their antagonists schismatics; because they celebrated Easter on the very day of the full moon in March, if that day came on a Sunday, instead of the Sunday following; and because they shaved the forepart of their head from ear to ear, instead of making that tonsure on the crown of the head, and in a circular form. In order to render their antagonists odious, they affirmed that, once in seven years, they concurred with the Jews in the time of celebrating that festival. And that they might recommend their own form of tonsure, they maintained, that it immolated symbolically the crown of thorns worn by Christ in his passion; whereas the other form was invented by Simon Magus, without any regard to that representation. These controversies had, from the beginning, excited such animosity between the British and Roman priests, that, instead of conciliating in their endeavours to convert the idolatrous Saxons, they refused all communion together, and each regarded his opponent as no better than a pagan. The dispute lasted more than a century; and was at last finished, not by men's discovering the folly of it, which would have been too great an effort for human reason to accomplish, but by the entire prevalence of the Roman rite over the Scottish and British. Wilfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, acquired great merit, both with the council held at York, and with the synod held in Britain, by endeavouring to put down the quaterdecimian schism, as it was called, from the Northumbrian kingdom, into which the neighbourhood of the Scots had formerly introduced it. The Saxons were, in a great measure, a wild and savage people. Any one, called, in the year 680, a synod at Hatfield, consisting of all the bishops in Britain, where was accepted and ratified the decree of the Lateran council, summoned by Martin, against the heresies of the Monothelites. The council and synod maintained, in opposition to these heretics, that, though the divine and human nature in Christ made but one person, yet had they different inclinations, wills, acts, and sentiments, and that the unity of the person implied not any unity of consciousness. This opinion it seems somewhat difficult to comprehend; and no one, unacquainted with the ecclesiastical history of those ages, could imagine the height of zeal and violence with which it was then inculcated. The decree of the Lateran council calls the Monothelites impious, execrable, wicked, abominable, and even diabolical; and curses and anathematizes them at all eternity.

The Saxons, from the first introduction of Christianity among them, had admitted the use of images; and perhaps, that religion, without some of those exterior ornaments, had not made so quick a progress with these idolaters: but they had not paid any species of worship or address to images; and this abuse never prevailed among Christians, till it received the sanction of the second council of Nice. —

CHAP. II.

EGEBERT.

The kingdoms of the Heptarchy, though united by so recent a conquest, seemed to be firmly cemented by the same energetic bonds under Egbert; and the inhabitants of the several provinces had lost all desire of revolting from that monarch, or of restoring their former independent governments. Their language was everywhere nearly the same, their customs, laws, institutions, civil and religious; and as the race of the ancient kings was totally extinct in all the subject states, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince, who seemed to merit it, by the splendour of his victories, the vigour of his energies, and the superiority of his birth. A union also in government opened to them the agreeable prospect of future tranquillity; and it appeared more probable that they would thenceforth become formidable to their neighbours, than be exposed to their inroads and devastations. But these flattering views were soon overcast by the appearance of the Danes, who, during some centuries, kept the Anglo-Saxons in perpetual inquietude, committed the most barbarous ravages upon them, and at last reduced them to grievous servitude.

The Emperor Charlemagne, though naturally generous and humane, had been induced by bigotry to exercise strict vigilance over the pagan Saxons in Germany, whom he subdued; and besides often ravaging their country with fire and sword, he had in cool blood decimated all the inhabitants for their revolts, and had obliged them, by the most rigorous edicts, to make a seeming compliance with the Christian doctrine. That religion, which had easily made its way among the British Saxons by insinuation and address, appeared shocking to their German brethren, when imposed on them by the violence of Charlemagne; and the more generous and warlike of these pagans had fled northward into Jutland, in order to escape the fury of his persecutions. Meeting there with a people of similar manners, they were readily received by them, and by them were cajoled, by regarding the refugees as their conquerors, and by affording subsistence to those numerous inhabitants with which the northern countries were now overburdened. They invaded the provinces of France, which were exposed by the degeneracy and dissensions of Charlemagne's posterity; and being there known under the general name of Normans, which they received from their northern situation, they became the terror of all the maritime and even of the inland countries. They were also tempted to visit England in their frequent excursions; and being able, by sudden inroads, to make great progress over a people who were not defended by any naval force, who had relaxed their military institutions, and who were sunk into a superstition which had become odious to the Danes and ancient Saxons, they made no distinction in their hostilities between the French and English kingdoms. Their first appearance in this island was in the year 789, when Ethelbert, King of Wessex. A small body of them landed in that kingdom, with a view of learning the state of the country; and when the magistrate of the place questioned them concerning their enterprise, and summoned them to appear before the King, and account for their intentions, they killed him, and flying to their ships, escaped into their own country. The next alarm was given to Northumberland in the year 794, when a body of these pirates pillaged a monastery:...
but their ships being much damaged by a storm, and their leader slain in a skirmish, they were at last defeated by the inhabitants, and the remainder of them put to the sword. A. D. 822. Five years after Egbert had established his monarchy over England, the Danes landed in the Isle of Sheppey, and having pillaged it, escaped with impunity. They were not so fortunate in their next year's enterprise, when they disembarked from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by Egbert, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire. The battle was bloody; but though the Danes lost great numbers, they maintained the post they had taken, and thence made good their retreat to their ships. Having learned by experience, that they must expect withstood from this wars and.removeAttribute, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall; and landing two years after in that country, made an inroad with their confederates into the county of Devon; but were met at Hengestouw by Egbert, and totally defeated. While England remained in this state of anxiety, and defended itself more by temporary expedients than by any regular plan of administration, Egbert, A. D. 836. who alone was able to provide effectually against this new evil, unfortunately died; and left the government to his son Ethelwulf.

ETHELWOLF.

This prince had neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father; and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign with making a pilgrimage, and spending over to the French his eldest son, Athelstan, the new-conquered provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. But no inconveniences seem to have arisen from this partition; as the continual terror of the Danish invasions prevented all domestic dissen.sion. A. Fleet of these ravagers, consisting of thirty-three vessels, appeared at Southampton; but were repulsed with loss by Wulfhere, governor of the neighbouring county. The same year, Ethelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, routed another band which had disembarked at Portsmouth; but he obtained the victory after a furious engagement, and he bought with his life the loss of his life. Next year the Danes made several inroads into England; and fought battles or rather skirmishes in East Anglia and Lindsey and Kent; where, though they were sometimes repulsed and defeated, they always obtained their end of committing spoil upon the country, and carrying off their booty. They avoided combats to a great degree, and was not suited to their plan of operations. Their vessels were small, and ran easily up the creeks and rivers; where they drew them ashore, and having formed an encampment round them, which they guarded with part of their number, they plundered wherever they went, and carrying off the inhabitants and cattle and goods, they hastened to their ships and quickly disappeared. If the military force of the county were assembl.ed, (for there was no time for troops to March from a distance,) the Danes either were able to repulse them, and to continue their ravages with impunity, or they betook themselves to their vessels; and setting sail, suddenly invaded some distant quarter, which was not prepared for their reception. Part of England was held in continual alarm; and the inhabitants of one county durst not give assistance to those of another, lest their own families and property should be the first time exposed to the fury of these barbarous ravagers. All orders of men were involved in this calamity; and the priests and monks, who had been commonly spared in the domestic quarrels of the Heptarchy, were the chief objects on which the Danish invaders exercised their rage and animosity. Every season of the year was dangerous; and the absence of the enemy was no reason why any man could esteem himself a moment in safety. These incursions had now become almost annual, when the Danes, encouraged by their successes against France as well as England, (for both kingdoms were alike exposed to this dreadful calamity,) invaded the last in so numerous a body, as seemed to threaten it with universal subjection. But the English, more military than the Britons, whom a few centuries before the Danes had defeated with little resistance, routed them with a vigour proportioned to the exigency. Ceorl, governor of Devonshire, fought a battle with one body of the Danes at Wigmerough, and put them to route with great slaughter. King Eadred attacked another at sea near Sandwich, sunk nine of their ships, and put the rest to flight. A body of them, however, ventured, for the first time, to take up winter-quarters in England; and receiving in the next year a reception such as the Danes in 350 vessels, they advanced from the Isle of Thanet, where they had stationed themselves; burnt the cities of London and Canterbury; and having put to flight Birchen, who now governed Mercia under the title of King, they marched into the heart of Sussex, and laid every place waste around them. Ethelwolf, impelled by the urgency of the danger, marched against them at the head of the West Saxons; and carrying with him his second son, Ethelbald, gave them battle at Olney, and in a bloody victory over them. This advantage procured but a short respite to the English. The Danes still maintained their settlement in the Isle of Thanet; and being attacked by Ethelhelm, governor of Kent, and being, though defeated in the beginning of the action, they finally repulsed the assailants, and killed both the governors. They removed thence to the Isle of Wight, and there took up winter-quarters, that they might further extend their devastations and ravages.

This unsettled state of England hindered not Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome; whither he carried his fourth and youngest son, Alfred, and in the following year six years of age. He passed there a twelvemonth in exercises of devotion; and failed not in that most essential part of devotion, liberality to the church of Rome. Besides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiastics, he made a perpetual grant of three hundred munces a year to that church; one third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another of those of St. Paul's, a third to the pope himself. In his return home, he married Judith, daughter of the emperor, Charles the Bald; but on his landing in England, he met with an opposition which he little looked for. His eldest son Athelstan, being dead, Ethelbald, his second son, had assumed the government, kind in conjunction with many of the nobles, the project of excluding his father from a throne, which his weakness and superstition seemed to have rendered him so ill qualified to fill. The people were divided between the two princes; and a bloody and bloody conflict ensued. Whether the Danes, which the English laboured, appeared inevitable; when Ethelwolf had the facility to yield to the greater part of his son's pretensions. He made with him a partition of the kingdom; and taking to himself the eastern part, which was always at that time esteemed the least considerable, as well as the most exposed, he delivered over to Ethelbald the sovereignty of the western. Immediately after, he summoned the states of the whole kingdom, and with the same facility conferred a perpetual and important donation on the church.

The ecclesiastics, in those days of ignorance, made rapid advances, with the loss of their property and liberty; and quaking at the denunciation of the church, and intercalating the most absurd and most interested doctrines, though they sometimes met, from the contrary interests of the laity, with an opposition, which it required time and address to overcome, they found no obstacle in their reason or understanding. Not content with this description of land made them by the Saxon princes and nobles, and with temporary oblations from the devotion of the people, they had cast a wistful eye on a vast revenue, which they claimed to be belonging to them by a constitutional and venerable title. However little versed in the Scriptures, they

k Chron. Sax. p. 72.
1 Thib. Ethelward, lib. 3, cap. 9.
2 Chron. Sax. p. 72.
3 W. Malmes. lib. 7, cap. 9.
4 Plutarch, Ethelward, lib. 3.
5 Chron. Sax. p. 72.
6 Th. Heu. lib. 5.
7 H. Ruud. lib. 10.
8 Th. Heu. lib. 3, cap. 5.
9 Simon Danel. p. 120.
had been able to discover, that under the Jewish law, a tenth of all the produce of land was conferred on the priesthood; and forgetting, what they themselves taught, that the moral part only of that law was obligatory on Christians, they made this donation confer a perpetual property, inherent by divine right in those who officiated at the altar. During some centuries, the whole scope of sermons and homilies was directed to this purpose; and one would have imagined, from the general tenor of these discourses, that all the practical parts of Christianity were comprised in the exact and faithful performance of titles to the clergy. Encouraged by their success in inculcating these doctrines, they ventured further than they were warranted by the Levitical law, and pretended to draw the tenth of all industry, merchandise, wages of labourers, and pay of soldiers; yea, some canonists went so far as to affirm, that the clergy were entitled to the tithes of the profits made by courtesans in the exercise of their profession. Though parishes had been instituted in England by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, near two centuries before, the ecclesiastics had never yet been able to get possession of the tithes: they therefore seized the present favourable opportunity of making that acquisition, when a weak, superstitious prince filled the throne, and when the people, discouraged by their losses from the Danes, and terrified with the fear of future invasions, were ready to give any action the appearance of religion. So menacious was this conception deemed by the English, that, trusting entirely to supernatural assistance, they neglected the ordinary means of safety; and agreed, even in the present desperate extremity, that the revenues of the church should be exempted from all burthen, though imposed for national defence and security.  

ETHELBAJD AND ETHELBERT.  

A.D. 697.  

ETHELBALD lived only two years after making this grant; and by his will he shared England between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the west being assigned to the former, the east to the latter. Ethelbald was a prophetic prince; and marrying Judith, his mother-in-law, gave great offence to the people; but, moved by the remonstrances of Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, he was at last prevailed on to divorce her. His reign was short; and Ethelbert, his brother, succeeding to the government, behaved himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more worthy of his birth and station. The kingdom, however, was still infested by the Danes, who made an inroad and sacked Winchester, but were there defeated by Ethelbert, who, after their retreat, was shut up in the Isle of Thanet, having deceived the English by a treaty, unexpectedly broke into Kent, and committed great outrages.

ETHERED.  

A.D. 666.  

ETHERED was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, who, though he defended himself with bravery, enjoyed, during his whole reign, no tranquility from those Danish invasions. His younger brother, Alfred, seconded him in all his enterprises; and generously sacrificed to the public good all resentment which might arise on his opponents, who were seduced by Ethelred from a large patrimony which had been left him by his father. The first landing of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred was not without the aid of his enemies. They were discredited by the Saxons persons, who, by their present safety than for the common interest, entered into a separate treaty with the enemy; and furnished them with horses, which enabled them to make an irruption by land in the kingdom of Northumberland. There they surprised the city of York, and defeated it at Gisburn and Elua, two Northumbrian princes, who perished in the assault. Encouraged by these successes, and by the superiority which they had acquired in arms, they now ventured, under the command of Hunnag and Hubba, to leave the sea-coast, and penetrating into Mercia, they took several of their winter-quarters at Nottingham, where they threatened the kingdom with a final subjection. The Mercians, in this extremity, applied to Ethelred for succour; and that prince, with his brother Alfred, conducting a great army to Nottingham, obliged the enemy to dis- lend, and to accept the assistance of Northumbrians. Their restless disposition, and their avidity for plunder, allowed them not to remain long in those quarters: they broke into East Anglia, defeated and took prisoner Eardred, the king of that country, whom they afterwards murdered in cool blood; and committing the most barbarous ravages on the people, particularly on the monasteries, they gave the East Angles cause to regret the temporary relief which they had obtained by assuring the common enemy.

The next station of the Danes was at Reading; whence they infested the neighbouring country by their incursions. The Mercians, desirous of shaking off their dependence on Ethelred, refused to join him with their forces; and that prince, attended by Alfred, was obliged to march against the enemy with the West Saxons alone, his hereditary subjects. The Danes, being defeated in the second battle of their garrison; but quickly making thence an irruption, they routed the West Saxons, and obliged them to raise the siege. An action soon after ensued at Aston, in Berkshire, where, in the beginning of the day, they were in danger of a total defeat. Alfred advancing with one division of the army, was surrounded by the enemy in disadvantageous ground; and Ethelred, who was at that time hearing mass refused to march to his assistance; so that prayers should be finished; but as he afterwards obtained the victory, this success, not the danger of Alfred, was ascribed by the monks to the piety of that monarch. This battle of Aston did not terminate the war; another battle was a little after fought at Hastings, where the Danes were more successful; and being reinforced by a new army from their own country, they became every day more terrible to the English. Amidst these confusions, Ethelred died of a wound which he received in an action with the Danes; and left the inheritance of his cares and misfortunes, rather than of his grandeur, to his brother, Alfred, who was now twenty-two years of age.  

ALFRED.  

This prince gave very early marks of that great virtue and elevating talent which, during the most difficult times, he saved his country from utter ruin and subversion. Ethelwolf, his father, the year after his return with Alfred from Rome, had again sent the young prince thither with a numerous retinue; and a report being spread of the king's death, the pope, Leo III., gave Alfred the royal election; whether prognosticating his future greatness from the appearances of his pregnant genius, or willing to pretend, even in that age, to the right of conferring kingdoms. Alfred, on his return home, became every day more the object of his father's affection; but being indulged in all youthful pleasures, he was much neglected in his education; and he had barely reached his twelfth year, when he was yet totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature. His genius was first roused by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the Queen took delight; and this art, which in some respects has made considerable progress even among barbarians, expanded those noble and elevated sentiments which he had received from nature. Encouraged by the Queen, and stimulated by her own ardent inclination, he soon began to read those compositions; and in that action, shew his zeal to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with

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body had landed, and having collected all the scattered troops of their countrymen, had surprised Chippenham, then a considerable town, and were exercising their usual ravages all around them.

This last incident quite broke the spirit of the Saxons, and removed all temptation to resistance. Finding that, after all the miserable havoc which they had undergone in their persons and in their property; after all the vigorous actions which they had exerted in their own defence; a new band, equally as numerous and disordered as any that had preceded them, had now fallen among them; they believed themselves abandoned by Heaven to destruction, and delivered over to those swarms of robbers, which the fertile north thus incessantly poured forth against them. Some left their country and retired into Wales, or fled beyond sea: others submitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appeasing their fury by a servile obedience. And every man's attention being now engrossed in concern for his own preservation, no one would hearken to the exhortations of the king, who summoned them to make, under his conduct, one effort more in defence of their prince, their country, and their liberties. Alfred himself was obliged to relinquish the emblems of his dignity, to dismiss his servants, and to seek shelter, in the meanest disguises, from the pursuit and fury of his enemies. He concealed himself under a peasant's habit, and hid himself in a forest, where he had been intrusted with the care of some of his cows. There passed here an incident, which has been recorded by all the historians, and was long preserved by popular tradition; though it contains nothing memorable, except so far as every circumstance is interesting which attends so much virtue and dignity reduced to such distress. The wife of the next-herd was ignorant of the condition of her royal guest; and observing him one day busy with the axe, which he had taken against his wretchedness, and which he had been desired him to take to care of some cakes which were toasting, while she was employed elsewhere in other domestic affairs. But Alfred, whose thoughts were otherwise engaged, was not aware of this injunction; for tho' the good woman, on her return, finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king very severely, and upbraided him, that he always seemed very well pleased to cut her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in tracing them. 

By degrees, Alfred, as he found the search of the enemy become more remiss, collected some of his retainers, and retired into the centre of a bog, formed by the stagnating waters of the Thane and Parret, in Somersetshire. Here he found two acres of firm ground; and building a habitation on them, rendered himself secure by its fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads which were continually crossed by the wondrous machine, with which it was every way environed. This place he called Edelingay, or the Isle of Nobles; and it now bears the name of Athelney. He thence made frequent sallies, and undertook, with the vigour of his arm, and knew not from what quarter the blow came. He subsisted himself and his followers by the Mudder which he acquired; he procured them consolation by revenge; and from small successes he opened their minds to hope, that notwithstanding his present low condition, more important victories might at length attend his valour.

Alfred lay here concealed, but not inactive; during a twelvemonth, when the news of a prosperous event reached his ears, and called him to the field. Hubba, the Dane, having spread devastation, fire, and slaughter over Wales, had landed in Devonshire from twenty-three vessels, and had seized some castles in Cornwall, a part situated near the mouth of the small river Taw. Oddine, Earl of Devonshire, with his followers, had taken shelter there; and being ill supplied with provisions, and even with water, he determined, by some vigorous hostilities, to extort the necessity of submitting to the barbarous enemy. He made a sudden Sally on the Danes before sun-rising; and taking them unprepared, he put them to rout, pursued

authors that better prompted his heroic spirit, and directed his generous views. Absorbed in these elegant pursuits, he regarded his accession to royalty rather as an object of regret than of triumph; but being called to the throne, in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of God as by the weight of circumstance which, with the Anglo-Saxons, as by the vows of the whole nation, and the urgency of public affairs, he shook off his literary indolence, and exerted himself in the defence of his subject, and soon showed his brother, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton, and were exercising their usual ravages on the countries around. He marched against them with the few troops which he could assemble on a sudden; and giving them battle, gained at first an advantage, but by his pursuing the victory too far, the superiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed, and recaptured the country. This for that purpose they were conducted to London, and allowed to take up winter-quarters there; but, careless of their engagements, they immediately set themselves to the committing of spoil on the neighbouring county of Sussex, whose territories London was situated, made a new stipulation with them, and engaged them, by presents of money, to remove to Lindsey, in Lincolnshire; a country which they had already reduced to ruin and desolation. Finding therefore no object in that place, either for their rapine or violence, they suddenly turned back upon Mercia, in a quarter where they expected to find it without defence; and fixing their station at Repton, in Derbyshire, they laid the whole country desolate with fire and sword. Burned, despairing of success against an enemy whom no force could resist, and no treaties bind, abandoned his kingdom, and flying to Rome, took shelter in a cloister. He was bereaved of his Alfred, and the last who bore the title of King in Mercia.

The West Saxons were now the only remaining power in England; and though supported by the vigour and abilities of Alfred, they were unable to sustain in the effeminacy of those ravagers, who from all quarters invaded them. A new swarm of Danes came over this year under three princes, Guthrum, Oscelel, and Amond; and having first joined their countrymen at Repton, they soon found the necessity of separating, in order to provide for their subsistence. Part of them, under the command of Haldene, their chiefban, marched into Bedfordshire, where they and their quarter were the only relics to the observance of the treaty; not that he expected they would pay any veneration to the relics; but he hoped, that, if they now violated this oath, their impolicy would infallibly draw down upon them the vengeance of Heaven. But the Danes, little apprehensive of the danger, suddenly, without waiting for their presence, fell upon Alfred's army; and having put it to rout, marched westward, and took possession of Exeter.

The prince collected new forces, and exerted such vigour, that he fought in one year eight battles with the enemy, and reduced them to the utmost extremity. He heartened however to new proposals of peace; and was satisfied to stipulate with them, that they would settle somewhere in England; and would not permit the entrance of more ravagers into the kingdom. But while he was expecting the execution of this treaty, which it seemed the interest of the Danes themselves to fulfill, he heard that another
them with great slaughter, killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous Reufen, or ensconced standard, as which the Danes put great confidence. It contained the figure of a raven, which had been inwoven by the three sisters of Hingaur and Hubba, with many magical incantations, and which, by its different movements, prognosticated, as the Danes believed, the good or bad success of any enterprise. When Alfred observed this symptom of successful resistance in his subjects, he left his retreat; but before he would assemble and, p. s. e by the men. »nd king, by atment, He subdued, to conducted whom received their camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He so entertained them with his music and facetious humour, that he met with a welcome reception; and was even introduced to the tent of Guthrum, their prince, where he remained some days. He remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their absolute want of that which they gained by rape and violence. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, he secretly sent emissaries to the most considerable of his subjects, and summoned them to a rendezvous, attended by their warlike followers, at Brixton, near London, as a sort of conference, for the purpose of endeavoring to put an end to their calamities by service submission, conqueror their reception, which, had hoped to put an end to their calamities by service submission, now found the insolence and rapine of the conqueror more intolerable than all past fatigues and dangers; and, at the appointed day, they joyfully returned to their prince. On this appearance, they received him with shouts of applause; and could not satiate their eyes with the sight of this beloved monarch, whom they had long regarded as dead, and who now, with such a view of the defence of the kingdom, had hesitated to call them to liberty and to vengeance. He instantly conducted them to Eddington, where the Danes were encamped; and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most ungoverned quarter of the enemy. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdues, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding their superior number, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified camp to which they retired; but being detained by extremity by want and hunger, they had recourse to the submission of the victor, and offered to submit on any conditions. The king, no less generous than brave, gave them their lives; and even formed a scheme for converting them, from numerous, to a smaller army, which he conducted to fair commerce. He knew that the kingdoms of East Anglia and Northumberland were totally desolated by the frequent incursions of the Danes, and he now proposed to relieve them, by settling there Guthrum and his followers. He hoped that the new planters would at last betake themselves to industry, when, by reason of his resistance, and the exhausted condition of the country, they could no longer subsist by plunder; and that they might serve him as a rampart against any future incursions of their countrymen. But before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required that they should give him one pledge of their sincerity, and of their intention to incorporate with the English, by declaring their conversion to Christianity. Guthrum, and his army, had no avercion to the proposal; and without much instruction, or argument, or conference, they were all admitted to baptism. The king answered for Guthrum at the same time, gave him the name of Athelstan, and received him as his adopted son. a d. 860. The success of this expedient seemed to correspond to Alfred's hopes: the greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters; some smaller bodies of the same nation, which were preserved in Mercia, were distributed into the five cities of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and were thence called the Fif or Five-burgers. The more turbulent and unquiet made an expedition into France, under the command of Hasting; and, coming by a short incursion of Danes, who sailed up the Thames, and landed at Fulham, but suddenly retreated to their ships on finding the country in a posture of defence, Alfred was not for some years infested by the incursions of those barbarians. The king employed this interval of tranquillity in restoring order to the state, which had been shaken by so many violent conccssions, in establishing civil and military institutions; in composing the minds of men to industry and justice; and in providing against the return of like calamities. He was, more properly than his grandfather Egbert, the sole monarch of the English, (for the Saxons were now universally called,) because the kingdom of Mercia was at last incorporated in his state, and was governed by Ethelbert, his brother-in-law, who bore the title of earl; and though the Danes, who peopled East Anglia and Northumberland, were for some time ruled immediately by their own princes, they all acknowledged a submission to Alfred, and submitted to his superior authority. As equality among subjects is the foundation of a just absolute monarchy, Alfred gave the same laws to the Danes and English, and put them entirely on a like footing in the administration both of civil and criminal justice. The fine for the murder of a Dane was the same with that for the murder of an Englishman; the great symbol of equality in those states. The king, after rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwulf, established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom, and in case of an attack on his person, he should be armed and registered; he assigned them a regular rotation of duty; he distributed part into the castles and fortresses which he built at proper places; he required another part to take the field on any alarm, and to assemble at stated places of rendezvous; and he left a sufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the land, and who afterwards took their turn in military service. The whole kingdom was like one great garrison; and the Danes could no sooner appear in one place, than a sufficient number was assembled to oppose them, without leaving the other quarters defenceless or disarmed. But Alfred, sensible that the proper method of subduing an enemy who made incursions by sea, was to meet them on their own element, took care to provide himself with a naval force, which, though the most natural defence of an island, had hitherto been totally neglected by the English. He increased the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength, and trained his subjects in the practice, as well of sailing as of naval action. He distributed his armed vessels in proper stations around the island, and was sure to meet the Danish ships either before or after they had landed their troops, and to pursue them in all their incursions. Though the Danes might suddenly, by surprise, disembark on the coast, which was generally become desolate by their frequent ravages, they were encountered by the English fleet in their retreat; and escaped not, as formerly, by abandoning their booty, but paid, by their total destruction, the penalty of the disorders which they had raised. In this manner Alfred repelled several invasions of these piratical Danes, and maintained his kingdom, during some years, in safety and tranquillity. A fleet of a hundred and twenty ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert seamen, both Frisians and English, (for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his service,) maintained a supe-
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[A.D. 901.

The Danes had now a certainty, together with the excellent posture of defence established every where, restored full tranquillity in England, and provided for the future security of the government. The East-Anghian and Northumbrian Danes, on the first appearance of Alfred upon the field of battle, were disarmed and dishonoured, and reduced to the condition of mere neutrals.

The merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age or nation can present to us. The virtues of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever seeing it really existing: so happily were they blended; and so powerfully did each prevent the other from excelling its proper boundaries! He knew how to reconcile the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation; the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest facility; the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity; the greatest vigour in commanding with the most perfect affability of deportment; the highest capacity and inclination for science; and that most laudable talent of his countrymen and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former, being more rare among princes, as well as more useful, seem equal. The Danes well knew that it was not in the sight of the fair ones that his skill should be set in the fairest light, but bestowed on him every bodily

2 Asser, p. 19. 
4 Chron. Sax. p. 93. 
6 Flo. Wigwa. p. 593. 
8 Chron. Sax. p. 93. 
accomplishments, either of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance. Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of historians worthy to transmit his fame to posterity; and we wish to see him delineated in more lasting characters, and with more particular strokes, than we can apprehend. He may at least perceive some of those small specks and blemishes, from which, as a man, it is impossible he could be entirely exempted.

But he should give but an imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were we to confine our narration to his military exploits, and were not more particular in our account of his institutions for the execution of justice, and of his zeal for the administration of that justice.

After Alfred had subdued, and had settled or expelled, the Danes, he found the kingdom in the most wretched condition; desolated by the ravages of those barbarians, and torn into disorders which were calculated to pervert its misery. Though the great armies of the Danes were broken, the country was full of straggling troops of that nation, who, being accustomed to live by plunder, were become incapable of industry, and who, from the natural ferocity of their manners, indulged themselves in committing violence, even beyond what was requisite to supply their necessities. The English themselves, reduced to the most extreme indigence by these continued depredations, had shaken off the yoke of the life district; for fear of their neighbours, and those who had been plundered to-day, betook themselves next day to the like disorderly life, and, from despair, joined the robbers in pillaging and ruining their fellow-citizens. We must therefore believe that the delivery and activity of Alfred should provide for his own benefit, but it could not without the warrant or certificate from the bonor of the thing to which he belonged.

When any person in any tithing or decennary was guilty of a crime, the bonor of the thing was summoned to answer for him; and if he were not willing to be surety for his apprehension, he was committed to prison, and there detained till his trial. If he fled, before or after finding sureties, the bonor and decennary became liable to inquiry, and were exposed to the penalties of the statute. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal; and if that time elapsed without their being able to find him, the bonor, with two other members of the decennary, was obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of the three neighbouring decennaries, (making twelve in all,) to swear that his decennary was free from all privity both of the crime committed, and of the escape of the criminal. If the bonor could not find such a number to answer for their apprehension, he was committed to prison, and there detained till his trial. He could not be committed to prison, or detained till his trial, and he could not make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this institution, every man was obliged from his own interest to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours, and to exert himself for the behaviour of those who were placed under the division to which he belonged, for these decennaries received the name of frank-pledges.

In the regular distribution of the people, with such a vast confusion in their habitations, may not be necessary in times when men are more inclined to obedience and justice; and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive of liberty and commerce in a polished state; but it was well calculated to reduce that fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraint of law and government. But Alfred took care to temper these rigours by other institutions favourable to the freedom of the citizens; and nothing could be more popular and beloved than his plan of the administration of justice. The bonor summoned together his whole decennary to assist him in deciding any lesser difference which occurred among the members of this small community. In affairs of greater moment, he had an appeal from the decennary, or in controversies arising between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred members of the nation, which was regularly assembled once in four weeks for the deciding of causes. Their method of decision desires to be noted, as being the origin of juries; an institution, admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice, that ever was devised by the wit of man. Twelve freeholders were chosen; who, having sworn, together with the hundredred, or presiding magistrate of that division, to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of that cause which was submitted to their jurisdiction. And beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the hundred. He was to hear and decide of all the abuses in magistrates, and the obliging of every person to show the decennary in which he was registered. The people, in imitation of their ancestors, the ancient Germans, assembled there, to which the bishop and other men of high estate, or times called a wapentake, and its court served both for the support of military discipline, and for the administration of civil justice.

The first superior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, who possessed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together with the alderman; and the proper object of the court was the receiving of appeals from the hundreds and decennaries, and the deciding of such controversies as arose between men of different hundred. Formerly, the alderman possessed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, seeing that this conjunction of powers rendered the nobility dangerous and independent, appointed also a sheriff in each county, who enjoyed a co-ordinate authority with the former in the judicial part of it. He either conducted the meetings of the county, or altered from his guidance, and had them to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and to levy the fines imposed; which in that age formed no contemptible part of the public revenue.

There lay an appeal against orders of the county-court, from all these courts to the king himself in council; and as the people sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He was intolerable in the despatch of these causes; but finding that his time must be entirely engrossed by this branch of duty, he resolved to obviate the inconvenience, by correcting the ignorance or corruption of the inferior magistrates, from which it arose. He took care to have his nobility instructed in letters and the laws. He chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge. He punished severely all malversation in his officers. And on the other hand, he endeavoured to make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this institution, every man was obliged from his own interest to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours, and to exert himself for the behaviour of those who were placed under the division to which he belonged; for these decennaries received the name of frank-pledges.

The regular distribution of the people, with such a vast confusion in their habitations, may not be necessary in times when men are more inclined to obedience and justice; and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive

4 Asser p. 5. 5 Leland, Fug. cap. 30. 6 apud Wilkins, p. 60. 7 Gesta, cap. 4. 8 Eadward and Gosbro, op. Wilkins, cap. 3. 9 Eadmer, p. 47. 10 Loc. cit. 11 Wilkins, p. 157. 12 Prince, cap. 2. 13 Le Ministe de Justice, book 3. 14 Letter, p. 209.
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similarity of these institutions to the customs of the ancient
Germans, to the practice of the other northern conquerors, and
to the Saxon laws during the Heptarchy, prevents us
from regarding Alfred as the sole author of this plan of
government; and leads us rather to think, that, like a wise
man, he contented himself with reforming, extending, and
executing the institutions which he found previously estab-
lished. But, on the whole, such success attended his legis-
lative exertions, that during his lifetime he suddenly met
face to face in England robbery and iniquity, which in-
vited the vigour of justice, this great prince preserved the most
sacred regard to the liberty of his people; and it is a memora-
ble sentiment preserved in his will, That it was just the Eng-
lish should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.

As good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable in
every age, though not in every individual, the care of
Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his sub-
jects was another useful branch of his legislation, and tend-
ed to reclaim the English from their former disordinate and
ferocious manners; but the king was guided in this pur-
suit, less by political views, than by his natural bent and
passions. When he came to the throne, he found the nation sunk into the grossest ignorance and
barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders in the
government, and from the ravages of the Danes: the mo-
narch, with energy, the monarch; the minister, with
seized, their libraries burnt; and thus the only seats of
education in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred him-
self complained, that on his accession he knew not one
person, south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret
the English service; and very few, in the northern parts, who
had reached even that pitch of erudition. But this prince
invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of
Europe; he established schools every where for the in-
surrection of the young; he issued a most generous
grant to the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges,
revenues, and immunities; he enjoined by law all free-
holders possessed of two hides of land or more, to send
their children to school for their instruction; he gave pre-
ferment both in church and state to such only as had made
some proficiency in knowledge; and by all these experi-
ted he had the satisfaction, before his death, to see a great
class in the face of affluence and in a work of his, which
was still extant, he congratulates himself on the progress
which learning, under his patronage, had already made in
England.

The most effectual expedient employed by Alfred,
for the encouragement of learning, was his own example,
and the constant assiduity with which, notwithstanding the
multiplicity and urgency of his affairs, he employed him-
self in the pursuits of knowledge. He usually divided his
life into three equal portions: one was employed in sleep;
the other in the reflection of his body by diet and exercise; another
in the business of business; a third in study and devotion;
and that he might more exactly measure the hours, he made
use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in
lindnors; an expedient suited to that rude age, when the
guidance of dialling, and the mechanism of clocks and
watches, were totally unknown. And by such a regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under
great bodily infirmities, this martial hero, who fought in
person sixty-six battles by sea and land, was able, during
a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more know-
ledge, and ripest letters, of that part of the world than most of
notable men, though blessed with the greatest luxury and ap-
lithe, have, in more fortunate ages, made the object of
their uninterrupted industry.

And that the people, at all times, especially, when
their undertakings were obstructed by ignorance and bad
education, are not so much susceptible of speculative instruc-
tion, Alfred endeavoured to convey his morality by apolo-
gues, parables, stories, apothegms, couched in poetry;
and besides propagating among his subjects former com-
positions of that kind, which he found in the Saxon
tongue, he exercised his genius in inventing works of a
like nature, as well as in translating from the Greek the
elegant fables of Aesop. He also gave Saxon translations
of Orosius's and Bede's histories; and of Bethius con-
cremated. And he deemed it nowise derogatory from his other great characters of
sovereign, legislator, warrior, and politician, thus to lead
the way to his people in the pursuits of literature.

Meanwhile, this prince was not negligent in encourag-
ing the events were touched with mechanical talent, in a
more sensible, though not a closer, connexion with the interests
of society. He invited, from all quarters, industrious
foreigners to populate his country, which had been deso-
lated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and
encouraged manufactures of all kinds; and no inventor or
improver of any ingenious art did he suffer to go unre-
warded. He prompted men of activity to betake them-

selves to navigation, to push commerce into the most
remote countries, and to acquire riches by propagating
industry among their fellow-citizens. He set apart a seventh
portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of
workmen in the several arts, especially of shipbuilding;
which, in the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries
Even the elegances of life were brought to him from the Medi-
Danean and the Indies; and his subjects, by these means, were taught to
revere the virtues of justice and industry, from which alone
they could arise. Both living and dead, Alfred was re-
garded by foreigners, no less than by his own subjects, as
the greatest prince after Charles-magne that had appeared in Europe during several ages, and one of the wisest and best that had ever adorned the annals of any nation.

Alfred had, by his wife, Ethelwitha, daughter of a
Merpec earl, three sons and three daughters. The eldest
son, Edward, succeeded to his power; and passes by the appellation
of Edward the Elder, being the first of that name who sat on
the English throne.

EDWARD THE ELDER.
This prince, who equalled his father in
military talents, though inferior to him
in knowledge and erudition, found, immediately on
his accession, a specimen of the political and social life
to which all princes and even all individuals were ex-
posed, in an age when men, less restrained by law or jus-
tice, and less occupied by industry, had no aliment for
their iniquity, but wars, insurrections, revolutions,
rapine, and despotism. Ethelred, his cousin-german,
son of King Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred, insisted
on his preferable title; and arming his partisans, took
possession of Wincheste, where he seemed determined
to defend himself to the last extremity, and to await the issue
of his pretensions. But when the king approached the
town with a great army, Ethelred, having the prospect
of certain destruction, made his escape, and fled first into
Normandy, and afterwards into Northumberland; when he
rid of the people who had been recently subdued by Alfred, and
who were impatient of peace, would, on the intelli-
gence of that great prince's death, seize the first pretense or
opportunity of rebellion. The employed in rebuilding his
expectations: the Northumbrians declared for him; and
Ethelred having thus connected his interests with the
Danes, brought them beyond sea, and collected a body
of these freebooters, he excited the hope of all those who had
been long accustomed to submit to the yoke of Cnut, and
invaded

The East Anglian Danes joined his party: the Five-

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burgers, who were seated in the heart of Mercia, began to put themselves in motion; and the English found that they were again menaced with those convulsions, from which the valour and policy of Alfred had so lately rescued them. The rebels, headed by Ethelwald, made an incursion into the counties of Gloucester, Oxford, and Wilts; and having exercised their ravages in these places, they retired with the booty, four thousand assemblage of men, who, able to approach them. Edward, however, who was determined that his preparations should not be fruitless, conducted his forces into East Anglia, and retaliated the injuries which the inhabitants had committed, by spreading the report of his preparations with reverse, and loaded with booty, he gave orders to retire: but the authority of those ancient kings, which was feebly in peace, was not much better established in the field; and the Kentish men, greedy of more spoil, ventured, contrary to repeated orders, to stay behind him, and to take up their quarters in Bury. This disobedience proved in the issue fortunate to Edward. The Danes assaulted the Kentish men; but met with so vigorous a resistance, that, though they gained the field of battle, they bought that advantage by the loss of their bravest leaders, and among the rest, by that of Ethelwald, who perished in the action. The king, from the fear of so dangerous a confederacy, must not, he thought, adventure with any concourse to the assistance of the Angles.

In order to restore England to such a state of tranquillity as it was then capable of attaining, nought was wanting but the subjection of the Northumbrians, who, according to the custom of their country, had supported the factions of the kingdom. The Danes, however, inveterate enemies of the English, continued with vigour to prosecute the cause; and their arms forced the invader to leave the island. The Northumbrians, to be the more easy and assiduous in serving him, might be represented as once inhabiting the bowels of the kingdom. Edward, in order to divert the force of these enemies, prepared a fleet to attack them by sea; hoping that, when his ships appeared on their coast, they must at least remain at home, to interfere in their defence. But the Northumbrians were less anxious to secure their own property, than greedy to commit spoil on their enemies; and concluding that the chief strength of the Danes was in their numbers, and what they had bought the opportunity favourable, and entered Edward's territories with all their forces. The king, who was prepared against this attack, attacked them on their return at Tetenhall, in the county of Stafford, put them to rout, recovered all the booty, and pursued them with great slaughter into their own country.

All the rest of Edward's reign was a scene of continued and successful action against the Northumbrians, the East Angles, the Five-burgers, and the foreign Danes who invaded him from Normandy and Brittany. Nor was he less provident in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence, than vigorous in assaulting the enemy. He fortified the town of Chester, which he was wont to call the city of Buckingham, Towcester, Maldon, Huntingdon, and Colchester. He fought two signal battles at Tensford and Maldon. He vanquished Thorkettill, a great Danish chief, and engaged, for the present, the dominion of that province: several tribes of the Britons were subjected by him; and even the Scots, who, during the reign of Egbert, had, under the conduct of Kenneth, their king, increased their power by the final success of the Picts, were nevertheless obliged to give him marks of submission. In all these fortunate achievements he was assisted by the activity and prudence of his sister Ethelfleda, who was widow of Ethelbert, Earl of Mercia, and, united with her husband's death, relented the government of that province. This princess, who had been reduced to extremity in child-bed, refused afterwards all commerce with her husband; not from any weak supposition, and reduced him to a state of degradation, which her own enemies thought unmerited of her masculine and ambitious spirit. She died before her brother; and Edward, during the remainder of his reign, took upon himself the immediate government of Mercia, which became...
and animosities have place; and on that account, the Scotch historians, who, without having any more knowledge of the matter, strenuously deny the fact, seem more worthy of belief.

Constantine, whether he owed the retaining of his crown to the moderation of Athelstan, who was unwilling to employ all his advantages against him, or to the policy of that prince, who esteemed the humiliation of an enemy a ground for treating the subject than the subject of a discountenance and mutuous people, thought the behaviour of the English monarch more an object of resentment than of gratitude. He entered into a confederacy with Anlaf, who had been driven before that prince and his nobles during their recent stay, and contending for his forces, met the enemy near Brunsburh, in Northumberland, and defeated them in a general engagement. This victory was chiefly ascribed to the valor of Turketul, the English chancellor; for in those turbulent ages no one was so much occupied in civil employments, as wholly to lay aside the military character.

There is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, which his historians relate to the transactions of that war. Anlaf, on the approach of the English army, thought that he could not venture too much to ensure a fortunate event; and, employing the artifice formerly practised by Alfred against the Danes, he entered the enemy's camp in the night. The triumphant was for that time present attended with like success. He gave such satisfaction to the soldiers who flocked about him, that they introduced him to the king's tent; and Anlaf, having placed before that prince and his nobles during their recent stay, and contending for his forces, met the enemy near Brunsburh, in Northumberland, and defeated them in a general engagement. This victory was chiefly ascribed to the valor of Turketul, the English chancellor; for in those turbulent ages no one was so much occupied in civil employments, as wholly to lay aside the military character. He regarded this last action as a full proof of Anlaf's disingenuousness; and he immediately carried the intelligence to Athelstan, who blamed him for not sooner giving him information, that he might have seized his enemy. But the soldier told him, that, as he had formerly sworn fealty to Anlaf, he could never have pardoned himself the treachery of betraying and ruining his ancient master; and that Athelstan himself, after such an instance of his criminal conduct, had equal reason to distrust his allegiance. Athelstan, having praised the generosity of the soldier's principles, reflected on the incident, which he foresaw might be attended with important consequences. He removed his station to the enemy's camp; and as a bishop arrived that evening with a reinforcement of troops, for the ecclesiastics were then no less warlike than the civil magistrates, he occupied with his train that very place which had been left vacant by the king's removal. The presence of Athelstan was found prudent; for no sooner had darkness fallen, than Anlaf broke into the camp, and hastening directly to the place where he had left the king's tent, put the bishop to death before he had time to prepare for his defence.

There fell several Danish and Welsh princes in the action of Brunsburh; and Constantine and Anlaf made their escape with difficulty, leaving the greater part of their army on the field of battle. After this success, Athelstan enjoyed his crown in tranquility; and he is regarded as one of the ablest and most active of those ancient princes. He passed a remarkable law, which was calculated to encourage the courage of the commoners, and which it required some liberality of mind in that age to have devised; That a merchant, who had made three long voyages on his own account, should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This prince died at Dunstan in the year 941, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by Edmund his legitimate brother.

EDMUND.

Edmund, on his accession, met with disturbances from the restless Northumbrians, who lay in wait for every opportunity of breaking into rebellion. But that more easily than ever he could before, he so overawed the rebels, that they endeavoured to appease him by the most humble submissions. In order to give him the sure pledge of their obedience, they offered to embrace any condition he should impose upon them. The English Danes had frequently professed, when reduced to difficulties, but which, for that very reason, they regarded as a badge of servitude, and shook off as soon as a favourable opportunity offered. Edmund, trusting little to their sincerity in this forced submission, used the precaution of removing the Five-burgers from the towns of Mercia, in which they had been allowed to settle; because it was always found, that they took advantage of every commotion, and introduced the rebellions or foreign Danes into the heart of the kingdom. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons; and conferred that territory on Malcolm, King of Alkestan, and added, condition that he should do him homage for it, and protect the north from all future incursions of the Danes.

Edmund was young when he came to the crown; yet was his reign short, as his death was violent. One day, as he was solemnizing a festival in the county of Glastonbury, he remarked, that Leof, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, had yet the boldness to enter the hall where he himself dined, and to sit at table with his attendants. Enraged at this insolence, he ordered him to leave the room; but on his refusing to obey, the king, whose temper, naturally choleric, was inflamed by this additional insult, leaped on him himself, and seized him by the hair. The robber, in a fit of rage, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound, of which he immediately expired. This event happened in the year 946, and in the sixth year of the king's reign. Edmund left male issue, but regal, trusting little to their sincerity in this forced submission, used the precaution of removing the Five-burgers from the towns of Mercia, in which they had been allowed to settle; because it was always found, that they took advantage of every commotion, and introduced the rebellions or foreign Danes into the heart of the kingdom. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons; and conferred that territory on Malcolm, King of Alkestan, and added, condition that he should do him homage for it, and protect the north from all future incursions of the Danes.

EDRED.

The reign of this prince, as those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebellions and incursions of the Northumbrian Danes, who, though frequently subdued, yet that prince had never paid a sincere allegiance to the crown of England. The accession of a new king seemed to them a favourable opportunity for shaking off the yoke; but on Edred's appearance with an army, they made him their wanted submissions; and the king having wasted the country with fire and sword, as a punishment of their rebellion, obliged them to renew their oaths of allegiance; and he straight retired with his forces. The obedience of the Danes lasted no longer than the present terror. Provoked at the devastations of Edred, and even reduced by necessity to subist on plunder, they broke into a new rebellion, and were again subdued. But the king, now instructed by experience, took greater precautions against their future revolt. He fixed English garrisons in their most considerable towns; and placed over them an English governor, who might watch all their motions, and suppress any insurrection on its first appearance. He obliged also Malcolm, King of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England.

Edred, though not warlike, nor fit for active life by any account of his constitution, he blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, commonly called St. Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, whom he advanced to the highest offices, and who covered, under the appearance of sanctity, the most
violent and most insolent ambition. Taking advantage of the implicit confidence reposed in him by the king, this churchman imported into England a new order of monks, who much changed the state of ecclesiastical affairs, and even in their first establishment, the most violent com-

From the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, there had been monasteries in England; and these estab-

labishments had extremely multiplied, by the donations of the princes and nobles; whose superstition, derived from their ignorance and precarious life, and increased by re-
morse for the crimes into which they were so frequently betrayed, perceived that their Deity was a profuse liberality towards the ecclesiastics. But the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who lived after the manner of the present canons or precentors, and were both intermingled, in some de-

gree, with the world, and endeavoured to be useful to it. They were employed in the education of youth: they had the disposal of their own time and in-

dustry; they were not subjected to the rigid rules of an or-

der, at one time, deprived of marriage; a fortunate policy, but at the same time an undertaking the most dif-

ficult of any, since he had the strongest propensities of human nature to encounter, and found, that the same con-

trivances, which in an ecclesiastic, or monkish life, were here disadvantageous to the success of his pro-

ject. It is no wonder, therefore, that this master-stroke of art should have met with violent contradiction, and that the interests of the sober, in the institutions of the priests, being now placed in this singular opposition, should, notwithstanding the continued efforts of Rome, have retarded the execution of that bold scheme, during the course of near three centuries. As the bishops and parochial clergy lived apart with their families, and were more connected with the world, the hopes of success with them were fainter; and the pre-

sent for making them renounce marriage was much less plausible. But the pope, having cast his eye on the monks at the basis of his authority, was determined to reduce them under strict rules of obedience, to procure them the credit of sanctity by an appearance of the most rigid mortifications, which might interfere with his spiritual policy. Under pretences, therefore, of reforming abuses, which were, in some de-

gree, unavoidable in the ancient establishments, he had already reduced to the sober, in the ecclesiastics of Europe, some severe laws of the monastic life, and began to form at-

tempts towards a like innovation in England. The favour-

able opportunity offered itself, and (it was greedily seized,) arising from and based upon St. Aidan, and St. Edfil, and the violent impetuous character of Dunstan.

Dunstan was born of noble parents in the west of Eng-

land; and being educated under his uncle Aldhelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical life, and had acquired some character in the court of Edmund. He was, however, represented to him as a prince as a man of licentious manners; and finding his fortune blasted by these suspicions, his ardent ambition prompted him to repair his indiscretions by running into excesses opposite. He excluded himself entirely from the world; he framed a cell so small, that he could neither stand erect in it, nor stretch out his limbs during his repose; and he here employed himself perpetually either in devo-

tion or in meditation. It was at this time that his head became gradually crazed by these solitary occupations, and that his head was filled with chimeras, which being beheld by himself and his stupid vassals, procured him the general character of madness among the people. He feared that the devil, among the freest inventions which he had paid him, was one day more earnest than usual in his temptations; till Dunstan, provoked at his importunity, seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, its heat having done no ill effects, he put his hands so much disposed to work, that, where the malignant spirit made the whole neighbourhood res-

sound with his bellowings. This notable exploit was seri-

ously credited and extolled by the public: it is trans-

mitted to posterity, by one of the compilers of the annals, which, as many, may pass for a writer of some elegance; and it insured to Dunstan a reputation which no real purity, much less virtue, could, even in the most enlightened period, have ever acquired with him. Supported by the character obtained in his retreat, Dun-

stan appeared again in the world; and gained such an ascendant over Edred, who had succeeded to the crown, in the surname of the red-haired, that he was made the director of that religion and science, and, as his counsellor in the most momentous affairs of government. He was placed at the head of the treasury, and being thus possessed both of power at court, and of credit with the people, he was every way a benefactor to his country. Finding that his advancement had been owing to the opinion of his austere, he professed himself a partisan of the rigid monastic rules; and after introducing that reformation into the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon, he endeav-

oured to render it universal in the kingdom.

The minds of men were already well prepared for this innovation. The prurses of an inviolable chastity had been carried to the highest extravagance by some of the first preachers of Christianity among the Saxons: the pleasures of love had been represented as incompatible with Christian perfection; and a total abstinence from all carnal gratification was deemed by them a subject of dev-

erence, as was sufficient to atone for the greatest enormi-

ties. The consequence seemed natural, that those, at least, who officiated at the altar, should be clear of this corruption; and that the clergy and the rest of the people should, in their intercourse with marriage, be still more removed from it; and that the law of the marriage and of the divorce, which was now creeping in, was once fully established, the reverence to the real body of Christ in the eucharist bestowed on this argument an additional force and influ-

ence. The monks knew how to avail themselves of all these popular topics, and to set off their own character to the best advantage. They affected the greatest austerity of life and manners; they indulged themselves in the highest degree of luxury, and pretended by the vices and pretended luxury of the age: they were particu-

larly vehement against the dissolute lives of the secular clergy, their rivals: every instance of libertinism in any individual of that order was represented as a general corrup-

tion: and when a particular case was brought to the notice wanting, their marriage became a sure subject of invective, and their wives received the name of concubine, or other more opprobrious appellation. The secular clergy on the other hand, whilst they were not the more licentious, and practitioners of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with vigour, and endeavoured to retaliate upon their adversaries. The people were thrown into agitation; and few in-

stances occur of more violent disputes between the most

most different classes in religion, or rather by the most
frivolous; since it is a just remark, that the more affinity there is between theological parties, the greater community is their animosity.

The progress of the monks, which was become considerable, was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, their partisan, who expired after a reign of nine years. " He left children; but as they were infants, his nephew, Edwy, son of Edmund, was placed on the throne.

EDWY.

A.D. 953.

Edwy, at the time of his accession, was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age, was possessed of the most amiable figure, and was even endued, according to authentic accounts, with the most promising virtues. He would have been the favourite of his people, had he not unhappily, at the commencement of his reign, been engaged in a controversy with the monks, whose rage, neither the graces of the body nor virtues of the mind could mitigate, and who have pursued his memory with the same unrelenting vengeance which they exercised against his person and dignity during his short and unfortunate reign. There was a beautiful princess of the royal blood, called Elgiva, who had made impression on the tender heart of Edwy; and as she was of an age when the force of the passions first begins to be felt, he had ventured, contrary to the advice of his gravest counsellors, and the remonstrances of the more discreet, to espouse her; though she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. As the austerity affected by the monks made them particularly violent on this occasion, Edwy entertained a strong apprehension against them; and seemed, on that account, determined not to second their project of expelling the seculars from all the convents, and of possessing themselves of those rich establishments. War was therefore declared between the king and the monks; and the former, by the reason of his age, and the smallness of his retinue, was without powerful enemies. On the day of his coronation, his nobility were assembled in a great hall, and were indulging themselves in that riot and disorder, which, from the example of their German ancestors, had become habitual to the English; when Edwy, affected by softer pleasures, retired into the queen's apartment, and in that privacy gave reins to his fondness towards his wife, which was only checked by the presence of her mother. Dunstan conjectured the reason of the king's retreat; and carrying along with him Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute and undisputed ascendancy, he espied the young prince with his lasciviousness, probably bestowed on the queen, the most opprobrious epithet that can be applied to her sex, and taming her from her arms, pushed him back, in a disgraceful manner, into the bosom of the nunnery. Edwy, alarmed, and reproved by the people, found an opportunity of taking revenge for this public insult. He questioned Dunstan concerning the administration of the treasury during the reign of his predecessor; and when that minister refused to give any account of money expended, as he affirmed, by orders of the late king, he accused him of malversation in his office, and banished him from the kingdom. But Dunstan's casel was not inactive during his absence: they filled the public with high panegyrics on his sanctity: they exclaimed against the impurity of the king and queen; and having poisoned the minds of the people by these declamations, they proceeded to still more outrageous acts of violence against the royal authority. Archbishop Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers, who seized the queen; and having burned her face with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy that fatal beauty which had seduced Edwy, they carried her by force into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile. Edwy, finding it in vain to resist, was obliged to consent to his divorce, which was pronounced by Odo; and the unhappy Edgiva was left behind with the unhappy Elgiva. That amiable princess, being cursed of her wounds, and having even obliterated the scars with which Odo had hoped to deface her beauty, returned into England, and was looking to the embraces of the king, whom she still regarded as her husband; when she fell into the hands of a party, whom the primate had sent to intercept her. Nothing but her death could now give security to Odo and the monks; and the most cruel death was requisite to extirpate their vengeance. She was harried and starved; and expired a few days after at Gloucester, in the most acute torments.

The English, blinded with superstition, instead of being shocked with this inhumanity, exclaimed that the misfortunes of Edwy and his consort were a just judgment for their dissolute contempt of the ecclesiastical statutes. They even proceeded to rebellion against their sovereign; and having invested Edwy at their head, the young princess, Edwy, a boy of thirteen years of age, they soon put him in possession of Mercia, Northumberland, East Anglia; and chased Edwy into the southern counties. That it might be a greater assistance to his revolt, Dunstan undertook, Dunstan returned into England, and intrusted upon him the government of Edgar and his party. He was first installed in the see of Worcester, then in that of London, and, on Odo's death, and the violent expulsion of Brithefuld, his successor, in that of Bath, which he left untainted by any which he long kept possession. Odo is transmitted to us by the monks under the character of a man of piety; Dunstan was even canonized; and is one of those numerous saints that popery has assumed to promise eternal felicity to the souls of the pious.

Meanwhile the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened soon after, freed his enemies from all further inequities, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the government.

EDGAR.

This prince, who mounted the throne in such early youth, soon discovered an excellent capacity in the administration of affairs; and his reign is one of the most fortunate periods in the history of a brilliant English history. He shewed no avarice to war; he kept the wisest preparations against invaders; and by this vigour and foresight he was enabled, without any danger of suffering insults, to indulge his inclination towards peace, and to employ himself in supporting and maintaining the power and government of his kingdom. He maintained a body of disciplined troops; which he quartered in the north, in order to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in subjection, and to repel the incursions of the Scots. He built and supported a powerful navy; and that he might retain the seamen in the practice of their duty, and always present a formidable armament to his enemies, he stationed three squadrons on the coast, and ordered them to make, from time to time, the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes dared not to approach a country which appeared in such a posture of defence: the domestic Danes saw inevitable destruction to be the consequence of their tumults and


In there was no uniform contract in his will, which owed to some circumstances in the story of Elgiva and Edwy. It is said that Elgiva died after the death of Edwy. This is Dr. F. 1067. Edwy, and had a daughter by him, who was born during his reign. He was called the child of a woman who married him, though within the degrees prohibited by the canon law. It is true, he had a daughter by a woman of the name of Edwy, and that the baby was afterwards treated with the singular bashfulness observed in all children in cases of this sort. But it is not certain how she call her husband, not his wife, as she is said to be at Walthambury. But this difference is easily reconciled: for if Edwy married his contrary to the canon, the monks would be sure to depop prox to her, and would insist that she could not be nothing, but a perfect woman. Therefore, while we may esteem this representation of the matter as certain, at least, as far as to faith and custom, if it is true, in Walthambury, Edwy and Elgiva, when they were married, within the degrees prohibited by the canon law. It is true, he had a daughter by a woman of the name of Edwy, and that the baby was afterwards treated with the singular bashfulness observed in all children in cases of this sort. But it is not certain how she called her husband, not his wife, as she is said to be at Walthambury. But this difference is easily reconciled: for if Edwy married his contrary to the canon, the monks would be sure to depop
insurrections: the neighbouring sovereigns, the King of Scotland, the Prince of Wales, of the Isle of Man, of the
Orkneys, and even of Ireland, were reduced to pay submission to so formidable a monarch. He carried his super-
natural and more immediate power so far that his enemies, and indeed all men, were so far afraid of his power as to
venture combination against him, had not his power been so well established as to deprive his enemies of all hopes of
killing it. As, that residing once at Chester, and

having purposed to go by water to the Abbey of St. John
in the city, he alighted eight of his ministerial princes to
row him in a barge upon the Dee. The English
historians are fond of mentioning the name of Reineth III.,
King of Scots, among the number. The Scottish
historians of that day do not mention it; and even, after
ever he acknowledged himself a vassal to Edgar, did him
homage, not for his crown, but for the dominions which
he held in England.

But the chief means by which Edgar maintained his
authority, and preserved public peace, was the paying of
court to Dunstan, and the monks who had at first placed
him on the throne, and who, by their pretensions to su-
perior sanctity and purity of manners, had acquired an
ascendant over the people. He favoured their scheme for
dispossessing the secular canons of all the monasteries;
he bestowed prebend upon none but their prelates; he
allowed Dunstan to resign the see of Worcester into the
hands of Abbot Edbelswold, and to transfer the
Commission of his court to Abbot Edbelswold, another of them, in that of Winchester; he consulted these prelates in the administration of all ecclesiastical, and even in that of many civil affairs; and authorised his offices of
rod and sceptre to be performed by them, and, not being implicitly guided by them, the king and the bishops found such advantages in their mutual agreement, that they always acted in concert, and united their influence in presenting the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

In order to place the great work of the reformation in
the new order of monks in all the convents, Edgar summoned a general council of the prelates and the heads of the
religious orders. He here inveighed against the dissolute
lives of the secular clergy, and the smallness of their
stations, which, it is probable, maintained no longer any resemblance to the crown of thorns; their negligence in attending the exercise of their function; their mixing with the
lusty in the pleasures of gaming, hunting, dancing, and
singing; and their openly living with concubines, by
which it is commonly supposed he meant their wives. He
then turned himself to Dunstan, the privy; and in the
manner of King Edred, whom he supposed to look down
from heaven with indignation against all those enormities,
he addressed him; "It is you, Dunstan, by whose
advice I founded monasteries, built churches, and expen-
ded my treasure in the support of religion and reli-
gious persons in counsel and in the exercises of
all my schemes. You were the director of my conscience.
To you I was obedient in all things. When did you call
for supplies which I refused you? Was my assistance ever wanting to the poor? Did I deny support and
establishments to the clergy and the convents? Did I not
hearken to your instructions, who told me that these
charities were, of all others, the most grateful to my
Makers, and fixed a perpetual fund for the support of
religion? And are all our pious endeavours now frustrat-
ed by the dissolute lives of the priests? Not that I
throw any blame on you. You have reason, besought,
united, inveighed; but it now behoves you to use sharper
and more vigorous remedies; and conjuring your
spiritual authority with the civil power, to purge effect-

ally the temple of God from thieves and intruders." It
is easy to imagine, that this harangue had the desired
effect; and that when the king and prelates thus con-
curred with the popular prejudices, it was not long before
the monks prevailed, and established their new discipline
without all the convicts.

We may remark, that the declamations against the se-
cular clergy are, both here and in all the historians,
conveyed in general terms; and as that order of men are
commonly restrained by the decency of their character,
it is difficult to believe that the complaints against their
dissolute manners could be so universal as is intended.
It is more probable that the monks paid court to the
populace by an affected austerity of life; and re-
presenting the most innocent liberties, taken by the other
orders, as gross enormities, they may have prepared the way for the increase of their own power and
influence. Edgar, however, like a true politician,
concerned with the prevailing party; and he even indulged
them in pretensions, which, though they might, when
complied with, engage the monks to support royal au-
thority during his own reign, proved afterwards dangerous to his successors, and gave disturbance to the whole civil
power. He seconded the policy of the court of Rome, in
granting to some monasteries an exemption from episcopal
jurisdiction. He allowed the convents, even those of
royal foundation, to usurp the election of their own abbots;
and he admitted their forgeries of ancient charters, by
which, from the pretended grant of former kings, they
assumed many privileges and immunities. These
merits of Edgar have procured him the highest panegyrics
from the monks, and he is transmitted to us, not only under the character of a consummate statesman and an active prince, but also of an enlightened and moderate
monarch, who, being justly, but not unjustly, considered as
basing such eulogies on his piety, than the usual tenor
of his conduct, which was licentious to the highest degree,
and violated every law, human and divine. Yet these very monks, who, as we are told by Ingulf, a very strict
historian, had no idea of any moral or religious merit,
except chastity and obedience, not only connived at his
e Normandies, but loaded him with the greatest praises.
History, however, has preserved some instances of his
acts, from which, as from a specimen, we may form a
courage of the rest.

Edgar broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun,
by force, and even committed violence on her person. For
this act of sacrilege he was reprimanded by Dunstan;
and that he might reconcile himself to the church, he was
obliged, not to separate from his mistress, but to abstain
from wearing her crown during seven years, and to deprive
himself so long of that vain ornament; a punishment
very unequal to that which had been inflicted on the un-
fortunate Edwy, who, for a marriage which, in the strictest
sense, could only deserve the name of irregular, was ex-
pelled his kingdom, and even trodden to the dust by a
regular barbarity, was loaded with calumnies, and has been
represented to us under the most odious colours.
Such is the ascendant which may be attained, by hypocrisy
and cabal, over mankind.

There was another mistress of Edgar's, with whom he
first formed a connexion by a kind of accident. Passing
one day by Andover, he lodged in the house of a noble-
man, whose daughter, being endowed with all the graces
of person and behaviour, inflamed him at first sight with
the highest desire; and he resolved by any expedient
to gratify it. As he had not leisure to employ courtship or
address for attaining his purpose, he went directly to her
mother, declared his sentiments, and told her that the
young lady might be allowed to pass that very night with
him. The mother was a woman of virtue, and
determined not to dishonour her daughter and her
family by compliance; but being well acquainted with the
petulancy of the King's temper, she thought it would be
easier, as well as safer, to deceive than refuse him. She
feigned therefore a submission to his will: but secretly
ordered a waiting-maid, of no disgraceful figure, to
steal into the king's bed, after all the company should be re-

3 R. Holinshed, lib. 5. cap. b. Showl., p. 405. 486. 748.
4 R. Holinshed, lib. 5. cap. b. Showl., p. 405.
6 Osler, p. 112.
tired to rest. In the morning, before day-break, the damsel, agreeably to the injunctions of her mistress, offered to retire; but Edgar, who had no reserve in his pleasures, and whose love to his bed-fellow was rather inflamed by enjoyment, consented, and employed force and entreaties to detain her. Elfrida, (for that was the name of the maid,) trusting to her own charms, and to the love with which, she hoped, she had now inspired the king, made a fruitless attempt to conclude the return; but, at length, discovered the deceit to Edgar. He had passed a night so much to his satisfaction, that he expressed no displeasure with the old lady on account of her fraud; but love was transferred to Elfrida; she became his favourite mistress; and maintained her ascendancy over him till his marriage with Elfrida.

The circumstances of his marriage with this lady were more singular and more criminal. Elfrida was daughter and heiress of Otho, Earl of Devonshire; and though she had been educated in the country, and had never appeared at court, she had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar himself, who was indifferent to no accounts of this nature, found her curiosity excited by the frequent panegyrics which he heard of Elfrida; and reflecting on her noble birth, he resolved, if he found her charms answerable to their fame, to obtain possession of her person. He communicated his intention to Earl Athelwold, his favourite; but used the precaution, before he made any advances to her parents, to order that nobleman, on some pretence, to pay them a visit, and to bring him a certain account of the beauty of the lady. Athelwold, when he received this intelligence, found general report to have fallen short of the truth; and being actuated by the most vehement love, he determined to sacrifice to this new passion his fidelity to his master, and to the trust reposed in him. He returned to Edgar, and told him, that the riches alone, and high quality of Elfrida, had been the ground of the admiration paid her, and that her charms, far from being anywise exaggerated, had been overestimated in a woman's inferior station. When he had, by this deceit, diverted the king from his purpose, he took an opportunity, after some interval, of turning again the conversation on Elfrida; he remarked, that though the parentage and fortune of the lady had not produced on him, as on others, any illusion with regard to her beauty, he could not forbear reflecting, that she would, on the whole, be an advantageous match for him, and might, by her birth and riches, make him the most contented for the happiness of her person. If the king, therefore, gave his approbation, he was determined to make proposals in his own behalf to the Earl of Devonshire, and doubted not of obtaining the young lady consent to the marriage. Edgar, pleased with an expedient for establishing his favourite's fortune, not only exhorted him to execute his purpose, but forwarded his success by his recommendations to the parents of Elfrida; and Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his mistress. Dreading, however, the detection of the artifice, he employed every pretence for detaining Elfrida in the country, and for keeping her at a distance from Edgar.

The violent passion of Athelwold had rendered him blind to the necessary consequences which must attend his conduct, and the advantages which the numerous enemies that always pursue a royal favourite, would, by its marriage, produce. He made him the most respectable of all the other nobility, and informed of the truth; but before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's treachery, he resolved to satisfy himself with his own eyes of the certainty and full extent of the fraud, and he was induced to pay him a visit in his castle, and be introduced to the acquaintance of his new-married wife; and Athelwold, as he could not refuse the honour, only craved leave to go before him a few hours, that he might the better prepare every thing for his reception. He then discovered to the whole matter to Elfrida; and begged her, if she had any regard, either to her own honour or his life, to conceal from Edgar, by every circumstance of dress and behaviour, that fatal beauty, which had seduced him from fidelity to his friend, and had betrayed him into so many falsehoods. Elfrida promised compliance, though nothing was further from her intentions. She deceived him in his wish to Athelwold for a passion which had deprived her of a crown; and knowing the force of her own charms, she did not despair even of reaching that dignity, of which her husband's artifice had deprived her. She appeared before the king with all the advantages which the richest attire and the most engaging air could bestow upon her, and she excited at once in his bosom the highest love towards herself, and the most famous desire of revenge against Athelwold. The Earl had learned to entertain with these passions; and seducing Athelwold into a wood, on pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand, and soon after publicly espoused Elfrida.

Before we concludes our account of this reign, we must mention two circumstances, which are remarked by historians. The reputation of Edgar allured a great number of foreigners to visit his court; and he gave them encouragement to settle in England. We are told that they imported all the vices of their respective countries, and contributed to corrupt the simple manners of the nature. But as the simplicity of manners, so luckily and often so perniciously, extends itself by the force of tradition, we may account for the many brutal and servile manners to which islanders are often subject.

Another remarkable incident of this reign was the extirpation of wolves from England. This advantage was attained by the industrious policy of Edgar. He took great pains in hunting and pursuing those ravenous animals; and when he found that all that escaped him had taken shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales, he changed his expedience. He then invited the Prince of Wales, Athelstan, his predecessor, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves; which produced such diligence in hunting them, that the animal has been no more seen in this island.

Edgar died after a reign of sixteen years, and in the thirty-third of his age. He was succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of Earl Ordmer.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

The succession of this prince, who was only A.D. 907. fifteen years of age at his father's death, did not take place without much difficulty and opposition. Elfrida, his step-mother, had a son, Ethelred, seven years old, whom she attempted to raise to the throne: she affirmed that Edgar's marriage with the mother of Edward was exposed to insuperable objections; and as she had possessed great credit with her husband, she had found means to acquire partisans, who seconded all her pretensions. But the title of Edward was supported by many advantages. He was appointed successor by the will of his father; he was approaching to man's estate, and might soon be able to take into his own hands the reins of government; the principal nobility, dreading the impious temerity of Ethelred, were averting their countenances from him; his aunts must enlarge her authority, and probably put her in possession of the regency; above all, Dunstan, whose character of sanctity had given him the highest credit with the people, espoused the cause of Edward, over whom he had already acquired a great ascendancy; and he was determined to execute the will of Edgar in his favour. To cut off all opposite pretensions, Dunstan resolutely animadverted and crowned the young prince at Kingston; and the whole kingdom, without further dispute, submitted to him.

It was of great importance to Dunstan and the monks,
to place on the throne a king favourable to their cause; the secular clergy had still partisans in England, who wished to support them in the possession of the convents, and of the ecclesiastical authority. On the first intelligence of Edgar's death, Alfken, Duke of Mercia, espoused the new orders of monks from all the monasteries which lay within his jurisdiction; but Elfwyn, Duke of East Anglia, and Brithnoth, Duke of the East Saxons, protected these within their territories, and insisted on the execution of the late laws enacted in their favour. In order to settle this controversy, there were summoned several synods, which, according to the practice of those times, consisted partly of ecclesiastical members, partly of the lay nobility. The members who were able to prevail in these assemblies; though, as it appears, contrary to the secret wishes, if not of the declared inclination, of the leading men in the nation; they had more invention in forming miracles to support their cause; or, having been so fortunate as to obtain, by their pretended austerities, the character of pietty, their miracles were more credited by the populace.

In one synod, Dunstan, finding the majority of votes against him, rose up and informed the audience, that he had that instant received an immediate revelation on behalf of the monks: the assembly was so astonished at this interjection, that they were soon convinced by the populace that they proceeded no further in their deliberations. In another synod, a voice issued from the crucifix, and informed the members that the establishment of the monks was wrought from their own contrivance, and was being proposed without impolicy. But the miracle performed in the third synod was still more alarming. The floor of the hall in which the assembly met sunk of a sudden, and a great number of the members were either bruised or killed by the fall. It was remarked, that Dunstan had that day prevented the king from attending the synod, and that the beam, on which his own chair stood, was the only one that did not sink under the weight of the assembly. But these appearances, and the other tumults of the synod, which were different on the same contrivance, were regarded as the surest proof of the immediate interposition of Providence, in behalf of those favourites of Heaven.

Elfred lived four years after his accession, and there passed nothing memorable during his reign. His death alone was memorable and tragical. This young prince was endowed with the most amiable innocence of manners; and as his own intentions were always pure, he was capable of entertaining any suspicion against others. Though his step-mother had opposed his succession, and had raised a party in favour of her own son, he always showed himself opposite to her, and showed it more on some occasions, the most tender affection towards his brother. He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire; and being led by the chase near Corfe-castle, where Elfrida resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue, and be thereby presented her with the opportunity which she had long wished for. After he had mounted his horse, he desired some liquor to be brought him; while he was holding the cup to his head, a servant of Elfrida approached him, and gave him a stab behind. The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but becoming faint by loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, but stood in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his unruly horse till he expired. Being tracked by the blood, his body was found, and was privately interred at Wareham by his servants.

The youth and innocence of this prince, with his tragical death, begot such compassion on the populace, that they believed miracles to be wrought at his tomb; and they gave him the appellation of Martyr, though his murder had no connexion with any religious principle or operation. Dunstan, himself, performed many penances, in order to atone for her guilt; but this never, by all her hypocrisy or remorse, recover the good opinion of the public, though so easily deluded in those ignorant ages.

ETHELRED.

CHAP. III.

The freedom which England had so long enjoyed from the depredations of the Danes, seems to have proceeded, partly from the establishments which that piratical nation had obtained in the north of France, and which employed all their superfluous hands to people and maintain them; partly from the vices and worldlike spirit of a long race of English princes, who preserved the kingdom in a posture of defence by sea and land, and either prevented or repelled every attempt of the invaders. But a new generation of men was now spring up in the northern regions, who could no longer drain themselves on Normandy; the English had reason to dread that the Danes would again visit an island to which they were invited, both by the memory of their past successes, and by the expectation of assistance from their countries, who, though long established in the kingdom, were not yet thoroughly incorporated with the natives, nor had enticed them into their invertebrate habits of war and depredation. And as the reigning prince was a minor, and even when he attained to man's estate, never discovered either courage or capacity sufficient to govern his own subjects, which less to repel a formidable enemy, the people must justly apprehend the worst calamities from so dangerous a crisis.

The Danes, before they durst attempt any important enterprise against England, made an inconceivable descent by way of traid, and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity. Six years after, they made a like attempt in another quarter, and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity. Six years after, they made a like attempt in another quarter, and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity. Six years after, they made a like attempt in another quarter, and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity. Six years after, they made a like attempt in another quarter, and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity.
vasals, and to the public calamities, which he thought must, in every revolution, render his assistance necessary. Having fixed this resolution, he determined to prevent all such successes as might establish the royal authority, or render his own situation dependent or precarious; and the English had formed the plan of surrounding and destroying the Danish fleet in harbour, he privily informed the enemy of their danger; and when they put to sea, in consequence of this intelligence, he despatched to them, with the squadron under his command, the night before the engagement, and thereby disappointed all the efforts of his countrymen.\(^b\) Ethelred, enraged at his perfidy, seized him, forced his brother to order his forces out of the camp; but his action was not the power of Alife, that he again forced himself into authority; and though he had given this specimen of his character, and received this grievous provocation, it was unnecessary to intract him anew with the government of Mercia. This conduct of the court, which in all its circumstances is so barbarous, weak, and imprudent, both merited and prognosticated the most grievous calamities.

A. D. 973.

The northern invaders, now well acquainted ed with the defenceless condition of England, made a powerful descent under the command of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and Olave, King of Norway; and sailing up the Humber, spread on all sides their destructive frenzy. Lindesay was burned; the Irish, who had retired to the island, was destroyed; and all the Northumbrians, though mostly of Danish descent, were constituted either to join the invaders, or to suffer under their depredations. A powerful armament was prepared to repel the invaders, and a general engagement ensued; but the English were defeated in the battle, from the cowardice or treachery of their three leaders, all of them men of Danish race, Frena, Frithegis, and Godwin, who gave the example of a shameful flight to the troops under their command.

Encouraged by this success, and still more by the contempt with which it inspired for their enemy, the pirates ventured to attack the whole of the kingdom; and entering the Thames in twenty-four vessels, landed siege to London, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens, alarmed at the danger, and firmly united among themselves, made a bold defence than the cowardice of the nobility and gentry gave the invaders reason to apprehend; and the besiegers, after suffering the greatest hardships, were finally frustrated in their attempt. In order to revenge themselves, they laid waste Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire; and having there procured horses, they were thereby enabled to spread, through the more inland counties, the fury of their depredations. In this extremity, Ethelred and his nobles had recourse to the former ex- pection, the training of an army; and when two northern kings, they promised them subsistence and tribute, on condition they would, for the present, put an end to their ravages, and soon after depart the kingdom. Sweyn and Olave agreed on these terms, and presently took up their quarters at Southamptou, where the sum of sixteen thousand pounds was paid to them. Olave even made a journey to Andover, where Ethelred resided, and he received the right of confirmation from the English bishops, as well as many rich presents from the king. He here promised that he would never more infringe the English territories; and he faithfully fulfilled the engagement. This prince receives the appellation of St. Olave from the church of Rouen; and notwithstanding the general presumption which lies either against the understanding or morals of every one who in those ignorant ages was dignified with that title, he seems to have been a man of merit and of various Sweyn, though he was always thought less cruel than Olave, was in some measure constrained, upon the departure of the Norwegian prince, to evacuate also the kingdom with all his followers.

A. D. 974.

This composition brought only a short intermission to the ravages of the Danes. The Danish pirates appeared soon after in the Severn; and having committed spoil in Wales, as well as in Cornwall and Devonshire, they sailed round to the south coast, and entering the Thames, completed the devastation of these two counties. They then returned to the Bristol Channel; and penetrating into the country by the Avon, spread themselves over all that neighbourhood, and carried fire and sword even into Dorsetshire. They next changed the seat of war; and after ravaging the Isle of Wight, they entered the Thames and Medway, and laid siege to Rochester, where they defeated the Kentish men in a pitched battle. After this victory, the whole province of Kent was made a scene of slaughter, fire, and devastation. The extremity of these events forced the English into councils for common defence both by sea and land; but the weakness of the king, the divisions among the nobility, the treachery of some, the cowardice of others, and the incapacity of all, put an end to this effort: their fleets and armies either came too late to attack the enemy, or were repulsed with dishonour; and the people were thus equally ruined by resistance or by submission. The English therefore, destitute of both prudence and manuminy in council of courage and conduct in the field, had recourse to the same weak expedient which by experience they had already found so ineffectual; they offered the Danes to buy peace, by paying them a large sum of money. These ravagers rose continually in their demands; and now required the payment of 12,000 pounds, to which the English were so mean and imprudent as to submit.\(^\) The departure of the Danes was procured in this manner; but they made full use of the terms, enjoyed as if it were to be perpetual, without making any effectual preparations for a more vigorous resistance upon the next return of the enemy.

Desiring peace, the Danes were engaged by another motive to depart a kingdom which appeared so little in a situation to resist their efforts: they were invited by their countrymen in Normandy, who at this time were hard pressed by the arms of Robert, King of France, and who found it difficult to defend the settlement, which, with so much advantage to themselves and glory to their nation, they had made in that country. It is probable, also, that Ethelred, observing the close connexion thus maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or situation, was desirous of forming an alliance with that formidable people; for this purpose, being now a widower, he made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard II. Duke of Normandy, and he soon succeeded in his negotiation. The princess came over this year to England, and was married to Ethelred.\(^c\) In the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, when the North, not yet exhausted by that multitude of people, or rather nations, which she had successively emitted, sent forth a new race of invaders, the hot of which was the Earl of York, whose ancestors were one of the Welsh princes, who infested the countries possessed by her once warlike sons; lived Rollo, a petty prince or chieftain in Denmark, whose valour and abilities soon engaged the attention of his countrymen, and procured him the place of earl, or the affectionate appellation of the king of Denmark, who attacked his small but independent principality; and who, being foil'd in every assault, had recourse at last to perforify for effecting his purpose, which he had often attempted in vain by force of arms: he called Rollo into security by an insidious peace; and falling suddenly upon him, murdered his brother and his bravest officers, and forced him to fly for safety into Scandinavia. Here many of his ancient subjects, inclining partly by affection to their prince, and partly by the oppressions of the Danish monarch, ranged themselves under his standard, and offered to follow him in every enterprise. Rollo, instead of attempting to recover his patrimonial dominions, whom he must expect a very strong resistance from the Danes, determined to pursue an easier but more important undertaking, and to make his fortune, in imitation of his countrymen, by pillaging the richer and more civilized parts of England. The Danes, by the body of troops, which, like that of all those ravagers, was composed of Norwegians, Swedes, Frisians, Danes, and adventurers of all nations, who, being accustomed to a roving unsettled life, took delight in nothing but war and plunder. His reputation brought him associates from all

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quarters; and a vision, which he pretended to have appeared to him in his sleep, and which, according to his interpretation of it, prognosticated the greatest successes, proved also a powerful incentive with those ignorant and apathetic people.

The first attempt made by Rollo was on England, near the end of Alfred's reign; when that great monarch, having settled Guthrum and his followers in East Anglia, and other ill-disposed nations at the order, and defending his realm against the Danes, who, having restored peace to his harassed country, had established the most excellent military as well as civil institutions among the English. The prudent Dane, finding that no engineer, no general, over such a prince, governed by such a prince, soon turned his enterprises against France, which he found more exposed to his inroads; and during the reigns of Eudes, an usurper, and of Charles the Simple, a weak prince, he committed the most destructive ravages both on the inland and maritime provinces of that kingdom. The French, having no means of defence against a leader who united all the valor of his countrymen with the policy of more civilized nations, were obliged to submit to the expedition practised by Alfred, and to offer the invaders a settlement in some of those provinces which they had depopulated by their arms.

The reason why the Danes for many years pursued measures so different from those which had been embraced by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, and other northern conquerors, was the great difference in the method of attack which was practised by these several nations. The Danes, on the contrary, invented situations necessarily confined them. The latter tribes, living in an inland country, made incursions by land upon the Roman empire; and when they entered far into the frontiers, they were obliged to carry along with them their wives and families, whom they had no hopes of soon revisiting, and who could not otherwise partake of their plunder. This circumstance quickly made them think of forsaking that country, and of exposing themselves to the incursions of the Saracens; and these barbarians, spreading themselves over the country, found an interest in protecting the property and industry of the people whom they had subdued. But the Danes and Norwegians, invited by their maritime situation, and obliged to maintain themselves in their un cultivated country by fishing, had acquired some experience of navigation; and in their military excursions pursued the method practised against the Roman empire by the more early nations. They made descent in small bodies from their ships, or rather boats, and ravaging the coasts, returned with their booty to their families, whom they could not conveniently carry along with them in those hazardous enterprises. The Danes had made incursions into the inland countries, and found it safer to remain longer in the midst of the enfeebled enemy, they had been accustomed to crowd their vessels with their wives and children; and having no longer any temptation to return to their own country, they willingly embraced an opportunity of settling in the warm climates and cultivated fields of the South.

Affairs were in this situation with Rollo and his followers, when Charles proposed to relinquish to them part of the province formerly called Neustria, and to purchase peace on these hard conditions. After all the terms were fully settled, there appeared only one circumstance shocking to the minds of the English; that the Danes were invited to Charles for this province, and to put himself in that humiliating posture imposed on vassals by the rites of the feudal law. He long refused to submit to this indignity; but being unwilling to lose such momentous advantages for a mere ceremony, he made a sacrifice of his pride to his interest, and acknowledged himself, in form, the vassal of the French monarch. Charles gave him his daughter, Gala, in marriage; and, that he might be enabled to follow his interests, made him a donation of a considerable territory, besides that which he was obliged to surrender to him by his stipulations. When some of the French nobles informed him, that in return for so generous a present it was expected that he should throw himself at the king's feet, and make suitable acknowledgments for his bounty; Rollo replied, that he would rather drink a cup of poison than submit to such dishonourable a posture, causing Charles by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, that he might kiss it, overthrew him before all his courtiers. The French, sensible of their present weakness, found it prudent to treat the usual terms. Rollo, who was now in the decline of life, and was tired of wars and depredations, applied himself, with mature counsels, to the settlement of his new-acquired territory, which was thenceforth called Normandy; and he parceled it out among his captains and followers. He followed, in this partition, the customs of the feudal law, which was then universally established in the southern countries of Europe, and which suited the peculiar circumstances of that age. He treated the French subjects, who submitted to him, with mildness and justice; he reclaimed his ancient followers from their ferocious violence, he established law and order throughout his state; and after a life spent in tumults and ravages, he died in a good old age, and left his dominions to his posterior.

William I. who succeeded him, governed the Duchy twenty-five years; and, during that time, the Normans were thoroughly intermingled with the French, who had acquired and united the territories which they had made such progress towards cultivation, that on the death of William, his son Richard, through a minor, in inherited his dominions: a sure proof that the Normans were not what advanced in civility, and that their government could now rest secure on its laws and civil institutions, and was not wholly sustained by the abilities of the sovereign. Richard, after a long reign of fifty-four years, was succeeded by his son Henry, in the year 996; which was eighty-five years after the first establishment of the Normans in France. This was the duke who gave his sister Emma in marriage to Ethelred, King of England, and who thereby formed connexions with a country which his posteriority was so soon after destined to subdue.

The Danes had been established during a longer period in England than in France; and though the similarity of their original language to that of the Saxons, and their invitation to them to a more early coalition with the natives, they had hitherto found so little example of civilized manners among the English, that they retained all their ancient ferocity, and valued themselves only on the portrait of military bravery. The recent as well as more ancient achievements of their countrymen tended to support this idea; and the English princes, particularly Athelstan and Edgar, sensible of that superiority, had been accustomed to keep in pay bodies of Danish troops, who were quartered about the country, and committed many violence upon the inhabitants. These mercenaries had attained to such a height of luxury, according to the old English writers, that theycombed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, changed their clothes frequently; and by all these arts of effeminacy, as well as by their military character, had rendered themselves so agreeable to the fair sex, that they debauched the English ladies and lassies, and converted them to their own religion. Ethelred, King of England, and his courtiers, were by no means unalarmed at this proceeding; they had only adopted it, as would be natural to others who lived in a sort of peace, and in the midst of a country which they had rendered absolutely impossible. Great resistance must have been made, and valiant
despatched to commence the execution every where on the 30th day of that month; and the festival of St. Brice, which fell on a Sunday, the day on which the Danes usually bashed themselves, was chosen for that purpose.

It is needless to repeat the accounts transmitted concerning the barbarity of this massacre; the rage of the populace, excited by so many injuries, sanctioned by authority, and strengthened by deceit, did not permit that between uno-

nence and guilt, spared neither sex nor age, and was not satisfied with the tortures as well as death of the unhappy victims. Even Guinilda, sister to the King of Den-

mark, who had married Earl Faling, and had embraced Christianity, had by the advice of her husband, who was seized, and condemned to death by Ethelred, after seeing her husband and children butchered before her face. This unhappy princess foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation.

A.D. 1003.

Never was prophecy better fulfilled; and

never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the authors. Sweyn and his Danes, who waited but a pretext for invading the English, appeared off the western coast, and threatened to take full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen. Exeter fell first into their hands, from the negligence or treachery of Earl Hugh, a Norman, who had been made governor by the interest of Queen Emma. They began to spread their devastations over the country; when the English, sensible what outrages they must suffer after their barbarous assemblage, more early, and in greater numbers than usual, and made an appearance of vigorous resistance. But all these preparations were frustrated by the treachery of Duke Alfric, who was intrusted with the command, and who, feigning submission, the second of March, led the Danes, till it was disjunct, and at last dissipated, by his fatal misconduct. Alfric soon after died; and Edric, a greater traitor than he, who had married the king's daughter, and had murdered a total of three hundred men, succeeded Alfric in the government of Mercia, and in the command of the English armies. A great famine, proceeding partly from the bad seasons, partly from the decay of agriculture, added to the other miseries of the inhabitants. The country, wasted by the Danes, harassed by the fearlessexpeditions of its own forces, was reduced to the utmost desolation; and at last subjected to the insult of hostilities; and at last subjected to the insult of hostilities; and at last subjected to the insult of hostilities.

A.D. 1017.

The king, to the infamy of purchasing a precious peace from the enemy, by the payment of 30,000 pounds.

The English endeavoured to employ this interval in making preparations against the return of the Danes, which the king had soon seen to expect; ordering the proprietors of eight hides of land to provide each a horseman and a complete suit of armour; and those of 310 hides to equip a ship for the defence of the coast. When the vessels were assembled, which must have comprised of near eight hundred vessels, all hopes of its success were disappointed by the factions, animosities, and dissensions of the nobility. Ethelred had impelled his brother Brightred to procure a succession of treason against Wulfo-

noth, governor of Sussex, the father of the fatuous Earl Godwin; and that nobleman, well acquainted with the malevolence as well as power of his enemy, found no means of safety but in deserte with twenty ships to the Danes. Brightred pursued him with a fleet of eighty sail; but his ships being shattering in a tempest, and stranded on the coast, he was suddenly attacked by Wulnoth, and all his vessels were burnt or destroyed. The inimicality of the king was little capable of repairing this misfortune; the treachery of Edric frustrated every plan for future de-

fense; and the English navy, discouraged, discouraged, and divided, was at last scattered into its several harbours. It is almost impossible it should be repaired; and after this, particularly all the miseries to which the English were thereby exposed. We hear of nothing but the sackings and burning of towns; the devastation of the open country; the ravage and depredations of the Danes, who in twenty years were reduced; which was not the case. This account given by Walthingham, though not entirely, yet was admitted as the true one. We are told that they burnt, killed, and destroyed many villages, and other people's exposure came from the conduct of the Danes, who were put to flight.

But the English princes had been entirely masters of several

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dom; their cruel diligence in discovering any corner which had not been ransacked by their former violence. The broken and disjointed narration of the ancient historians is here well adapted to the nature of the war, which was conducted by such sudden inroads as would have been dangerous even to a united and well-governed kingdom, but proved fatal, where nothing but a general consterna-

tion and panic existed. But the conduct of Ethelred, the governors of one province refused to march to the assistance of another, and were at last terrified from assembling their forces for the defence of their own province. General councils were summoned; but either no resolution was taken, or the council was dissolved. Ethelred, Earl of Wiltshire, sent an expedition in which the English agreed, was the base and imprudent one of turning a new peace from the Danes, by the payment of 48,000 pounds. This measure did not bring them even that short interval of repose which they had expected from it. The Danes, disregarding all engage-

ments, continued their devastations and hostilities; levied a new contribution of 38,000 pounds upon the county of Kent alone; murdered the Archbishop of Canter-

bury, who had refused to countenance this exaction; and the English nobility found no other resource than that of falling among every where to the Danish monarch, swearing allegiance to him, and delivering up

him hostages for his fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treach-

rery of his subjects, and excluding from his council all that he had sent him Queen Emma, and her two sons, Alfred and Edward. Richard received his unhappy guests with a generosity that does honour to his memory. The king had not been above six weeks in

Normandy when he was assassinated by his agents or murdered by his enemies.

Sweny, who expired at Gainsborough, before he had time to establish himself in his newly-acquired dominions. The English prelates and nobility, taking advantage of this event, for the first time over them, to express a desire of being again governed by their native prince, and intimating their hopes, that being now tutored by experience, they would avoid all those errors which had been attended with such misfortunes to himself and to his people. But the mis-

conduct of Ethelred was incurable; and on his resuming the government, he discovered the same incapacity, bilo-

ence, cowardice, and credulity, which had so speedily exposed him to the insults of his enemies. His son-in-law, Edric, notwithstanding his repeated treasons, retained such influence at court, as to instil into the king jealousies of Swefre and Morcar, two of the chief aches of Mervyn; Edric, and both of them. The king was then, in his mind, hated them; while Ethelred participated in the infamy of the action, by confiscating their estates, and thrusting into a convent the widow of Swefre. She was a woman of singular interest and beauty, and a visit which was paid her, during her confinement, by Prince Edmond, the king's eldest son, she inspired him with so violent an affer ence, that he released her from the convent, and soon after married her, without the consent of his father.

Meanwhile the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than the prince from whom death had so lately delivered them. He ravaged the eastern coast with merciless fury, and put to

ashore all the English hostages at Sandwich, after having cut off their hands and noses. He was obliged, by the necessity of his affairs, to make a voyage to Denoaar; but returning soon after, he collected his dispirited army, and after some time to get the prince into his power, he found means to dis-

perse the army; and he then openly deserted Canute with forty vessels. But the course of fortune, Edmond was not dis-

pleased, and only suspected a military corps of that nation. It seems probable, therefore, that it was these thanes only that were put to

c. These were 28,460 hides in England. Consequently the ships proposed on the 27th. The cavalry was 30,120 men.
concerted; but, assembling all the force of England, was in a condition to give battle to the enemy. The king had such frequent experience of perjury among his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them: he remained at London, pretending sickness, but really from apprehensions that they intended to buy their peace, by delivering him into the hands of his enemies. The army called aloud for their sovereign to march at their head against the Danes, besides which the majority of the English had been discouraged, that those vast preparations became ineffectual for the defence of the kingdom. Edmund, deprived of all regular supplies to maintain his soldiers, was obliged to diminish their ranks; and, either to name them or to collect them by the Danes; and after making some fruitless expeditions into the north, which had submitted entirely to Canute's power, he retired to London, determined there to maintain, to the last extremity, the small remains of English liberty. He here found every thing in confusion by the death of the king, who expired after an unhappy and inglorious reign of thirty-five years. He left two sons by his first marriage, Edmund, who succeeded him, and Ethelred, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two sons by the second marriage, Alfred and Edward, were immediately upon Ethelred's death conveyed into Normandy by Queen Emma.

EDMOND IRONSIDE.

This prince, who received the name of Ironside from his brave valour, possessed courage and abilities sufficient to have preserved his father's kingdom, but the calamities, and not to raise it from that abyss of misery into which it had already fallen. Among the other misfortunes of the English, treachery and dissipation had crept in among the nobility and gentry; and Edmund found no better expedient for stopping the further progress of these fatal evils, than to lead his army instantly into the field, and to employ them against the common enemy. After eleven or twelve weeks' campaign, when he prepared himself to decide, in one general engagement, the fate of his crown; and at Scoeteron, in the county of Gloucester, he offered battle to the enemy, who were commanded by Canute and Edric. For the beginning of the day, declared for him; but Edric, having cut off the head of one Osmer, whose countenance resembled that of Edmund, fixed it on a spear, carried it through the ranks in triumph, and called aloud to the English, that it was time to act, being now his only remaining hope. And though Edmond, observing the consternation of the troops, took off his helmet and showed himself to them, the utmost he could gain by his activity and valour was to leave the victory undecided. Edric took a surer method to ruin him, by pretending to desert to him; and as Edmund was well acquainted with his power, and probably knew no other of the chief nobility in whom he could repose more confidence, he was obliged, notwithstanding the repeated perjury of the man, to give him a considerable command in the army. A battle soon after ensued at Assington in Essex; where Edric, flying in the beginning of the day, occasioned the total defeat of the English, followed by a great slaughter of the nobility. The indefatigable Edmund, however, had still resources: assembling a new army at Gloucester, he was again in a condition to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally deserted by their prince, desired, as long as their kings came to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern division, consisting of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely subdued: the southern parts were left to Edmund. This prince survived the treaty about a month. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, who thereby made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of England.

CANUTE.

The English, who had been unable to defend their country, and maintain their independence, under so active and brave a prince as Edmund, could, after his death, expect nothing but total subjection from Canute, who, active and brave himself, and at the head of a great force, was ready to take advantage of the majority of the Edric and Edmund, the two sons of Alfred. Yet this conqueror, who was commonly so little scrupulous, showed himself anxious to cover his injustice under plausible pretences: before he seized the dominions of the English, he summoned, and, without a dishonourable pretence, to the assembly of the states, in order to fix the succession of the kingdom. He here summoned some nobles to depose that, in the treaty of Gloucester, it had been verbally agreed to, in case of Edmund's death, to send the eldest son to Canute for successor to his dominions, or tutor to his children (for historians vary in this particular): and that evidence, supported by the great power of Canute, determined the states immediately to put the Danish monarch in possession of the government. Canute, jealous of the two pretenders, sensible that he should render himself extremely odious, if he ordered them to be despatched in England, sent them abroad to his ally, the King of Sweden, whom he desired, as soon as they arrived at his court, to free them by their death from all further anxiety. The Swedish monarch was too generous to comply with the request; but being afraid of drawing on himself a quarrel with Canute, by protecting the young princes, he sent them to Solomon, King of Hungary, to be educated in his court. The elder Edwin was afterwards married to the sister of the King of Hungary, but the English prince dying without issue, Solomon gave his sister-in-law, Agafia, daughter of the Emperor Henry his daughter-in-law; and, after three years, she bore him Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland, and Christians, who retired into a convent.

Canute, though he had reached the great point of his ambition, in obtaining possession of the English crown, was obliged at first to make great sacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief of the nobility, by bestowing on them the most extensive grants of land. He himself, however, had prepared himself to decide, in one general engagement, the fate of his crown; and at Scoeteron, in the county of Gloucester, he offered battle to the enemy, who were commanded by Canute and Edric. For the beginning of the day, declared for him; but Edric, having cut off the head of one Osmer, whose countenance resembled that of Edmund, fixed it on a spear, carried it through the ranks in triumph, and called aloud to the English, that it was time to act, being now his only remaining hope. And though Edmond, observing the consternation of the troops, took off his helmet and showed himself to them, the utmost he could gain by his activity and valour was to leave the victory undecided. Edric took a surer method to ruin him, by pretending to desert to him; and as Edmund was well acquainted with his power, and probably knew no other of the chief nobility in whom he could repose more confidence, he was obliged, notwithstanding the repeated perjury of the man, to give him a considerable command in the army. A battle soon after ensued at Assington in Essex; where Edric, flying in the beginning of the day, occasioned the total defeat of the English, followed by a great slaughter of the nobility. The indefatigable Edmund, however, had still resources: assembling a new army at Gloucester, he was again in a condition to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally deserted by their prince, desired, as long as their kings came to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern division, consisting of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely subdued: the southern parts were left to Edmund. This prince survived the treaty about a month. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, who thereby made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of England.

W. Malm., p. 76. In one of three sieges, Canute diverted the course of D
no further anxiety, except with regard to Alfred and Edward, who were protected and supported by their uncle, Richard Duke of Normandy. Richard even fitted out a great fleet to restore the young English princes to the throne of their ancestors; and though the navy was dispersed by a storm, Canute saw the danger to which he was exposed from the enmity of a warlike people as the Normans. In order to acquire the friendship of the duke, he paid him the required homage to Queen Mathilda, sister of the prince; and promised that he would leave the children whom he should have by that marriage, in possession of the crown of England. Richard complied with his demand, and sent over Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute. The English, though they disapproved of her espousing the mortal enemy of her former husband and his family, were pleased to find at court a sovereign, to whom they were accustomed, and who had already formed connections with them: and thus Canute, besides securing by this marriage the alliance of Normandy, gradually acquired, by the same means, the confidence of his own subjects. The Norman prince did not long survive the marriage of Emma: and he left the inheritance of the duchy to his eldest son of the same name; who, dying a year after him without children, was succeeded by his brother Robert, a man of valour and ability.

Canute, having settled his power in England beyond all danger of a revolution, made a voyage to Denmark, in order to resist the attacks of the king of Sweden; and he came thither on a great body of men under the command of Earl Godwin. This nobleman had here an opportunity of performing a service, by which he both reconciled the king’s mind to the English nation, and, gaining to himself the friendship of his sovereign, laid the foundation of that immense fortune which he acquired to his family. He was stationed next the Swedish camp, and observing a favourable opportunity, which he was obliged suddenly to seize, he attacked the enemy in the night, before their tents were out of their trappings, pursued his advantage, and obtained a decisive victory over them. Next morning Canute, seeing the English camp entirely abandoned, imagined that those disaffected troops had deserted to the enemy; and he was egregiously surprised to find that they were at that time engaged in pursuit of the discomfited Swedes. He was so pleased with this success, and with the manner of obtaining it, that he bestowed his daughter in marriage upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with entire confidence and regard.

In another voyage, which he made afterwards to Denmark, he attacked Norway, and expelling the just but unwarlike Olaf, he put himself in possession of his kingdom till the death of that prince. He had now, by his conquests and valor, attained the utmost height of grandeur: having leisure from wars and intrigues, he felt the unsatisfactory nature of all human enjoyments; and, equally weary of the glories and tur- moils of this life, he began to cast his eye towards that future existence, which it is so natural for the human mind, whether satisfied by prosperity, or disgusted with adversity, to make the object of its attention. Unfortunately the spirit which prevailed in that age gave a wrong direction to his devotion: instead of making compensation to those whom he had injured by his former acts of violence, he employed himself entirely in those exercises of pietà which the monks represented as the most meritorious. He built churches, he endowed monasteries, he banished the ecclesiastics, and he bestowed revenues for the support of chansons at Axnington and other places; where he appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had died in battle against him. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he spent a considerable time: besides obtaining from the Pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes, through whose dominions he was obliged to pass, to desist from those beastly and cruel trials which they used to exact from the English pilgrims. By this spirit of devotion, no less than by his equable and politic administration, he gained, in a good measure, the affections of his subjects.

Canute was the greatest and most powerful monarch of his time, Sovereign of Denmark and Norway, as well as of England, could not fail of meeting with adulation from his courtiers; a tribute which is liberally paid even to the meanest and most obscure of his princes. Some courtiers, in one day in admiration of his greatness, exclaimed, that every thing was possible for him: upon which the monarch, it is said, ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore, while the tide was rising; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. He refrained to sit some time in expectation of their submission; but when the sea still advanced towards him, and began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe was feeble and impotent, and that power resided with one alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature, who could say to the ocean, Thus shalt thou go, and no farther; and who could level with his nod the most towering pikes of human pride and ambition.

The only memorable action which Canute performed after his return from Rome, was an expedition against Malcolm, King of Scotland. During the reign of Ethelred, a tax of a shilling a head had been imposed on all the lands of England. It was commonly called Denegelt; because the revenue had been employed either for the English navy, under the command of Ethelred himself, or for its preparations against the invasions of that hostile nation. That monarch had required that the same tax should be paid by Cumberland, which was held by the Scots; but Malcolm, a warlike prince, told him, that, as he was one of his ablest officers, he would neither submit to buy peace of his enemies, nor pay others for resisting them. Ethelred, offended at this reply, which contained a secret reproach on his own conduct, undertook an expedition against Cumberland; but though he committed ravages upon the country, he could never bring Malcolm to a temper more humble or submissive. Canute, after his accession, summoned the Scottish king to acknowledge himself a vassal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but Malcolm refused compliance, on pretence that he owed homage to those princes only who inherited that kingdom by right of blood. Canute was not of a temper to bear this insult; and the King of Scotland soon found that the sceptre was in very different hands from those of the feeble and irresolute Ethelred. Upon Canute’s appearing on the frontiers with a formidable army, Malcolm agreed that his grandson and heir, Duncan, who was in pass, should make the submissions required, and that the heirs of Scotland should always acknowledge themselves vassals to England for that province. Canute passed four years in peace after this enterprise, and he died at Shaftesbury; leaving three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardicanute. Sweyn, whom he had by his first marriage with Aيفة, daughter of the Earl of Hants, was crowned in Norway: Hardicanute, whom he had born him, was in possession of Denmark: Harold, who was of the same marriage with Sweyn, was at that time in England.

HAROLD HARFOOT.

Though Canute, in his treaty with Richard, A.D. 1015, Duke of Normandy, had stipulated that his children by Emma should succeed to the crown of England, he had either considered himself as released from that engagement by the death of Richard, or esteemed it dangerous to leave an unsettled and newly-conquered kingdom to the disposal of his descendants; from obtaining from the Pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes, through whose dominions he was obliged to pass, to desist from those beastly and cruel trials which they used to exact from the English pilgrims. By this spirit of
necessary to proceed by force or intrigue in insuring his succession to the crown. On the death of Harold, Hardicanute had the succession of the English, who, on account of his being born among them of Queen Emma, regarded him as their countryman; he was favoured by the articles of treaty with the Duke of Normandy; and, above all, his party was espoused by Earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, especially in the province of Wesssex, the chief seat of the ancient English. Affairs were likely to terminate in a civil war, when, by the interposition of the nobility of both parties, a compromise was arrived at: it was agreed that Harold should enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute: and Hardicanute should appear and take possession of his dominions, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, and established her authority over her son's share of the partition.

Meanwhile, Robert, Duke of Normandy, died in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and being succeeded by a son, yet a minor, the two English princes, Alfred and Edward, who found no longer any countenance or protection in that country, gladly embraced the opportunity of paying a visit, with a numerous train, to their mother Emma, who seemed to be placed in a state of so much power and splendour at Winchester. But the face of affairs soon wore a melancholy aspect. Earl Godwin had been gained by the arts of Dominiotis, the daughter of that nobleman, and while the treaty was yet a secret, these two tyrants had a plan for the destruction of the English princes. Alfred was invited to London by Harold with many professions of friendship; but when he had reached London, he was set upon by Godwin's vassals, about six hundred of his train were murdered in the most cruel manner, he himself was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after.* Edward and Emma, apprized of the fate which was awaiting them, fled beyond sea, the former into Normandy, the latter into Flanders, while Harold, triumphing in his bloody policy, took possession, without resistance, of all the dominions assigned to his brother.

This is the only memorable action performed, during a reign of four years, by this prince, who gave so bad a specimen of his character, and whose bodily accomplishments alone are known to us by his appellation of Harfot, which he acquired from his agility in running and walking. He died on the 14th of April, 1039; little regretted or esteemed by his subjects, and left the succession to his brother, Hardicanute.

HARDICANUTE.

Hardicanute, or Canute the Hardy, that is, the robust, (for he too is chiefly known by his bodily accomplishments,) though, by remaining so long in Denmark, he had been deprived of his share in the partition of the kingdom, had not abandoned his pretensions; and he had determined, before Harold's death, to recover by arms what he had lost, either by his own negligence, or by the necessity of his affairs. On pretence of paying a visit to the queen dowager in Flanders, he had assembled a fleet of sixty sail, and was preparing to make a descent on England, when intelligence of his brother's death induced him to sail immediately to London, where he was received in triumph, and acknowledged king without opposition.

The first act of Hardicanute's government afforded his subjects a bad prognostic of his future conduct. He was so enraged at Harold for depriving him of his share of the kingdom, and for the cruelties he had inflicted on him, that, in an impetuous desire of revenge against the dead, he ordered his body to be dug up, and to be thrown into the Thames; and when it was found by some fishermen, and buried in London, he ordered it again to be dug up, and to be thrown into the Thames, again interred, and thus filled up a second time, and then interred with great secrecy. Godwin, equally servile and insolent, submitted to this unnatural treatment.

That nobleman knew that he was universally believed to have been an accomplice in the barbarity exercised on Alfred, and that he was on that account obnoxious to Hardicanute; and perhaps he hoped, by displaying this rage against Harold's enemy to justify himself from having had any participation in his counsels. But Prince Edward, being invited over by the king, immediately on his appearance, preferred an accusation against Godwin for the murder of Alfred, and demanded justice for that crime. Godwin, in order to appease the king, made him a magnificent present of a galley with a gilt stern, rowed by fourscore men, who wore each of them a gold bracteate, and was covered with clothes in the most sumptuous manner. Hardicanute, pleased with the splendour of this spectacle, quickly forgot his brother's murder; and on Godwin's swearing that he was innocent of the crime, he allowed him to be acquitted.

Though Hardicanute, before his accession, had been called over by the vows of the English, he soon lost the affections of the nation by his misconduct; but nothing appeared more grievous to them, than his renewal of the imposition of Danelaw, and obliging the nation to pay a great sum of money to the fleet which brought him from Denmark. The discontent ran high in many places; in the north, to overawe the people of Stratford, and posterity, whose king, engaged at this opposition, swore revenge against the city, and ordered three noblemen, Godwin, Duke of Wessex, Sward, Duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, Duke of Mercia, to execute his menaces with the utmost rigour. They were obliged to set fire to the city, and deliver it up to be plundered by their soldiers; but they saved the lives of the inhabitants, when they confined in a small island of the Severn, called Bevey, till, by their intercession, they were able to appease the king, and obtain the pardon of the suppliants.

This violent government was of short duration. Hardicanute died in two years after his accession, at the natalis of a Danish lord, which he had honoured with his presence. His usual habits of intemperance were so well known, that, notwithstanding his robust constitution, his sudden death gave as little surprise as it did sorrow to his subjects.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

The English, on the death of Hardicanute, saw a favourable opportunity for recovering their liberty, and for shaking off the Danish yoke, under which they had so long laboured. Sweyn, King of Norway, the eldest son of Canute, was absent; and as the last two kings had died without issue, one of those that now presented himself, nor any whom the Danes could support as successor to the throne. Prince Edward was fortunately at court on his brother's demise; and though the descendants of Edmund Ironside were the true heirs of the Saxon family, yet their absence so remote a country as Hungary, appeared a sufficient reason for their exclusion, to a people like the English, so little accustomed to observe a regular order in the succession of their monarchs. All delays might be dangerous; and the present occasion must hastily be embraced; while the Danes, without concert, without a leader, astonished at the present incident, and anxious only for their personal safety, durst not oppose the united voice of the nation.

But this concurrence of circumstances in favour of Edward, might have failed of its effect, had his succession been opposed by Godwin, whose power, alliances, and abilities gave him a great influence at all times, especially amidst those sudden opportunities which always attend a revolution of government, and which, either seized or neglected, commonly prove decisive. There were opposite reasons which divided men's hopes and fears with regard to Godwin's conduct. On the one hand, the credit of that nobleman lay chiefly in Wessex, which was almost entirely...
inhabited by English; it was therefore presumed that
he would second the wishes of that people, in restoring the
Saxon line, and in humbling the Danes, from whom he,
also as they, had reason to dread, as they had already
felt, the most grievous oppressions. On the other hand,
there subsisted a declared animosity between Edward and
Godwin, on account of Alfred's murder, of which the latter
had publicly been accused by the prince, and which be
might naturally incline to ascribe, without an
account of any subsequent merits, to be sincerely pardoned.
But their common friends here interposed; and, repre-
senting the necessity of their good correspondence, obliged
them to lay aside all jealousies and rancour, and concur in
respecting each other as near relations. The Dane only
stipulated, that Edward, as a pledge of his sincere recon-
ciliation, should promise to marry his daughter Editha;
and having fortified himself by this alliance, he summoned
a general council at Gillingham, and prepared every mea-
sure for securing the succession to Edward. The English
were unanimous and zealous in their resolutions; the
Danes were divided and dispirited; any small opposition
which appeared in this assembly was hush-heated and
suppressed; and Edward was crowned king, with every
demonstration of duty and affection.

The triumph of the English, upon this signal and de-
cisive occasion, was at first attended with some distress
and violence against the Danes; but the king, by the mild-
ness of his character, soon reconciled the latter to his ad-
mistration, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. The Danes were intermixed with the
English, in most of the places where they spoke neither the
same language; they differed little in their manners and
laws; domestic dissipations in Denmark prevented, for some years, any powerful invasion from thence, which
might have wreaked vengeance; and as the Norman con-
quest, which ensued soon after, reduced both nations to
equal subjection, there is no further mention in history of
any difference between them. The joy, however, of their
present peace is not without a mixture of apprehension, arising to the munificent,
which of the English, that they instituted an annual festival for
celebrating that great event; and it was observed in some
countries even to the time of Spenman.

The popular which Edward approved on his accession,
was not destroyed by the first act of his administration,
resuming all the grants of his immediate predecessor;
an attempt which is commonly attended with the most
dangerous consequences. The poverty of the crown con-
victed the nation that this act of violence was become
absolutely necessary; and as the loss fell chiefly on the
Danes, who had obtained large grants from the late kings,
their countrymen, on account of their services in subduing
the Danish kingdom, the English were rather pleased to see them
reduced to their primitive poverty. The king's severity also
towards his mother, the queen-dowager, though ex-
posed to some censure, met not with very general
disapprobation. He had hitherto lived on indifferent
terms with that princess; he accused her of neglecting
him and his brother during their adverse fortune: he
remarked, that as the superior qualities of Camute, and his
better treatment of her, had made her entirely indifferent
to the memory of Ethelred, she also gave the preference
to her children of the second bed, and always regarded
Har此次 as her favourite. The same reasons had prob-
ably made her unpopular in England; and though she
had been a prisoner of her youth, the nation was not, in general, displeased to see her
stripped by Edward of immense treasures which she had
amassed. He confined her, during the remainder of her
life, in a monastery at Winchester; but carried his rigour
against her no further. The stories of his accusing her of
a participation in her son Alfred's murder, and of a crin-
minal correspondence with the Bishop of Winchester,
and of his putting her first at the head of the
 without receiving any hurt, over nine burning plough-
shares, were the inventions of the monkish historians, and
were propagated and believed from the silly wonder of
posterity.

The English flattered themselves that, by the accession
of Edward, they were delivered for ever from the domi-
nation of foreigners; but they soon found that this evil was
not yet entirely removed. The king had been educated with
the Normans, and many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for
their manners. The court of England was soon filled
with Normans, who, being distinguished both by the fa-
vour of Godwin and the protectorate, had indulged to
that which was attained by the English in those ages,
soon rendered their language, customs, and laws, fashion-
able in the kingdom. The study of the French tongue
became general among the people. The courtiers affected to mimic the manners of their dear countrymen, and the
insults: even the lawyers employed a foreign language in
their deeds and papers. But above all, the church
felt the influence and dominion of those strangers. Ulf
and William, two Normans, who had formerly been
the king's chaplains, were created Bishops of Dorchester
and London. Robert, a Norman also, was promoted to the
see of Canterbury, and always enjoyed the highest favour
of his master, of which his abilities rendered him not unworthy.
And though the king's prudence, or his want of
authority, made him confer almost all the civil and milit-
ary employments on the natives, the ecclesiastical prefer-
ments were reserved for the Normans. And as the latter
possessed Edward's confidence, they had secretly
a great influence on public affairs, and excited the jealousy of
the English, particularly of Earl Godwin.

This powerful nobleman, besides being Duke or Earl of Wessex, or King of the Western Frisians, possessed
powerful vassals connected by his birth and alliance
with his government. His eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the
same authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Glouce-
ter, and Hereford; and Harold, his second son, was Duke
of East Anglia, and at the same time Governor of Essex.
The great authority of this family was supported by im-
measurably powerful alliances; and the abilities,
as well as ambition, of Godwin himself, contributed to
result in a situation of influence on the monarchy,
capacity and vigour than Edward would have found it
difficult to support the dignity of the crown under such
circumstances; and as the haughty temper of Godwin
made him often forget the respect due to his prince, Ed-
ward's animosity against him was grounded on personal
as well as political considerations, on recent as well as
more ancient injuries. The king, in pursuance of his
engagements, had indeed married Editha, the daughter of
Godwin, who was ample satisfaction to the animosity
between them. Edward's hatred of the father was
transferred to that princess; and Editha, though possessed
of many amiable accomplishments, could never acquire the
confidence of the king, pretended to see that, during the whole course of her life, he
abstained from all commerce of love with her; and such
was the absurd admission paid to an inviolable chastity
during those ages, that his conduct in this particular is highly celebrated by the monkish
historians, and greatly contributed to his acquiring
the title of Saint and Confessor.

The most popular pretence on which Godwin could
ground his disfavour to the king and his administration,
was to complain of the influence of the Normans in the
government; and a declared opposition had thence arisen
between him and these favourites. It was not long be-
fore this unison of the English against the Norman
rival was to be seen in the course of events. Count of
Bologna, having paid a visit to the king, passed by Dover
in his return: one of his train, being refused entrance to
a lodging which had been assigned him, attempted to
attack a man, who was then in attendance before the
master of the house. The inhabitants revenged this
insult by the death of the stranger; the count and his
train took arms, and murdered the wounded townsman;
and a tumult ensued, in which barefaced tyranny was
liable to be at the mercy. Eustace, being overpowered
by numbers, was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of
the populace. He hurried immediately to court, and
complained of the usage he had met with. The king entered

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Edward, touched in so sensible a point, saw the necessity of exerting the royal authority; and he threatened Godwin, if he persisted in his resolution, to make him feel the utmost effects of his resentment.

The earl, perceiving a rupture to be unavoidable, and pleased to embark in a cause where it was likely he should be supported by his countrymen, made preparations for his own defence, or rather for an attack on Edward. Under pretence of repressing some disorders on the Welsh frontier, he secretly assembled a great army, and was approaching the king, who resided, without any military force, and without suspicion, at Gloucester. Edward applied for protection to Siward, Duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, Duke of Mercia, two powerful noblemen, whose jealousy of Godwin's greatness, as well as their desire of neutrality and independence, forestalled his designs in this extremity. They hastened to him with such of their followers as they could assemble on a sudden; and finding the danger much greater than they had at first apprehended, they were induced to come to Edward's assistance, and to treat with him with respect to the measures of government, and to make their force without delay the defence of the king's person and authority. Edward, meanwhile, endeavoured to gain time by negotiation; while his army, who thought the king entirely in his power, and who was willing to save appearances, fell into the snare; and, not sensible that he ought to have no further reserve after he had proceeded so far, he attempted the full opportunity of rendering himself master of the government.

The English, though they had no high idea of Edward's vigour and capacity, bore him great affection, on account of his humanity, justice, and piety, as well as the long race of their native kings from whom he was descended; and they hastened from all quarters to defend him from the present danger. His army was now so considerable, that he ventured to take the field; and marching to London, had summoned, by memo- 

A.D. 1065. 

Harold, Earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three sons, Garth, Swynn, and Tosti; the latter of whom had married the daughter of that prince: Harold and Leofwine, two other of his sons, took shelter in Ireland. The estates of the father and sons were contested: their governments were given to others: Queen Editha was confined in a monastery at Wareweal: and the greatness of this family, once so formidable, seemed now to be totally supplantled and overthrown.

But Godwin had taken root too firm a basis, and he was too strongly supported by alliances, both foreign and domestic, not to occasion further disturbances, and make new efforts for his re-establishment. His son, Godwin the younger, who in his arrangements, had equipped a considerable fleet, much superior to that of the enemy; and the earl lastly, before their appearance, made his retreat into the Flemish bar- 

b The English court, allured by the present security and destitute of all vigorous counsels, allowed the seamen to disband, and the fleet to go to decay, while Godwin, expecting this event, kept his men in readiness for action. He put to sea immediately, and sailed to the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by a French squadron which that nobleman had collected in Ireland. He was now master of the sea; and entering every harbour in the southern coast, he seized all the ships, and made his bases in those countries, subject, so long been subject to his government, to assist him in procuring justice to himself, his family, and his country, against the tyranny of foreigners. Reinforced by great numbers from all parts, he was able to appear in London, threw every thing into confusion. The king alone seemed resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but the interposition of the English nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretensions, made Edward heir to the terms of accommodation, and the fatigued humidity of the earl, who, disclaimed all intentions of offering violence to his sovereign, and desired only to justify himself by a fair and open trial, paved the way for his more easy admission. It was stipulated that he should give hostages for his good behaviour, and that the primate and all the foreigners should be banished: by this treaty, the present danger of a civil war was obviated; but the country was not entirely restored, much impaired, or rather entirely annihilated. Edward, sensible that he had not power sufficient to secure Godwin's hostages in England, sent them over to his kinsman, the young Duke of Normandy.

Godwin's death, which happened soon after, while he was sitting at table with the king, prevented him from further establishing the authority which he had acquired, and from reducing Edward to greater dignity. He was succeeded in the government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, and in the office of steward of the household, a place of great power, by his son Harold, who was selected by an authority, to fill the post of a chief minister of his father, and was superior to him in address, in unaffected manners, and in virtue. By a modest and gentle demeanour, he acquired the good will of Edward; at least softened that hatred which the prince had so long borne his family; and gaining every day new partisans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded in a more silent, and therefore a more dangerous, manner, to the increase of his authority. The king, who had not sufficient vigour directly to oppose his progress, gave way; and Edward made use of the last energetic step of policy, of balancing opposite parties, required a more steady hand to manage it than that of Edward, and naturally produced faction, and even civil broils, among nobles of such mighty and independent authority. All this was soon after expelled his government by the intrigues and power of Harold; but being protected by Griffith, Prince of Wales, who had married his daughter, as well as by the power of his father Leofwine, he obliged Harold to submit to an accommodation, and was reinstated in the government of East Anglia. This peace was not of long duration: Harold, taking advantage of Leofwine's death, which happened soon after, expelled Algier anew, and banished him from the kingdom. He had, indeed, made a fresh irruption into East Anglia with an army of Norwegians, and overran the country, his death soon freed Harold from the pretensions of so dangerous a rival.
HISTORY

merits, had acquired honour to England, by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during the reign of Edward. Dunstan, King of Scotland, was a prince of a gentle disposition, but possessed not the genius requisite for governing a country so turbulent, and so much infested by the intrigues and amassments of the great. Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, and nearly allied to Dunstan, not content with crushing the king's authority, carried still further his pestilent ambition: he put his sovereign to death; chased Malcolm Kenneth, his son and heir, into England, and usurped the crown. Swithin, whose name was, by Edward's orders, the protection of this distrest family: he marched an army into Scotland; and having defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, he restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. This service, added to his former connexions with the royal family of Scotland, brought a great accession to the authority of Sward in the north; but as he had lost his eldest son, Osborne, in the action with Macbeth, it proved in the issue fatal to his family. His second son, Waltheof, appeared, on his father's death, too young to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Teo.

There are two circumstances related of Sward, which disclose his high sense of honour, and his martial disposition. When intelligence was brought him of his son Osborne's death, he was inconsolable, till he heard that the weapon with which he had been taken, was charged with great gallantry in the action. When he found his own death approaching, he ordered his servants to clothe him in a complete suit of armour; and sitting erect on the couch, with a spear in his hand, declared that in that position of a warrior, he would continue to show the fatal moment.

The king, now worn out with cares and infirmities, felt himself far advanced in the decline of life; and having no issue, he began to think of appointing a successor to the kingdom. He sent a deputation to Hungary, to invite over his nephew, Edward, son of his elder brother, and the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince, whose succession to the crown would have been easy and undisputed, came to England with his children, Edgar, surnamed Atheling, Margaret, and Christina; but his death, which happened a few days after his arrival, threw the kingdom into new difficulties. He saw, that the great power and ambition of Harold had tempted him to think of obtaining possession of the throne on the first vacancy, and that Edgar, on account of his youth and inexperience, was very unfit to oppose the pretensions of so popular and experienced a man. The amendments which he had made to Edward's former condition of a ward, made him averse to the succession of his son, and he could not, without extreme reluctance, think of an increase of grandeur to a family which had risen to such high stations of royalty; and which, by the murder of Alfred, his brother, had contributed so much to the weakness of the Saxon line. In this uncertainty, he secretly cast his eyes towards his kinsman, William, Duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, and reputation, and capacity, could support any destination which he might make in his favour, to the exclusion of Harold and his family.

This fainous prince was natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a taunter in Falaise, and was very early established in that grandeur from which his birth seemed to have set him at so great a distance. While he was but nine years of age, his father had resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; a fashionable act of devotion, which had taken place of the pilgrimages to Rome, and which, as it was attended with more difficulty and danger, and carried those religious adventurers to the first sources of Christianity, appeared the more memorable. Before his departure he assembled the states of the duchy; and informing them of his design, he engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son, William, whom, as he had no legitimate issue, he intended, in case he should die in the pilgrimage, to leave successor to his dominions. As he was a prudent prince, he could not but foresee the great inconveniences which must attend this journey, and this settlement of his succession; arising from the turbulency of the great, the claims of other branches of the ducal family, and the power of the French monarch; but all these considerations were surrounded by the prevailing zeal for pilgrimages; and probably, more important they were, the more would Robert exult in sacrificing them to what he imagined to be his religious duty.

This prince, as he had apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his son was attended with all those disorders which were almost unavoidable in that situation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of sovereign authority, broke out into personal animosities against each other, and made the whole country a scene of war and devastation. Roger, Count of Tom, and Alain, Count of Brittany, advanced claims to the dominion of the state; and Henry I, King of France, thought the opportunity favourable for reducing the power of a vassal, who had originally acquired his settlement in so violent and invidious a manner, and who had long appeared formidable to his sovereign. The regency established by Robert having greatly disheartened the government under this complication of dangers; and the young prince, when he came to maturity, found himself reduced to a very low condition. But the great qualities which he had at his disposal, in which he had been educated to war, and in which he had particularly been trained, gave encouragement to his friends, and struck a terror into his enemies. He opposed himself on all sides against his rebellious subjects, and against foreign invaders; and by his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. He obliged the Hungarian king to grant him considerable terms; he expelled all pretenders to the sovereignty; and he reduced his turbulent barons to pay submission to his authority, and to suspend their mutual animosities. The king's natural affections were united to the ministration of justice; and having found the happy effects of this plan of government, without which the laws in those ages became totally impotent, he regarded it as a fixed maxim, that an inflexible conduct was the first duty of a sovereign.

The tranquillity which he had established in his dominions, had given William leisure to pay a visit to the King of England during the time of Godwin's banishment; and he was received in a manner suitable to the great reputation which he had acquired, to the relation by which he was connected with Edward, and to the obligations which that prince owed to his family. On the return of Godwin, after ten years' exile, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had, before his departure, persuaded Edward to think of adopting William as his successor; a counsel which was favoured by the king's avarice to the crown. But the king's daughter, Maude, the heir of William's uncle, was married to the Duke of Normandy, to whom the king gave a letter of safe conduct in the palace of the duchy. That prerogative, therefore, received a commission to inform William of the king's intentions in his favour; and he was the first person that opened the mind of the prince to entertain those ambitious hopes. But Edward, irresolute and fickle in his purpose, finding that the English would more easily acquiesce in the restoration of the Saxon line, had, in the mean time, invited his eight sons, who, descending from Hungary, were landed, having them recognised heirs to the crown. The death of his nephew, and the inexperience and unpromising qualities of young Edward, made him resume his former intentions in favour of the Duke of Normandy; though his avarice to the crown could not be satisfied with the execution, and even to keep his purpose secret from all his ministers.

Harold, meanwhile, proceeded after a more open manner, in increasing his popular power, in establishing his will, and in preparing the way for his advancement on the first vacancy; in event which, from the age and infirmities of the king, appeared not very distant. But there was still an obstacle, which it was requisite for him previously to
overcome. Earl Godwin, when restored to his power and
fortune, had given hostages for his good behaviour, and
among the rest, one son and one grandson, whom Edward,
for greater security, as has been related, had consigned to
the custody of the Duke of Normandy. Harold, though
not aware of the duke's being his competitor, was uneasy
that such near relations should be detained prisoners in a
foreign country; and he was afraid lest William should,
by means of his friendship with the king, be enabled to
form an alliance or any other pretender. He represented,
therefore, to the king, his unsigned submission to royal
authority, his steady duty to his prince, and the little
necessity there was, after such a uniform trial of his obe-
diance, to detain a nobleman who had been required
on the first composing of civil discord. By these
steps, enforced by his great power, he extorted the king's
consent to release them; and in order to effect his purpose,
he immediately proceeded, with a numerous retinue, on
his journey to Normandy. A tempest drove him on
the territory of Guy, Count of Ponthieu, who, being informed
of his quality, immediately detained him prisoner, and
demanded an exorbitant sum for his ransom. Harold
found means to convey intelligence of his situation to
the Duke of Normandy; and represented, that while he
was proceeding to his court, in execution of a commission
from the king of England, he had been treated from the
mercenary disposition of the Count of Ponthieu.
William was immediately sensible of the importance of
the news. He sacrificed his leisure and repose, and
build a great new castle, on which he had found means to
be constructed, for the preservation of his life. Harold,
either by favours or menaces, he was to the throne of England be open, and Edward might
meet with no further obstacle in executing the favourable
intentions which he had entertained in his behalf. He
sent for Roger, Count of Huy, in order to demand
the liberty of his prisoner; and that nobleman, not daring
to refuse so great a prince, put Harold into the hands
of the Norman, who conducted him to Rouen. William
rendered him over to Edith, daughter of Edith, his
friendship; and after showing himself disposed to comply
with his desire, in delivering up the hostages, he took
an opportunity of disclaiming to the great secret of his
prescriptions to the crown of England, and of the
wealth which Edward intended to make in his favour. He
desired the assistance of Harold in perfecting that design;
he made professions of the utmost gratitude in return for
such an obligation; he promised to him the longed for
death of Godfried of England, which supported itself with
difficulty under the jealousy and hatred of Edward, should
receive new increase from a successor, who would be so
greatly beholden to him for his advancement. Harold
was prepared at this declaration of the duke; but being
sensible that he should never recover his own liberty,
much less that of his brother and nephew, if he refused
the demand, he signed a compliance with William, re-
nounced all hopes of the crown for himself, and professed
his sincere intention of supporting the will of Edward,
and seconding the pretensions of the Duke of Normandy.
William, to bind him faster to his interests, besides offer-
ing him one of his daughters in marriage, required him to
take an oath that he would fulfill his promises; and in
order to render the oath more obligatory, he employed an
artifice well suited to the ignorance and superstition of the
age. He privately conveyed under the assumed assent of
Harold, on which he agreed to swear, the relics of some of the most
revered martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath,
he showed him the relics, and admonished him to ob-
serve religiously an engagement which had been ratified
by so tremendous a sanction. The English noblemen
were astonish; but dissembling his concern, he renewed
the same professions, and was dismissed with all the marks
of mutual confidence by the Duke of Normandy.

When Harold found the self-styled habitation suggested casuistry sufficient to justify his violation of
an oath, which had been extorted from him by fear,
and which, if fulfilled, might be attended with the sub-
jects of his house, he was determined to continue it still to
practise every art of popularity; to increase

\[\text{The number of his partisans; to reconcile the minds of the English to the idea of his succession; to revive their}

\[\text{hatred of the Normans; and by an ostentation of his power and influence, to deter the timorous Edward from}

\[\text{executing his intended despatch in favour of William.}

\[\text{Fortune, about this time, threw two incidents in his way,}

\[\text{by which he was enabled to acquire general favour, and}

\[\text{to increase the character which he had already attained, of}

\[\text{virtue and ability.}

The Welsh, though a less formidable enemy than the
Danes, had long been accustomed to infest the western
borders; and after committing spoil on the low countries, they
usually made a hasty retreat into their mountains, where
they were sheltered from the pursuit of their enemies, and
were ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of
renewing their depredations. Griffith, the reigning prince,
had greatly distinguished himself in those incursions; and
his name had become so terrible to the English, that
Harold found he could do nothing more acceptable to
the public, and more honourable for himself, than the sup-
pressing of so dangerous an enemy. He formed the plan
of an expedition against Wales; and having prepared
some light-armed foot to pursue the natives into their fast-
nesses, some cavalry to scour the open country, and a
squadron of ships to attack the sea-coast, he employed at
once all these forces against the Welsh. He distanced
advantages with vigour, made no intermission in his as-
sumtts, and at last reduced the enemy to such distress,
that, in order to prevent their total destruction, they made
an ungraceful submission, whose honour, he spared to
Harold; and they were content to receive as their sove-
igns, two Welsh noblemen appointed by Edward to rule
over them. The other incident was no less honourable to
Harold.

Tosti, brother of this nobleman, who had been created
Duke of Northumberland, being of a violent and tyranni-

tcal temper, had acted with such cruelty and injustice,
that the inhabitants rose in rebellion, and chased him from
his government. He repaired with great speed, possessed
great power in those parts, and who were grand-
sons of the great Duke Leofric, concurred in the insur-
rection; and the former, being elected duke, advanced
with an army to oppose Harold, who was commissioned
by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians.
Before the armies came to action, Morcar, well acquainted
with the generous disposition of the English commander,
endeavored to dissuade him from his design. He represented
to Harold, that Tosti had behaved in a manner unworthy
of the station to which he was advanced, and no one, not
even a brother, could support such tyranny without parti-
cipating, in some degree, of the infamy attending it; that
the Northumbrians were accustomed to be administered to,
and regarded it as their birthright, were willing to sub-
mit to the king, but required a governor who would pay
regard to their rights and privileges; that they had been
taught by their ancestors, that death, was preferable to ser-
vitude, and had taken the field, determined to perish
rather than suffer a renewal of those indignities to which
they had so long been exposed; and they trusted that
Harold, on reflection, would not defend in another that
violent conduct, from which he himself, in his own
government, had always kept at so great a distance. This
vigorous remonstrance was accompanied with such a det-
ial of facts, so well supported, that Harold found it dif-

cult to abandon his brother's cause; and, returning to
Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians,
and to confirm Morcar in the government. He even mar-
lled the sister of that nobleman; aWelsh, presently nurs-
cured Edwin, the younger brother, to be elected into the
government of Mercia. Tosti in rage departed the king-
dom, and took shelter in Flanders with Earl Baldwin, his
father-in-law.

When this marriage Harold broke all measures with the
Duke of Normandy; and William clearly perceived that
he could no longer rely on the oaths and promises which
he had extorted from him. But the English nobleman was
now so far advanced, that he seemed to him no longer
necessary to dissemble. He had, in his conduct towards

\[\text{a Order. Valuta, p. 492.} \]
the Northumbrians, given such a specimen of his moderation as had gained him the affection of his countrymen. He saw that almost all England was engaged in his interest; while he himself possessed the government of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Eden, the duchy of Northumberland, and the bishopric of Durham. He now openly aspired to the succession; and insisted, that since it was necessary, by the confession of all, to set aside the royal family, on account of the imbecility of Edgar, the sole surviving heir, there was no one so evident as himself to the throne as a noblemen of great power, of mature age, of long experience, of approved courage and abilities, who, being a native of the kingdom, would effectually secure it against the dominion and tyranny of Edward. Edward, broken in age and indiscreet in his faults, saw the difficulties too great for him to encounter; and though his invertebrate prepossessions kept him from seconding the pretensions of Harold, he took but feeble and irregular steps for securing the succession to the Duke of Normandy. While he continued in this uncertainty he was surprised by sickness, which brought him to his grave, on the fifth of January 1066, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

This prior to whom the monks gave the title of Saint and Confessor, was the last of the Saxon line that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed his prosperity less to his own abilities than to his change of the times. Even the Duke, when played in other enterprises, attempted not those enterprises which had been so troublesome to all his predecessors, and fatal to some of them. The facility of his disposition made him acquiesce under the government of Edward, and his son Harold; and the abilities, as well as the power, of these noblemen enabled them, while they were intrusted with authority, to preserve domestic peace and tranquillity. The most commendable circumstance of Edward's government, was his attention to the administration of justice, and his compiling, for that purpose, a body of laws, which he collected from the laws of Ethelbert. This compilation through now loss (for the laws that pass under Edward's name were composed afterwards,) was long the object of affection to the English nation.

Edward the Confessor was the first that touched for the king's evil; the opinion of his sanctity procured belief to this curcum among the people; his successors regarded it as a part of their state and grandeur to uphold the same opinion. It has been continued down to our time; and the practice was first dropped by the present royal family, who observed, that it could no longer give amazement even to the populace, and was attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of understanding.

HAROLD.

A.D. 1066.

Harold had so well prepared matters before the death of Edward, that he immediately stepped into the vacant throne; and his accession was attended with as little opposition and disturbance, as if he had succeeded by the most unquestioned hereditary title. The citizens of London were his zealous partizans; the bishops and clergy had adopted his cause; and all the powerful nobility, connected with him by alliance or friendship, willingly seconded his pretensions. The title of Edgar Atheling was scarcely mentioned; much less the claim of the Duke of Normandy: and Harold, assembling his partizans, received the crown from their hands, without waiting for the free deliberation of the states, or regularly submitting the question to their determination. Only his scruples and his desire of being oblige to conceal their sentiments; and the new prince, taking a general silence for consent, and founding his title on the supposed suffrages of the people, which appeared unanimous, was, on the day immediately succeeding Edward's death, anointed and crowned, as king, in the Church of St. Saviour, Westminster, by Ralph, Bishop of York. The whole nation seemed joyfully to acquiesce in his elevation.

The first symptoms of danger, which the king discovered, came from his own brother Tostig, who had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders. Engaged at the successful ambition of Harold, to which he himself had fallen a victim, he filled the court of Baldwin with complaints of the injustice which he had suffered: he engaged the interest of that family against his brother: he endeavoured to form intrigues with some of the discontented nobles in England: he sent his emissaries to Norway, in order to rouse to arms the freebooters of that kingdom, and to excite their hopes of reaping advantage from the unsettled state of affairs on the usurpation of the new king: and that he might render the combination more formidable, he made a journey to Normandy; where he expressed himself in his extreme rage, that another daughter of Baldwin, would, in revenge of his own wrongs, as well as those of Tostig, second, by his counsels and forces, the projected invasion of England.

The Duke of Normandy, when he first received intelligence of Harold's intrigues and accession, had been moved to the highest pitch of indignation; but that he might give the better colour to his pretensions, he sent an embassy to England, upbraiding princes with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign immediately possession of the kingdom. Harold replied to the Norman ambassadors, That the oath, with which he was reproached, had been taken by himself, not by or through him; that he had obtained the crown, not by the consent of his family, but by the unanimous suffrages of the people; and should prove himself totally unworthy of their favour, did he not strenuously maintain those national liberties, with whose protection he had been intrusted; and that he made any attempt by force of arms, should experience the power of a united nation conducted by a prince, who, sensible of the obligations imposed on him by his royal dignity, was determined that the same moment should put a period to his life and to his government?

This answer was no other than William expected; and he had previously fixed his resolution of making an attempt upon England. Consulting only his courage, his resentment, and his ambition, he overlooked all the difficulties inseparable from an attack on a great kingdom by such inferior force, and he saw only the circumstances which would facilitate his enterprise. He considered that besides this story is not probable in itself, and is contradicted by most of the ancient historians, it is contradicted by a very curious and authentic document, which has been preserved in the publical of Rouen, and supposed to have been written by censors of Matild,
Chapter III.

Harold.

England, ever since the ascension of Canute, had enjoyed profound tranquillity, during a period of near fifty years; and it would require time for its soldiers, enervated by long peace, to learn discipline, and to acquire the national experience. He knew that it was entirely unpardoned with fortified towns, by which it could prolong the war; but must venture its whole fortune in one decisive action against a veteran enemy, who, being once master of the field, would be hard pressed to recover the kingdom. He saw while Harold, though he had given proofs of vigour and bravery, had newly mounted a throne, which he had acquired by faction, from which he had excluded a very ancient royal family, and which was likely to totter under him by its own instability, much more if shaken by any violent external impulse. And he hoped, that the very circumstance of his crossing the sea, quitting his own country, and leaving himself no hopes of retreat; as it would astonish the enemy by the boldness of the enterprise, would inspire his soldiers by despair, and rouse them to sustain the reputation of the Norman arms.

The Normans, as they had long been distinguished by valour among all the European nations, had at this time attained to the highest pitch of military glory. Besides acquiring by arms such a noble territory in France, beside defending it against continual invasion from the French monarchs and their neighbours, besides exerting new acts of vigour under their present sovereign; they had, about this very time, revived their ancient fame, by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes in their devastations, in their wars and battles. The most courageous venturers in Italy had acquired such an ascendancy, not only over the Italians and Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled those foreigners, procured to themselves ample establishments, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdom of Naples and Sicily. These enterprises of men, who were all of them vassals in Normandy, many of them banished for faction and rebellion, excused for their service, and pardoned for their prudence; who acquired, after such examples of fortune and valour, to be deterred from making an attack on a neighbouring country, where he could be supported by the whole force of his principality.

The situation also of Europe inspired William with hopes, that, besides his brave Normans, his page might employ against England the flower of the military force which was dispersed in all the neighbouring states. France, Germany, and the Low Countries, by the progress of the feudal institutions, were divided and subdivided into many principalities and baronies; and the possessors, enjoying the civil jurisdiction within themselves, as well as the military service outside, lived in constant division, and maintained their properties and privileges less by the authority of laws than by their own force and valour. A military spirit had universally diffused itself throughout the country; and the several leaders, whose minds were elevated by their princely situation, greedily embraced the most hazardous enterprises; and being accustomed to nothing from their infancy but recitals of the success attending wars and battles, they were prompted by a natural ambition to imitate those adventures which they heard so much celebrated, and which were so much exaggerated by the credulity of the age. United, however loosely, by their duty to one superior lord, and by their common interest with the great body of the community to which they belonged, they desired to spread their fame each beyond his own district; and in all assemblies, whether instituted for civil deliberations, for military expeditions, or merely for show and entertainment, to outshine each other by the reputation of strength and prowess. Hence their genius for chivalry; hence their insistence of peace and tranquillity; and hence their readiness to embark in any desperate enterprise, how little soever interested in its failure or success.

William, by his power, his courage, and his abilities, had long maintained a pre-eminence among those haughty chieftains; and every one who desired to signalize himself by his actions, was within the great body of the community to which they belonged, they desired to spread their fame each beyond his own district; and in all assemblies, whether instituted for civil deliberations, for military expeditions, or merely for show and entertainment, to outshine each other by the reputation of strength and prowess. Hence their genius for chivalry; hence their insistence of peace and tranquillity; and hence their readiness to embark in any desperate enterprise, how little soever interested in its failure or success.

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The Emperor Henry IV., besides opening all his vassals permission to embark in this expedition, which so much engaged the attention of Europe, promised his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the absence of the prince, and thereby enabled him to employ his whole force in the invasion of England. But the most important of all was the influence, which this prince of the Church, and the Pope, who had a mighty influence over the ancient barons, no less devout in their religious principles, than valorous in their military enterprises. The Roman pontiff, Henry IV., after an irreparable progress, during the several ages of darkness and ignorance, began now to lift his head openly above all the princes of Europe; to assume the office of a mediator, or even an arbiter, in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs; to interrupt all secular affairs; and to sublimate his dictates as sovereign laws on his obsequious disciples. It was a sufficient motive to Alexander II., the reigning pope, for embracing William's quarrel, that he alone had made an appeal to his tribunal, and rendered him amenable to the dispute between him and Harold; but there were other advantages which that pontiff foresaw must result from the conquest of England by the Norman arms. That kingdom, though at first converted by Roman missionaries, though it had afterwards advanced some further steps towards submission to Rome, maintained still a considerable independence in its ecclesiastical administration; and forming a world within itself, entirely separated from the rest of Europe, it had become now accessible to those exorbitant claims which supported the grandeur of the papacy. Alexander therefore hoped, that the French and Norman barons, if successful in their enterprise, might import into that country a more respect to the church, and the English churches to a nearer conformity with those of the continent.
declared immediately in favour of William's claim; pronounced Harold a perjured usurper; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and the more to encourage the Duke of Normandy in his enterprise, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it. Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of piety.

The greatest difficulty which William had to encounter in his preparations, arose from his own subjects in Normandy. The states of the duchy were united at Lisle-bourne; and supplies being demanded for the intended expedition, and promised so much to their country, there appeared a reluctance in many members, both to grant sums so much beyond the common measure of taxes in that age, and to set a precedent of performing their military service at a distance from their own country. The duke, finding it dangerous to solicit them in a body, conferred separately with the richest individuals in the province; and beginning with those on whose affections he most relied, he gradually engaged all of them to advance the sums demanded. The Count of Longueville seconded him in this negotiation; as did the Count of Mortagne, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and especially the Bishop of Bayeux, Guillaume de Conquérant, and constable of the duchy. Every person, when he himself was once engaged, endeavoured to bring over others; and at last the states themselves, after stipulating that this concession should be no precedent, voted that they would as well at home as in the enterprise that was astir in his duchy.

William had now assembled a fleet of 3000 vessels, great and small, and had selected an army of 60,000 men from among those numerous supplies which from every part of his dominions had been brought to his service. The camp bore a splendid yet a martial appearance, from the discipline of the men, the beauty and vigour of the horses, the lustre of the arms, and the accoutrements of battle; but above all, from the high names of men engaged under the banners of the Duke of Normandy. The most celebrated were, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, Aimery de Thouars, Hugh d'Estaples, William d'Evreux, Geoffrey de Jumieges, and Bertrand Rollin. William de Wareme, Roger de Montgomery, Hugh de Grandmesnil, Charles Martel, and Geoffrey Giffard. To these bold chieftains William held up the spoils of England as the prize of their valor; and pointing to the opposite shore, called, to them that there was the field on which they must erect trophies to their name, and fix their establishments.

While he was making these mighty preparations, the duke that he might inveigle the enemy of Harold's enemies, excite the inveterate rancour of Tosti, and encouraged him, in concert with Harold Halfagar, King of Norway, to invade the coasts of England. Tosti, having collected several vessels in the ports of Flanders, put to sea; and after committing some depredations on the south and east coasts, he sailed to Northumberland, and was there joined by Halfagar, who came over with a great armament of three hundred sail. The combined fleets entered the Humber, and disembarked the troops, who began to extend their depredations on all sides; when Morcar, Earl of Northumberland, and Edwin, Earl of Mercia, the king's brother-in-law, having hastily collected several forces, ventured to give them battle. The action ended in the defeat and flight of these two noblemen. Harold, informed of this defeat, hastened with an army to the protection of his people; and expressed the utmost alarm that he himself worthy of the crown which had been conferred upon him. This prince, though he was not sensible of the full extent of his danger, from the great combination against him, had employed every art of policy about saving the realm of public; and he gave so many proofs of an equitable and prudent administration, that the English found no reason to repent the choice which they had made of a sovereign. They flocking from all quarters to join his standard: and as soon as he reached London, already at Stamford, he found himself in a condition to give them battle. The action was bloody; but the victory was decisive on the side of Harold, and ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, together with the death of Tosti and Halfagar. Even the Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of Harold; who had the generosity to give Prince Olave, the son of Halfagar, his liberty, and allow him to depart with twenty ships manned and provisioned for this victory, when he received intelligence that the Duke of Normandy was landed with a great army in the south of England.

The Norman fleet and army had been assembled, early in the summer, in the mouth of the small river Dove, and all the troops had been instantly embarked; but the winds proved long contrary, and detained them in that harbour. The authority, however, of the duke, the good discipline which his men displayed, and the great care in supplying them with provisions, had prevented any disorder; when at last the wind became favourable, and enabled them to sail along the coast, till they reached St. Valour. There were, however, several vessels lost in this short passage, and as the wind again proved contrary, the army began to imagine that Heaven had declared against them; and that, notwithstanding the Pope's intercession, they might as well have been destroyed. These bold warriors, who despised real dangers, were very much to the dread of imaginary ones; and many of them began to mutiny; some of them even to desert the colours; when the duke, in order to support their drooping spirits, sent to the town of St. Valour, with the reliques of St. Valour, and prayers to be said for more favourable weather. The wind instantly changed; and as this incident happened on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the Normans have since observed this day as a kind of festival. When they fancied they saw the band of Heaven in all these circumstantial circumstances, set out with the greatest alacrity; they met with no opposition on their passage; a great fleet, which Harold had assembled, and which had stood all summer off the Isle of Wight, had been dismayed, on his receiving false intelligence that William, discouraged by contrary winds and other accidents, had laid aside his preparations. The Normans, in spite of this, in great order, arrived, without any material loss, at Pevensey, in Sussex; and the army quietly disembarked. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country. And a soldier running to a neighboring cottage, plucked some thatch, which, as if giving him sense of the kingdom, he presented to his general. As the nearer observance of Harold's army were so great, that they were nowise discouraged, even when they heard of Harold's great victory over the Norwegians; they seemed rather to wait with impatience the arrival of another army.

The victory of Harold, though great and honourable, had proved in the main prejudicial to his interests, and may be regarded as the immediate cause of his ruin. He lost many of his bravest officers and soldiers in the action; and he disgusted the rest by refusing to distribute the Norwegian spoils among them: a conduct which was little agreeable to his usual generosity of temper; but which his desire of sparing the people, in the war that imperiously pressed upon him from the Duke of Normandy, probably occasioned. He hastened, by quick marches, to reach this new invader; but though he was reinforced at London and other places with fresh troops, he found himself also weakened by the desertion of his old soldiers, who, from fatigue and discontent, secretly withdrew from their colours. His brother Guth, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event; and resolved not to support the king to the utmost of his policy to prolong the war; at least, to spare his own person in the action. He urged to him, that the desperate situation of the Duke of Normandy made it requisite for that prince to bring matters to a speedy decision, and put his whole fortune on the issue of a battle; but that the
King of England, in his own country, beloved by his subjects, provided with every supply, had more certain and less dangerous means of insuring to himself the victory:

that the Norman troops, elated on the one hand with the highest hopes, and seeing, on the other, no resource in case of a discomfiture, would fight to the last extremity; and that the flower of all the warriors of the continent, must be regarded as formidable to the English: that if they fled, they would disgrace the army. It was contrary, therefore, to military prudence, to be languish for want of action; if they were harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, and fatigued with the bad weather and deep roads during the winter season, which was approaching, they must fall an easy prey to the n bloodthirsty and revengeful enemy: that if a general action were delayed, the English, sensible of the imminent danger to which their properties, as well as liberties, were exposed from those rapacious invaders, would hasten from all quarters to his assistance, and would render his army invincible: that at least, if he thought it necessary to hazard a battle, he ought not to expose his own person, but reserve, in case of disastrous accidents, some resource to the liberty and independence of the kingdom: and that having once been so unfortunate as to be constrained to swear, and that upon the holy religious, to support the pretensions of the Duke of Normandy. He had, therefore, on the army to be trusted to another, who, not being bound by those sacred ties, might give the soldiers more assured hopes of a prosperous issue to the combat.

Harold was deaf to all those remonstrances: elated with the most atrophied exultation, and animated by his native courage, he resolved to give battle in person; and for that purpose he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fled to Hastings, where they fixed their quarters. He was so confident of success, that he had sent a message to the duke, promising him a sum of money if he would depart the kingdom without effusion of blood, but his offer was rejected with disdain; and was acceptable in his desperate and discomfited condition. The duke sent him a message by some monks, requiring him either to resign the kingdom, or to hold it of him in fealty, or to submit their cause to the arbitration of the Pope, or to fight him in single combat. Harold refused, the idea of single battles would soon be the arbiter of all their differences.

The English and Normans now prepared themselves for this important decision; but the aspect of things on the night before the battle was very different in the two camps. The English spent the evening in riot, and jollity, and disorder; the Normans in silence, and in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion. On the morning, the duke called together the multitude of his followers, being already conversant with the English, and prepared to pass the day as advantage was suitable to the occasion. He represented to them, that the event which they and he longed for was approaching; the whole fortune of the war now depended on the few hours, and would be decided so single action: that never army had greater motives for exerting its vigorous courage, whether they considered the prize which would attend their victory, or the inevitable destruction which must ensue upon their discomfiture: that if their martial and veteran bands could once break those raw soldiers, who had rashly dared to approach them, they conquered a kingdom at one blow, and were justly entitled to all its possessions as the reward of their prosperous arms. The English spent the night, in their least worthy prowess, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the sea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious death was the certain punishment of their imprudent conduct; that he, coming so numerous and brave a host, he had insured every human means of conquest; and the commander of the enemy, by his criminal conduct, had given him just cause to hope for the favour of the Almighty, in whose hands alone the event of war was vested: and that in a purse of unalloyed, unblemished by the sovereign pontiff, and conscious of his own breach of faith, would be struck with terror on their appearance, and would prognosticate to himself that fate which

his multiplied crimes had so justly merited. The duke next divided his army into three lines: the first, led by Montgomery, consisted of archers and light-armed infantry; the second, commanded by Martel, was composed of his bravest battalions and infantry, to fight for the honour of the order: his cavalry, at whose head he placed himself, formed the third line; and were so disposed, that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. To this plan, the English acceded: the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced, in order and with alacrity, towards the enemy.

Harold had seized the advantage of rising ground, and having likewise the advantage of the sea in rear, to assure his flanks, he resolved to stand upon the defensive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentish men were placed in the van; a post which they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the standard: and the king himself, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Guth and Leofric, dismounting, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer, or to perish in the action. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English, nod after n furious combat, which remained long undecided, the formers, overpowered by the numbers and the ardour of the adversaries, were pressed by the enemy, began first to relax their vigour then to retreat; and confusion was spreading among the ranks, when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band to the relief of his horsemen; but before he could reach the English were obliged to retire with loss; and the duke, ordering his second line to advance, renewed the attack with fresh forces, and with redoubled courage. Finding that the enemy, aided by the advantage of the sea, and animadvised by the example of their prince, still made vigorous resistance, he tried n stratagem, which was very delicate in its management, but which seemed advisable to him, not in order to obtain an decisive victory, he was totally undone: he commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded against those inexperienced soldiers, who, hected by the action, and sanguine in their hopes, precipitately followed the Normans into the plain. William gave orders, that at once the infantry should face about upon their pursuers, and the cavalry make an assault upon the rear of the Normans. The English, seeing which the surprise and terror of the enemy must give them in that critical and decisive moment. The English were repulsed with great slaughter, and driven back to the hill; the enemy, on the other hand, continued their advance, and arrived, notwithstanding their loss, to maintain the post, and continue the combat. The duke tried the same stratagem n second time with the same success; but even after this double advantage, he still found a great body of the English, who, maintaining themselves in firm array, seemed determined to dispute the victory to the last extremity. He ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make an assault upon them; while his archers, placed behind, should gall the enemy, who were exposed by the situation of the ground, and who were intent on defending themselves against the swords and spears of the assailants. By this disposition he at last prevailed: Harold was slain by a single arrow, and both of them pursued the advancing Duke of Normandy, whose head of the day, his two brothers shared the same fate: and the English, discouraged by the fall of those princes, gave ground on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter, heavy arms, and darkness; however, of the vanquished, had still the courage to turn upon their pursuers; and attacking them in deep and mazy ground, obtained some revenge for the slaughter and dishonour of the day. But they were obliged to seek their security by flight; and darkness saved them from any further pursuit by the enemy.

Thus was gained by William, Duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings, after n battle which
was fought from morning till sunset, and which seemed worthy, by the heroic valour displayed by both armies, and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. William had three horses killed under him; and there fell near fifteen thousand men on the side of the Normans: the loss of the English was still more considerable, on that of the vanquished; besides the death of the king and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was brought to William, and was generously restored without ransom to his kindred. The Norman army was left not the field of battle without giving thanks to Heaven in the most solemn manner for their victory: and the prince, having refreshed his troops, prepared to push to the utmost his advantage against the divided, dismayed, and discomfited English.

CHAP. IV.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.


Nothing could exceed the consternation which seized the English, when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings, the death of their king, the slaughter of their principal nobility and of their bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the remainder. But though the loss which they had sustained in that fatal action was considerable, it might have been repaired by a great nation, where the people were generally armed, and where there remained powerful noble houses and powerful provinces, who could have assembled their retainers, and have obliged the Duke of Normandy to divide his army, and probably to waste it in a variety of actions and encounters. It was thus that the kingdom had formerly resisted, for many years, its invaders, and had been gradually subjugated, by the continued efforts of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes; and equal difficulties might have been apprehended by William in that bold and hazardous enterprise. But there were several vices in the Anglo-Saxon constitution, which rendered it difficult for the English to defend their liberties in so critical an emergency. The people had in a great measure no definite corporate interests, and were subject to their royal and municipal subjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the course of his administration, much abated the rigours of conquest, and had governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with the less terror the ignorance of a foreign yoke, and deemed the inconveniences of submission less formidable than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. Their attachment also to the ancient royal family had been much weakened by their habits of submission to the Danish princes, and by their late elevation of Harold, or their acquaintance in his usurpation. And as they had long been accustomed to regard Edgar Atheling, the only heir of the Saxon line, as unfit to govern them in times of order and tranquillity; they could entertain small hopes of his being able to repair such great losses as they had sustained, or to withstand the victorious arms of the Duke of Normandy.

Though, however, he be altogether wanting to themselves in this extreme necessity, the English took some steps towards adjusting their disjointed government, and uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent Earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had fled to London with the remains of the broken army, took the lead on this occasion: in concert with Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, a man possessed of great authority and of ample revenues, they proclaimed Edgar, and endeavoured to put the people in a posture of defence, and encouraged them to resist the Normans. But the terror of the late defeat, and the near neighbourhood of the invaders, increased the confusion inseparable from great revolutions; and every resolution proposed was hasty, fluctuating, tumultuary; disconcerted by fear or faction, ill planned, and worse expected.

William, that his enemies might have no leisure to recover from their consternation, or unite their counsels, immediately put himself in motion after his victory, and resolved on the conquest of England. The Norman army, which had been restored to liberty and vigour could render finally successful. His first attempt was against Romney, whose inhabitants he severely punished, on account of their cruel treatment of some Norman prisoners. He then turned his forces towards the county of Kent, which was of great consequence was to be gained by the French, that they might their whole force in the country, to make himself master of Dover, which would both secure him a retreat in case of adverse fortune, and afford him a safe landing-place for such supplies as might be requisite for pushing his advantages. The territory, disturbed by his victory at Hastings was so great, that the garrison of Dover, though numerous and well-provided, immediately capitulated; and as the Normans, rushing in terror to take possession of the town, hastily set fire to some of the houses, William, desirous to conciliate the minds of the English by an appearance of lenity and justice, made compensation to the inhabitants for their losses.

The Norman army, being much discomposed with a dysentery, was obliged to remain here eight days, but the duke, on their recovery, advanced with quick marches towards London, and by his approach increased the confusions which were already so prevalent in the English councils. The ecclesiastics in particular, whose influence was great over the people, began to declare in his favour; and as most of the bishops and dignified clergy were even then Frenchmen or Normans, the Pope's bull, by which his excommunication was declared, was not so warmly insisted on as a reason for general submission. The superior learning of those prelates, which, during the Conqueror's reign, had raised them above the ignorant Saxons, made their opinions he received with implicit faith; and a young prince, like Edgar, whose capacity was deemed so small, was but ill qualified to resist the impression which they made on the minds of the people. A repulse which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings; the easy submission of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional discouragement to them; the burning of the city of Southwark, and the destruction of the Abbey of St. Alban, seemed to tax their own safety; and no man any longer entertained thoughts but of immediate safety and of self-preservation. Even the Earl Edwin and Morcar, in despair of making effectual resistance, retired with their troops to their own provinces; and the people thereof forth disposed themselves unanimously to yield to the victor. As soon Submission of as he passed the Thames at Wallingford, he and reached Berkshire, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him: Before he came within sight of the city, all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, the new-elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requested him to maintain their throne, which they now considered as vacant; and declared to him, that as they had always been ruled by regal power, they desired to follow, in this particular, the example of their ancestors, and knew of no one more worthy than himself to hold the reins of government.

Though this was the great object to which the duke's enterprise tended, he feigned to deliberate on the offer; and being desirous at first of preserving the semblance of legal administration, he wished to obtain a more explicit and formal consent of the English nation. But Aimar of Aquitaine, a man equally respected for valour in the field and for prudence in council, remonstrating with him on the danger of delay in so critical a conjuncture, he laid

b Cod. Parv. p. 294.
William the Conqueror.

had all further scruples, and accepted of the crown which was tendered him. Orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation; but theLondoners, who were numerous and warlike, he meanwhile commanded fortresses to be erected, in order to curb the inhabitants, and to secure his person and government. 2

Sugden was not much in the duke's favour, both because he had intruded himself on the court of the Norman, and in particular on that of the Norman, and because he possessed such influence and authority over the English, 3 as might be dangerous to a new-established monarch. William, therefore, pretending that he wished to see the crown received in a solemn manner by the Norman, sent his chancellor, with a commission from Pope Benedict IX. who was himself an usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honour on Aldred, Archbishop of York. Westminster Abbey was the place appointed for that magnificent ceremony, the most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended the duke on this occasion: Dec. 23.

Aldred, in a short speech, asked the former whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the Bishop of Coutance put the same question to the latter; and both being answered with acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to advance its revenues, and to administer justice to all men; and put the crown upon his head. 4 There appeared nothing but joy in the countenance of the spectators: but in that very moment there burst forth the strongest symptoms of an attempted plot against the laws of the land, so offended between the nations, and which continually increased during the reign of this prince. The Norman soldiers, who were placed without, in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, fancied that the English were offering violence to their duke; and they immediately assailed the populace, and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobleman who surrounded the prince; both English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed upon one another in the most tumultuous manner, and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult. 5

A. D. 1067.

The king, thus possessed of the throne by Settlement of the & pretended destination of King Edward, government, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by force of arms, retired from London to Berking, in Essex; and there received the submissions of all the nobility who had not attended his coronation. Fruite, surrounded the town with earthworks, but Frewest, did not for his repeated acts of perfidy during the reigns of Ethelred and Edmond; Earl Cox, a man famous for bravery; even Edwin and Morcar, Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, who were with Fruite, and had landed in England, came and swore fealty to him; were received into favour, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. 6 Every thing bore the appearance of joy and approbation; but William had no other occupation than to give contentment to the foreigners who had assisted him to mount the throne, and to his new subjects, who had so readily submitted to him.

He had got possession of the treasure of Harold, which was considerable; and being also supplied with rich presents from the opulent men in all-parts of England, who were solicitous to gain the favour of their new sovereign, he distributed great sums among his troops, and by this means ascertained even the hopes of obtaining at length those more durable establishments which they had expected from his enterprise. 7 The ecclesiastics, both at home and abroad, had much forwarded his success, and he failed not, in return, to express his gratitude and devotion in the manner which was most acceptable to them: he sent Harold's standard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable presents: all the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his victory, were presented by him; and William had no other occupation than to give contentment to the foreigners who had assisted him to mount the throne, and to his new subjects, who had so readily submitted to him.

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was visited at the abbey of Fessamp, where he resided during some time, by Rodulph, uncle to the King of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who, having contributed to his enterprise, were desirous of participating in the joy and advantages of its success. His English subjects, on the contrary, were unwilling to imbibe the sentiments which his new sovereign, outvied each other in equipages and entertainments; and made a display of riches which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poictiers, a famous historian, who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the size and workmanship of their silver plate, the cosmetics of their embroidery, an art in which the English then excelled; and after such a scene he was led to extol our idea of the opulence and cultivation of the people.

But though every thing bore the face of joy and festivity, and William himself treated his new courtiers with great appearance of kindness, it was impossible altogether to prevent the insulon of the Normans; and the English nobles derived little satisfaction from those entertainments, where they considered themselves as led in triumph by their ostentatious conqueror.

Departures of. In England affairs took still a worse turn. The absence of the sovereign. Discontents and complaints multiplied every where; secret conspiracies were entered into against the government; hostilities were early begun in many places; and every thing seemed to menace a revolution, as rapid as that which had placed William on the throne. The historian above mentioned, who is a panegyrist of his master, throws the blame entirely on the fickle and mutinous disposition of the English, and highly celebrates the justice and lenity of Odo's and Fitz-Osborne's administration. But other historians, with more probability, impute the cause chiefly to the Normans, who, despising a people that had so easily submitted to the yoke, envying their riches, and regarding the restraints imposed upon their own rapine, were desirous of provoking them to a rebellion, by which they expected to acquire new confiscations and forfeitures, and to force their unbounded wishes which they had formed in entering on this enterprise.

It is evident that the chief reason of this alteration in the sentiments of the English, must be ascribed to the departure of William, who was alone able to curb the violence of his captains, and to overawe the mutinies of the people. Nothing indeed appears more strange than this prince, in less than three months after the conquest of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation, should absente himself for ever to revert to his own dominions, which remained in profound tranquility, and was not incaic by any of its neighbours; and should so long leave his honourable subjects at the mercy of an insolent and licentious army, so dear to the genius, and the good sense displayed in all other circumstances of his conduct, we might ascribe this measure to a vain ostentation, which rendered him impatient to display his pomp and magnificence among his ancient subjects. It is therefore more natural to believe, that in so extraordinary a step he was guided by a concealed policy; and that, though he had thought proper at first to allure the people to submission by the semblance of a legal administration, he found that he could neither satisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without further exerting the rights of conquest, and seizing the possessions of the English. In order to give a pretext for this violence, he endeavoured, without discovering his intentions, to provoke and allure them into insurrections, which, he thought, could never prove dangerous, while he detained all the principal nobility in Normandy, while a great and victorious army was quartered in England, and while he himself was so near to suppress any tumult or rebellion. But as no ancient writer has ascribed this tyrannical purpose to William, it scarcely seems allowable, from conjecture alone, to throw such an imputation upon him.

But whether we are to account for that Immediate measure from the king's vanity or from his policy, it was the immediate cause of all the calamities which the English endured during this and the subsequent reigns, and gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities which divided their country, till they never appeared till a long tract of time had gradually united the two nations, and made them one people. The inhabitants of Kent, who had first submitted to the conqueror, were the first that attempted to throw off the yoke; and in confederacy with Eustace, Count of Bologna, who had also been disgusted by the Normans, they made an attempt, though without success, on the garrison of Dover. While this insurrection was going on, the banks of the Severn, being provoked at the depredations of some Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rowallan, two Welch princes; and endeavoured, with their assistance, to repel the force of forces. But though these open hostilities were not very considerable, the disaffection was general among the English, who had become sensible, though too late, of their defenceless condition, and began already to experience the hardships and injuries which they always expect, that allows itself to be reduced to that abject situation. A secret conspiracy was entered into to perpetuate, in one day a general massacre of the Normans, like the first day of the present century; but before the plan was carried into execution, one of the Dukes, and the quarrel became so general and rational, that the avengers of Earl Cozo, having desired him to head them in an insurrection, and finding him resolute in maintaining his fidelity to William, put him to death as a traitor to his country.

The king, informed of these dangerous discontents, hastened over to England; and by his presence, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, succeeded in all the requisitions of his government. Such of them as had been more violent in their mutiny, betrayed their guilt by fleeing or concealing themselves; and the confiscation of their estates, while it increased the number of discontented subjects, both enabled William to gratify further the rapacity of his Norman captains, and gave them the prospect of new forfeitures and attainders. The king began to regard all his English subjects as inveterate and irreclaimable enemies; and these settled either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the resolutions of seizing their possessions, and of reducing them to the most abject slavery. Though the natural violence and severity of his temper made him incapable of feeling any remorse in the execution of his projects, he yet allowed himself, as he afterwards admitted, to have been sometimes overwrought by the passion of the moment, and conscious of the injustice of his proceedings; and he therefore resolved, at the next opportunity, to act with moderation, and to assuage, as much as possible, the resentment of his people.

The result of an impatient humour in the people, than of any regular conspiracy, which could give him a rational hope of success against the established power of the Normans. The inhabitants of Exeter, instigated by Gatha, mother to King Harold, refused to admit a Norman garrison, and begetting themselves to arms, were strengthened by the accession of the neighbouring inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall. The king hastened with his forces to chastise this revolt; and on his approach the wiser and more considerate citizens, sensible of the unequal contest, persuaded the people to submit, and to deliver hostages for their obedience. A sudden mutation of the populace broke this agreement; and William, appearing before the walls, ordered the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out, as an earnest of that severity which

3. As the historian chiefly insists on the silver plate, his panegyric on the English style and magnificence, yet he was so impatience that he exerted himself in the matter, muster was but a trifle of the value, and was more than twenty times that of the silver plate. It is therefore evident that the whole account of this plate must have been the raiser. 1 P. 321. 322. 4. Order. Vital. p. 5-5.

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the rebels must expect if they persevered in their revolt.\(^3\) The inhabitants were a new seized with terror, and surrendering at discretion, threw themselves at the king’s feet, and supplicated his clemency and forgiveness. Baldwin, who was not destitute of generosity, when his temper was not harden’d either by policy or passion; he was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, and he set guards on all the gates, in order to prevent the impunity and insolence of his soldiery—\(^4\) that redounded with much to the honour of the king.\(^5\) The inhabitants of Cornwall imitated the example of Exeter, and met with like treatment: and the king having built a castle in that city, which he put under the command of Baldwin, Gilbert returned to Winchester, and dispersed his army into their quarters. He was here join’d by his wife Matilda, who had not before visited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by Archbishop Aldred.\(^6\) Soon after she brought him an accession to his family by the birth of a fourth son, whom he named Henry. His three elder sons, Robert, Richard, and William, still resided in Normandy.

But though the king appeared thus fortunate, both in peace and domestic life, the discontent of his English subjects augmented daily; and the injuries committed and suffered on both sides, renders the quarrel between them and the Normans absolutely incurable. The insolence of the conqueror and his servile vassals, was too great a provocation to the Saxon king, seemed intolerable to the natives; and wherever they found the Normans, separate or assembled in small bodies, they secretly set upon them, and gratified their revenge in the most bloody and inhuman manner. But the actual insurrection in the north drew thither the general attention, and seemed to threaten more important consequences. Edwin and Morcar appeared at the head of this rebellion, and these potent noblemen, before they took arms, were ordered to stand by their nephew Blethin, Prince of North Wales, from Malcolm, King of Scotland, and from Sweyn, King of Denmark. Besides the general discontent which had seized the English, the Normans were increased in force by some private injuries. William, in order to insure to them his interests, had, on his accession, promised his daughter in marriage to Edwin; but either he had never seriously intended to perform this engagement, or, having changed his plan of administration in England from clemency to rigour, he thought it was to little purpose, if he gained one family, while he enraged the whole nation. When Edwin, therefore, resented his broken promise, he gave him an absolute denial;\(^7\) and this disappointment, added to so many other reasons of distress, induced that nobleman and his brother to concur with their incensed countrymen, and to make one general effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. Many of the English, who were not prepared for an insurrection, supported by such powerful leaders, and so agreeable to the wishes of the people; and having his troops always in readiness, he advanced by great marches to the north. On his march he gave orders to fortify the castle of Warwick, of which he left Henry de Beaumont governor, and that of Nottingham, which he committed to the custody of William Peverell, another Norman captain.\(^8\) He reached York before the rebels were in any condition for resistance, or were joined by any of the foreign succours which they expected, except a small reinforcement from Wales; and the two earls found no means of safety, but having recourse to the clemency of the English king, with a potential assurance of their parts, imitated their example, and delivered his son as a hostage for his fidelity;\(^9\) nor were the people, thus deserted by their leaders, able to make any further resistance. But the treatment which William gave the chiefs was very different from that which fell to the share of their followers. He observed religiously the terms which he had granted to the former, and allowed them for the present possession of their country, and extended the rigours of his confiscations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers. These, planted throughout the whole country, and in possession of the military power, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to spare, destitute of all support, and ready to fall, whenever he should think proper to command their ruin. A peace which he made with Malcolm, who did him homage for越过the land, was at the same time to deprive them of all prospect of foreign assistance.\(^10\)

The English were now sensible that the ruin of the final destruction was intended; and that the crown of sovereign, whom they had hoped to gain by their treason, had been secretly surrendered themselves, without resistance, to a tyrant and a conqueror. Though the early confiscation of Harold’s followers might seem ignominious; being inflicted on men who had never sworn allegiance, or been the friends of Normandy, who were ignorant of their pretensions, and who only fought in defence of the government which they themselves had established in their own country: yet were these rigours, however contrary to the ancient Saxon laws, excused on account of the urgent necessities of the prince; and those who were not involved in the present ruin hoped that they should thereforafter enjoy, without molestation, their possessions and their dignities.\(^11\) But the successive destruction of so many other families convinced them, that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affections of foreigners; and they foresaw new forfeitures, attainders, and acts of violence, as the necessary result of this destructive system of administration; and they did not think that no Englishman possessed his confidence, or was intrusted with any command or authority; and that the strangers, whom a rigorous discipline could have but ill restrained, were eager on their instruction against them. The easy submission of the kingdom on its first invasion had exposed the natives to contempt; the subsequent proofs of their anarchy and resentment had made them the object of hatred; and they were now deprived of every means of security. The365 Saxon and English were now equal, and had to make themselves either regarded or beloved by their sovereign. Impressed with the sense of this dismal situation, many Englishmen fled into foreign countries, with an intention of returning thereon their lives abroad free from oppression, or of returning on a favourable opportunity to assist their friends in the recovery of their native liberties.\(^12\) Edgar Atheling himself, foreseeing the insidious caresses of William, was persuaded by Cospatric, a powerful Northumbrian, to escape with him into Scotland; and he carried thither his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. They were well received by Malcolm, who soon after espoused Margaret, the elder sister; and partly with a view of strengthening his kingdom by the accession of so many strangers, partly in hopes of employing them against the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the English exiles. Many of them settled there; and from the foundation of families which afterwards made a figure in that country.

While the English suffered under these oppressions, even the foreigners were not much at their ease; but finding themselves surrounded on all hands by enraged enemies, who took every advantage against them, and menaced them with still more bloody effects of the public resentment, they began to wish again for their tranquillity and security of their native country. Hugh de Clinton, and Humphry de Tocil, though intrusted with great commands, desired to be dismissed the service; and some others imitated their example: a desertion which was highly resented by the king, and which he punished by the confiscation of all his possessions in England.\(^13\) But William’s bounty to his followers could not fail of alluring many new adventurers into his service; and the rage of the vanquished English served only to excite the attention of the king and those wrangling chiefs, and keep them in readiness to suppress every commencement of domestic rebellion or foreign invasion.

It was not long before they found occasion for their new acquisitions. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, \(^14\) three sons of Harold, had, immediately after the defeat at Hastings, sought a retreat in Ireland; where, having met with a kind reception from Dermot and other princes of
that country, they projected an invasion on England, and they hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, assisted by forces from these several countries, would at once commence hostilities, and rouse the indignation of the North against their haughty and cruel conquerors. They landed in Devonshire; but found Brian, son of the Count of Brittany, at the head of some foreign troops, ready to oppose them; and being defeated in several actions, they were obliged to retreat to their ships, and return to Ireland.

The efforts of the Normans were now directed to the north, where affairs had fallen into the utmost confusion. The more impatience was manifested by the inhabitants of York, who, rising in arms, slew Robert Fitz-Richard, their governor; and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the command now devolved. A little after, the Danish troops landed from 300 vessels: Osberne, brother to King Sweyn, was intrusted with the command of these forces, and he was accompanied by Harold and Canute, two sons of that monarch. Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him Cospatrice, Wallach, Boncho, Osberne, Stellachelin, and other leaders, who, partly from the hopes which they gave of Scottish succours, partly from their authority in those parts, easily persuaded the warlike and discontented Northern chiefs to join the invasion. Mallet, therefore, might better provide for the defence of the citadel of York, set fire to some houses which lay contiguous; but this expedient proved the immediate cause of his destruction. The flames, spreading into the neighbouring streets, reduced the whole city to ashes: the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confusion to attack the castle, which they carried by assault; and the garrison, to the number of 3000 men, was put to the sword in the most horrid a manner.

This success proved a signal to many other parts of England, and gave the people an opportunity of showing their malevolence to the Normans. Hereward, a nobleman in East Anglia, celebrated for valour, assembled his followers, and taking shelter in the Isle of Ely, made inroads on all the neighbouring country. The English i. the counties of Somerton and Dorset rose in arms, and attempted Montacute, the Northern governor; but the inhabitants of Cornwall and Devon fiercely resisted Exmoor, which, from the memory of William's clemency, still remained faithful to him. Edric the Forester, calling in the assistance of the Welsh, laid siege to Shrewsbury, and was answered by Earl Eustace, who commanded in those quarters. The English everywhere, repenting their former easy submission, seemed determined to make by concert one great effort for the recovery of their liberties, and for the expulsion of their oppressors.

William, undismayed amidst this scene of confusion, assembled his forces, and animating them with the prospect of new confiscations and forfeitures, he marched against the rebels in the north, whom he regarded as the most formidable, and whose defeat he knew would strike a terror into all the other malcontents. Joining policy to force, he tried before his approach to weaken the enemy, by detaching the Danes from them; and he engaged Osberne, by large presents, and offering him the liberty of plundering the sea-coast, to retire, without committing further hostilities, into Denmark. Cospatrice also, in despair of success, made his peace with the king, and paying a sum of money as an atonement for his insurrection, was received into favour, and even invested with the earldom of Northumberland. Waltheof, who long defended York with great courage, was allied with this appearance of clemency: and as William knew how to esteem valour even in an enemy, that nobleman had no reason to repent of this confidence. Even Edric, compelled by force and necessity, and received forgiveness, which was soon after followed by some degree of trust and favour. Malcolm, coming too late to support his confederates, was constrained to retire; and though he left the country, he remained, still who kept him in his fastnesses, despaired himself, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling, with his followers, sought again a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies.

But the seeming clemency of William towards the English leaders proceeded only from artifice, or from his esteem of the government. Individuals; his heart was hardened against all compassion towards the people; and he scruplled no measure, however violent or severe, which seemed requisite to support his plan of tyrannical administration. Sensible of the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, he determined to commence, and with all due severity, to reduce the disturbance. He issued orders for laying entirely waste that fertile country, which for the extent of sixty miles lies between the Humber and the Tees. The houses were destroyed, and the people were dispossessed of their lands; the Normans were seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry destroyed; and the inhabitants compelled either to seek a subsistence in the southern parts of Scotland, or if they lingered in England, from a reluctance to abandon the ancient habitations which they preferred in the woods from cold and hunger. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed by this stroke of barbarous policy, which, by seeking a remedy in the injury committed, and by increasing wound on the power and populousness of the nation.

But William, finding himself entirely master of a people who had given him such sensible proofs of their impotent rage and animosity, now resolved to proceed to extremities against all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they should no longer be formidable to his government. The insurrections and conspiracies in many parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the Northern and Western persons in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainted. Their lives were indeed commonly spared; but their estates, and the lands and barony of the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most profuse bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. While the king's declared intention was to depress, or rather entirely extirpate, the English gentility, it was easy to believe that scarcely the form of justice would be observed in those violent proceedings; and that any suspicions served as the most undoubted proofs of guilt against a people thus devoted to destruction. It was crime sufficient in an Englishman to be opulent, or noble, or powerful; and the policy of the king, concurring with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, produced almost a total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient noble families were destroyed, and the Normans possessed of the great part of his lands, and no redress could be obtained.
the meanest birth and lowest stations; and they found themselves carefully excluded from every road which led either to riches or preferment.

It was natural that the feudal law, revolution alone gave great security to the forefathers; but William, by the new institutions which he established, took also care to retain for ever the military value and liberty of the Normans, to subdue the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal law, which he found established in France and Normandy, and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the orders of the disorders in most of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with very few exceptions, beside the royal demesnes, into baronies, and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These barons, who held immediately of the crown, shared out a great part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission in peace and war, which he himself owed to his sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knightesses; and as none of the native English were admitted into these feudal offices, who had not retained their feudal property were glad to be received into the second, and under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with this grievous burden, for exemption from the taxes and fines of their ancient state. The small mixture of English which entered into this civil or military fabric (for it partook of both species) was so restrained by subordination under the foreigners, that the Normans dominion seemed now to be fixed on the most durable basis, and to defy all the efforts of its enemies.

The better to unite the parts of the government, and to bind them into one system, which might serve both for defence and for the support of the tranquillity, William reduced the ecclesiastical revenues under the same feudal law; and though he had courted the church on his invasion and accession, he now subjected it to a service which his predecessors regarded as a grievous slavery, and as totally unbefitting their profession. The bishops and abbots were obliged, when required, to furnish to the king, during war, a number of knights, or military tenants, proportioned to the extent of property possessed by each see or abbey; and they were liable, in case of failure, to the same penalties which were exacted from the laity. The Pope and the ecclesiastics excused against the king, he would have called it; but the king's authority was so well established over them, that he held every thing from his bounty, that superstition itself, even in that age, when it was most prevalent, was constrained to bend under his superior influence.

But the residence of the clergy were still natives, the king had much reason to dread the effects of their resentment; he therefore used the precaution of expelling the English from all the considerable dignities, and of advancing foreigners in their place. The partiality of the Confessor towards the Normans had been so great, that added by their superior learning, it had promoted them to many of the sees in England; and even before the period of the conquest, scarcely more than six or seven of the prelates were natives of the country. But among these was Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury; a man who, by his address and vigour, by the greatness of his family and allusions, by the exorbitance of his pretensions, and by the dignity of his office, and his authority among the English, gave jealousy to the king. Though William had, on his accession, avowed this prelate by employing the Archbishop of York to officiate at his consecration, he was careful from the first to secure this man with honours and

carces, and to avoid giving him further offence till the opportunity should offer of effecting his final destruction. The suppression of the late rebellions, and the total subjection of the English, made him hope that an attempt against Stigand, however violent, would be covered by his great successes, and be overlooked amidst the other important revolutions which affected so deeply the property and dignity of the church. Yet notwithstanding his great advantages, he did not think it safe to violate the reverence usually paid to the prelate; but under cover of a new superstition, which he was the great instrument of introducing into England.

The doctrine which exalted the papacy in above all human power, had gradually diffused itself from the city and court of Rome; and was, during that age, much more prevalent in the southern than in the northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander who had assisted William in his conquests, naturally expected that the French and Normans would import into England the same reverence for his sacred character with which they were impressed in their own country; and would break the spiritual as well as civil independency of the Saxons, who had hitherto conducted their ecclesiastical government, with an acknowledgment of the French sovereign's protectorate, without maintaining the idea of its title to dominion or authority. As soon, therefore, as the Normans prince seemed fully established on the throne, the pope despatched Ermengof, Bishop of Sois, and the legate of the Roman church, to settle the subscription of the bishops of Normandy, and to reduce to the obedience that ever appeared with that character in any part of the British islands. The king, though he was probably led by principle to pay this submission to Rome, determined, as is usual, to employ the incident as a means of serving his political purposes, and of degrading those English prelates who were become obnoxious to him. The legate submitted to become the instrument of his tyranny; and thought, that the more violent the exertion of power, the more certain was its success. He manifested his intentions to the court from which he derived his commission. He summoned, therefore, a council of the prelates and abbots at Winchester; and being assisted by two cardinals, Peter and John, he cited before him Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, to answer for his conduct. The primate was accused of three crimes; the holding of the see of Winchester, together with that of Canterbury; the offering in the pall of Robert his predecessor; and the king received his own pall from Benedict IX. who was afterwards deposed for simony, and for intrusion into the papacy. These crimes of Stigand were mere pretences; since the first had been placed by the papacy on the primate of Canterbury, and was never any where subjected to a higher penalty than a resoluntation of one of the sees; the second was a pure ceremonial; and as Benedict was the only pope who then officiated, and his acts were never repealed, all the prelates of the church agreed that those who lay at a distance, were excusable for making their applications to him. Stigand's ruin, however, was resolved on, and was prosecuted with great severity. The legate degraded him from his dignity: the king confiscated his estate, and cast him into prison, where he continued, in poverty and want, during the remainder of his life. Like rigour was exercised against the other English prelates; Agelric, Bishop of Selency, and Aegelare, of Elmham, were deprived by the legate, and imprisoned by the king. Many considerable abbots shared the same fate: Egelwin, Bishop of Dunham, fled the kingdom: Wustan of Worcesters, a man of great learning, was the only one who made an effort that escaped this general proscription, and remained in possession of his dignity. Aldred, Archbishop of York, who had set the crown on William's head, had died a little before of grief and vexation, and had left his malechildren to that penance, and of the breach of his coronation.

2 The obsequies of all the subalterns, to put out their fires and light at his request, were described by the vassals of the English church. When the English cakes were wanted, for instance, the French had a custom of roasting them in the fire of the English, and sending the ashes to be buried in Normandy. See M. Moll, Hist. des Normands, p. 160. The same law of blood was observed by the French in Normandy.
3 Order, Vitalia, p. 525. Secreta Abbatum, apud Salonen, Tones of History, lib. 4, ch. 9. Stigand, Bishop of Canterbury, was a man who had been trained to the sacred profession, and to the dignity of his office, and his authority among the English, gave jealousy to the king. Though William had, on his accession, avowed this prelate by employing the Archbishop of York to officiate at his consecration, he was careful from the first to secure this man with honours and
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.  (A.D. 1070.—CHAP. IV.

tion oath, and of the extreme tyranny with which he saw he was determined to treat his English subjects.  

It was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of his predecessors, that no native of the land was to be advanced to any dignity, ecclesiastical, civil, or military.  

The king, therefore, upon Stigand's deposition, promoted Lanfranc, a Miscellaneous monk, celebrated for his learning, to the vacant see; and he was promoted, as rigid in defending the prerogatives of his station; and after a long process before the Pope, he obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to the see of York, to resign his pretensions. (1) Hence, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Where ambition can be so happy as to cover its enterprises, even to the person himself, under the appearance of principle, it is the most insidious and offensive of all engines. Hence Land fit's are the last pronouncing the interests of the papacy, by which he himself augmented his own authority, was indefatigable; and met with proportioned success. The devoted attachment to Rome continually increased in England; and, being favourable by the sentiments of the conquerors, as well as by the monastic establishments formerly introduced by Edred and by Edgar, it soon reached the same height at which it had, during some time, stood in France and Italy.  

It afterwards went much further; being favoured by that very remote situation which had at first obstructed its progress; and being less checked by knowledge and a liberal education, which were still somewhat morecommon in the North than in the South of England.  

The prevalence of this superstition spirit became dangerous to some of William's successors, and incommodious to most of them; but the nub of this way of this king over the French church, and his extraordinary power over the foreigners, kept him from feeling any immediate inconveniences from it. He reaused the church in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects; and would allow none, of whatever character, to dispute his sovereignty, and not be satisfied with the consent of his prime minister; and the pleasure. He prohibited his subjects from acknowledging any one for Pope whom he himself had not previously received: he required that all the ecclesiastical canons and deans, and all the superintendents, who were subject to spiritual censures till he himself had given his consent to their excommunication. These regulations were worthy of a sovereign, and kept united the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which the principles introduced by this prince himself had an immediate tendency to separate.  

But the English had the cruel mortification to find that this king's authority, however acquired or however extended in the South of his dominions, in the province, where it was employed in their own interests, and attended with every circumstance of insult and indignity, was deliberately formed by the prince, and wantonly prosecuted by his followers.  

William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English language; and, for that purpose, he ordered, that in all schools throughout the kingdom, the youth should be instructed in the French tongue; a practice which was continued from custom till after the reign of Edward III., and was never indeed totally discontinued in England. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French: the deeds were written in that language, and the law was composed in that idiom: no other tongue was used at court: it became the language of all fashionable company; and the English themselves, ashamed of their own country, affected to excel in that foreign dialect. From this attention of William, and from the extensive foreign dominions long annexed to the crown of England, pro-

(1) Mal ves, de Gesta, Post. p. 154.  

1 Turf. p. 70, 71.  


3 Turf. p. 70.  


5 Lanez wrote in defence of the true possessors against Berrucca; and, in his will, he left the charge and authority he was already appointed. He had much spirit and performance.  

6 Ausub. p. 186.  


8 H. de H. p. 2.  

9 Viti. in H. p. 30.  

10 Edt. Hist. 15.  


12 Fors. de H. p. 261.  


14 Turf. p. 16.  

15 D. Tum. p. 592.  

16 Eves. p. 525.  

17 H. de H. p. 260.  

18 What these laws were of Edward the Conqueror, which the English, succeeded that mixture of French which is at present to be found in the English tongue, and which composes the greatest and best part of our language. But amidst those innovations, which he destroyed was the odious and odious the dominion of the exactions and the monasteries, by the remonstrances of some of his prelates, and by the earnest desires of the people, restored a few of the laws of King Edward; which, though seemingly of no great imper- nial effect, were to the agriculturists, and to the poor, a source of relief and comfort: but though the people had been subject to the weight and severity of the inhabitants, no longer had they been subject to the weight and severity of the Norman institutions. The most ma-

(1) The great earls, Morcar and Edwin, became now very disagreeable. Though they had retained their allegiance during this general insurrection of their countrymen, they had not joined the rebellion, and indeed they had innocently and (2) without the knowledge of their countrymen, from the last of the earls, William, who appeared to be inclined to join the rebels. (3) When they were proceeding to the siege of the Isle of Ely, they were met by the rebel Earl, in a negotiation, with a view of commencing an insurrection, Morcar took shelter in the Isle of Ely with the brave Hereward, who, secured by the inaccessibleness of the situation, still defended himself against the Normans. But this attempt was to little purpose. The contrary of the fighting was that the Earl of Ely, who from the last of the time to the present had hitherto been able to preserve their rank or fortune during the past convulsions. William employed all his endeavours to subdue the Isle of Ely; and having succeeded, he gained at the same time the title of the Earl of the English, and the power to dispose of the countrymen, which, at the same time, they themselves were exposed to the malignity of the conquerors, who, in most of the provinces, with the concurrence of the counties, made them so unhappy. But the attempt to make his escape into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers, and was killed by a party of Normans, to the great satisfaction of the English crown. But still the Earl was here, and when the English saw him, they were glad to make peace, and to pay the usual homage to the English crown. To complete his king's prosperity, Edgar Aetheling himself, desiring of success, and with the consent of his brother, who was receiving a decent pension for his subsistence, was permitted to live in England unmolested. But these acts of generosity towards the leaders were disgraceful, as usual, by William's rigour against the inferior malcontents. He ordered the hands to be let off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the prisoners whom he had taken in the Isle of Ely: and he dispersed them in that miserable condition throughout the country, as monuments of his severity.

The province of Maine, in France, had, by the will of Herbert, the last count, fallen under the power of the Normans; and the laws which had been before his conquest of England; but the inhabitants, dissatisfied with the Norman government, and instigated by Fulk, Count of Anjou, who had some pretensions to the succession, or at least to the rebellion, had declared their desire to be freed from the dominion of the Normans, and to return to the laws and customs which had been in force before the defeat of the king. The full settlement of England afforded him leisure to punish the
insult on his authority; but being unwilling to remove his Norman forces from this island, he carried over a considerable army composed almost entirely of English; and joining them to some troops levied in Normandy, he entered the revolted province. The English appeared amicable towards this enterprise, invented him this reflection, and by no means of retrieving that character of valour which had long been national among them; but which their late easy subjection under the Normans had somewhat degraded and obscured. Perhaps too they hoped that by their zeal and activity, they might recover the confidence of their sovereign, as their ancestors had formerly, by like means, gained the affection of Canute; and might conquer his inveterate propensity towards England. In consequence of this king's military conduct, seconded by these brave troops, soon overcame all opposition in Maine: the inhabitants were obliged to submit, and the Count of Anjou relinquished his pretensions.

D. 1074.

But during these transactions the government of the young Henry was greatly disturbed; and that too by those very foreigner who owed every thing to the king's bounty, and who were the hated object of his friends. The regard for The Norman Barons, who had engaged with their duke in the conquest of England, were men of the most independent spirit; and though they obeyed their leader in the field, they would have been more prompt in the city; acquiesced, had they been required in return to submit, in their civil government, to the arbitrary will of one man. But the impious character of William, encouraged by his courtiers, and stimulated by his own ambition, compelleth by the necessity of his affairs, had prompted him, to stretch his authority over the Normans themselves beyond what the free genius of that victorious people could endure. The discontent was become general among those haughty nobles; and even Roger, Earl of Hereford, son and heir of Fitz-Osborne, the king's chief favourite, was strongly affected with them. This nobleman, intending the same project as his sister to Ralph de Guader, Earl of Norfolk, had thought it his duty to inform the king of his purpose, and to desire the royal consent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded nevertheless to complete the mutiny, and assembled all his friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity. The two earls, disgusted by the denial of their request, and dreading William's resentment for their disobedience, here prepared measures for a revolt; and during the gaiety of the festival, while the consciousness of it would have been no unpleasing spectacle to the bystanders. They inveighed against the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny over the English, whom they affected on this occasion to commiserate; his impious behavior; they would have removed with disdain his treacherous and inveterate intention of reducing the victors and the vanquished, to a like ignominious servitude. Amidst their complaints, the indignity of submitting to a bastard was not forgotten; the cortisus in possession, success in a people, by and often, the establishment of the Danes and the discontented English, was insisted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the same sentiments, and warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, entered, by a solemn engagement, into the design of shaking off the royal authority. Even Earl Waltheof, who was present, inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the conspiracy, and promised his concurrence towards its success.

This nobleman, the last of the English who, for some generations were governed by their own lords and chieftains, was now to feel the shadow of the Normans, and to submit to a foreign yoke. The earl of Northumberland, having, on some other dissuas from William, retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm; Waltheof was appointed his successor, though his guilt, at least, was not less, to shew them the confidence and friendship of his sovereign. But as he was a man of generous principles, and loved his country, it is probable that the tyranny exercised over the

English lay heavy upon his mind, and destroyed all the satisfaction which he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. When a prospect therefore was opened of retrieving their liberty, he hastily embraced it; while the fumes of the liquor, and the ardour of the company, overpowered his better sense, and he proceeded in carrying on the enterprise, instead of being alleviated by that event, would become more grievous, under a multitude of foreign leaders, factious and ambitious, whose union and whose discord would be fatal to the nation. He was, indeed, at this moment with his council, and entertained no suspicion, but who, having secretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of rushing her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to the king, and aggravated every circumstance, which, she believed, would tend to increase him against Waltheof, and render him absolutely incapable. Meanwhile the earl, still dubious with regard to the part which he should act, discovered the secret in confession to Lanfranc, on whose probity and judgment he had a great reliance. He was persuaded by the prelate, that he owed no fidelity to those rebellious barons whom he had by force of arms put to a crime; that his first duty was to his sovereign and benefactor; his next to himself and his family; and that, if he seized not the opportunity of making atonement for his guilt by registering it, the tyrant, against whom that was so great, that they would give some other person the means of acquiring the merit of the discovery. Waltheof, convinced by these arguments, went over to Normandy; but though he was well received by his king, and thanked for his fidelity, the account, previously transmitted by Judith, had sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed all the merit of her husband's repentance.

The conspirators, who were at Waltheof's house, immediately concluded their design to be betrayed; and they flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution, and before the arrival of the Danes, in whose aid they placed their chief confidence. The Earl of Hereford was checked by Walter de Lacy, a great baron in those parts, who, supported by the Bishop of Worcester, and the Abbot of Evesham, raised some forces, and prevented the Earl from passing the Severn, or advancing into the heart of the kingdom. The Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Chester, near Cambridge, by Odo, the regent, assisted by Richard de Bienfiaite and William de Wareme, the two justiciaries. The prisoners taken in this action had their right foot cut off, as a punishment of their transgressions. The son of William escaped to Norwich, thence to Denmark; where the Danish fleet, which had made an unsuccessful attempt upon the coast of England, soon after arrived, and brought him intelligence, that all his confederates were suppressed, and were either killed, banished, or taken prisoners. Ralph retired in despair to Brittany, where he possessed a large estate and extensive jurisdictions.

The king, who hastened over to England in order to suppress the insurrection, found that nothing remained but the punishment of the criminals, which he executed with great severity. Many of the rebels were hanged; some had their eyes put out; others their hands cut off. But William, notwithstanding these maxims, showed more lenity to their leader, the Earl of Hereford, who was only condemned to a forfeiture of his estate, and to imprisonment during pleasure. The king seemed even disposed to pardon him, if he would amend his ways; but being informed, by a fresh insinuace, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was not treated with so much humanity; A.D. 1075.
longed for so rich a forrester, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed. The English, who considered this nobleman as the last resource of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his relics, as a testimony of his innocence and sanctity. The infamous Judith, falling soon after under the king’s displeasure, was abandoned by all the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt and misery.

Nothing remained to complete William’s satisfaction, but the punishment of Ralph de Guader; and he hastened over to Normandy in order to gratify his vengeance on that criminal. But though the contest seemed very unequal between that formidable custom and the king of England, Ralph was so well supported both by the Earl of Brittany and the King of France, that William, after besieging him for some time in Dol, was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and make with those powerful princes a peace, in which Ralph himself was included. England, during his absence, remained in tranquillity; and nothing remarkable occurred, except two ecclesiastical synods which were summoned, one at London, another at Winchester. In the former, the precidency among the episcopal sees was settled, and the seat of some of them was removed from small villages to the most considerable town within the diocese. In the second was transacted a business of more importance.

The industry and perseverance are surprising, with which the Popes had been employed in searching powers and institutions, during so many ages of ignorance; while each pontiff employed every fraud for advancing purposes of imaginary piety, and cherished all claims which might turn to the advantage of his successors, though he himself could not expect ever to reap any benefit from them. All these impious store of spiritual and civil authority was now devolved on Gregory VII. of the name of Hildebrand, the most enterprising pontiff that had ever filled that chair, and was enabled by fear, desire, or modern policy, to make it a fully exercised the power of appointing the Pope on every vacancy, at least of ratifying his election; he undertook the arduous task of entirely dispossessing the ecclesiastical from the civil power, and of excluding profane laymen from the right which they had assumed of filling the vacancies of bishops, abbots, and other spiritual dignities. The sovereigns who had long exercised this power, and who had acquired it not by encroachments on the church, but on the people, to whom it originally belonged, made great opposition to this claim of the Council of Rome; and Henry IV., the young emperor, defended this prerogative of his crown with a vigour and resolution suitable to its importance. The few offices, either civil or military, which the feudal institutions left the sovereign the power of bestowing, made the prerogative of conferring the pastoral ring and staff, the most valuable jewel of the royal diadem; especially as the general ignorance of the age bestowed a consequence on the ecclesiastical offices, even beyond the great extent of power and property which belonged to them. Superstition, the child of ignorance, invested the clergy with an authority almost sacred; and as they engrossed the little learning of the age, their interposition became requisite in all civil business; and a real usefulness in common life was thus superadded to the spiritual sanctity of their character.

When the usurpations, therefore, of the church, had come to such maturity as to embolden her to attempt taxing the right ofinvestitures from the temporal power, Europe, especially Italy and Germany, was thrown into the most violent convulsions, and the Pope and the emperors agitated by the same. The sovereigns who had long exercised that prerogative as well as the sovereign pontiff, found it advantageous to form a league of their own against King Henry and his adherents, to pronounce him rightfully deposed, to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and instead of shocking mankind by this gross encroachment on the civil authority, he found the stupid people ready to second his most exorbitant pretensions. Every minister, servant, or vassal of the emperor, who received any disgust, covered his rebellion under the pretence of principle; and even the mothers of this monarch, forgetting all the ties of nature, was seduced to countenance the insolence of his enemies. Princes themselves, not attentive to the pernicious consequences of those papal claims, joined them in the confusion, which, spreading into every city of Italy, engendered the parties of Guelph and Ghibelline; the most durable and most ineradicable factions that ever arose from the mixture of ambition and religious zeal. Besides numberless civil assaults and conspiracies, to which they gave rise, it is computed that the quarter occasioned no less than sixty battles in the reign of Henry IV., and eighteen in that of his successor, Henry V., when the claims of the sovereign pontiff finally prevailed.

But the bold spirit of Gregory, not dismayed by the vigorous opposition which he met with from the emperor, extended his usurpations all over Europe; and well knowing the nature of mankind, whose power is only invincible when it is evident to the most impudent pretensions, he seemed determined to set no bounds to the spiritual, or rather temporal, monarchy, which he had undertaken to erect. He proceded the sentence of excommunication against Nicephorus, Emperor of the East; Robert Guiscard, the adventurous Norman, who had acquired the dominion of Naples, was attacked by the same dangerous weapon, and Cleopatra was made a sacrifice in the rank of king; and even deprived Poland of the title of kingdom; he attempted to treat Philip King of France with the same rigour which he had employed against the emperor; he pretended to the entire property and dominion of Milan; and the adven- turers, who undertook to conquer it from the Saracens, and to hold it in vassalage under the see of Rome; even the Christian bishops, on whose and he relied for subduing the nation, to remain innocently and peacefully, were reduced to servitude and by assuming the whole legislative and judicial power of the church, to centre all authority in the sovereign pontiff.

William the Conqueror, the most potent, the most haughty, and the most vigorous prince in Europe, was not, amidst all his splendid successes, secure from the attacks of this enterprising pontiff. Gregory wrote him a letter, requiring him to fulfill his promise in doing homage to the kingdom of England to the see of Rome, and to send him over that tribute, which all his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Vicar of Christ. By the tribute, he meant an annual pension which, thought amongst the most important endowments of the Saxon princes, was interpreted, according to the usual practice of the Roman Church, to be a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom. William replied, that the name should be remitted as usual; but that neither had he promised to do homage to Rome, nor was it in the least his purpose to impose that servitude on his state. And the better to show Gregory his independence, he ventured, notwithstanding the frequent complaints of the Pope, to refuse to the English bishops the liberty of attending a general council which that pontiff had summoned against his enemies.

But though the king displayed this vigour in supporting the royal dignity in his own kingdom, he did not perceive the ambitious scope of those institutions, which, under colour of strictness in religion, were introduced or promoted by the Court of Rome. Gregory, while he of excommunicating all Europe into confusion by his violence and impositions, affected an anxious care for the purity of manners; and even the chaste pleasures of the marriage-bed were inconsistent with the character which Gregory endeavoured to form. He had issued a decree prohibiting the marriage of priests, excommunicating all clergyman who retained their wives, declaring such unlawful commerce to be fornication, and rendering it criminal in the holy to
attend divine worship, when such profane priests officiated at the altar. The point was a great object in the politics of the Roman pontiffs; and it cost them infinitely more pains to establish it, than the propagation of any speculative absurdity which they had ever attempted to introduce. Many synods were summoned in different parts of Europe, before it was finally settled; and it was there constantly remarked, that the younger clergyman composed church. But the Pope’s decree, this particular, and to which the chief reluctance appeared in those who were more advanced in years: an event so little consonant to men’s natural expectations, that it could not fail to be glozed on by those who disapproved of it. S. William allowed the Pope’s legate to assemble, in his absence, a synod at Winchester, in order to establish the celibacy of the clergy; but the church of England could not yet be carried the whole length expected. The synod was content with decreeing, that the bishops should not thenceforth ordain any priests or deacons without exacting from them a promise of celibacy; but they enacted, that none, except those who belonged to collegiate or cathedral churches, should be obliged to separate from their wives.

Revolts of Prince Robert. — But his long residence there was not entirely owing to his declared preference of that duty. Many years, thrown up in composition by those disturbances which had arisen in that favourite territory, and which had even originally proceeded from his own family. Robert, his eldest son, summoned by King Godfrey, Count of Champagne. His short reign was a prince who inherited all the bravery of his family and nation; but without that policy and dissimulation, by which his father was so much distinguished, and in which his mind was educated, he contributed to his great successes. Greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, without reserve in his friendships, declared in his enmities, this prince could endure no control even from his imperious father, and openly apportioned to that independence which he so ardently desirous to maintain in his situation, strongly invited him. When William first received the submissions of the province of Maine, he had promised the inhabitants that Robert should be their prince; and before undertaking the expedition against England, he had, on the application of the French court, declared him his successor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons of that duchy to dehbm homage as their future sovereign. By this artifice, he had endeavoured to appease the jealousy of his neighbours, as affording them a prospect of separating England from his dominions on the continent; but when Robert demanded of him the execution of these projects, and the prisoner was also an object of revenge for the misconduct, and told him, according to the homely saying, that he never intended to throw off his clothes till he was to bed. Robert openly declared his discontent; and was suspected of secretly inviting the King of France and the Earl of Brittany to the opposition which they made to William, and which had formerly frustrated his attempts upon the town of Dol. And as the quarrel still augmented, Robert proceeded to entertain a strong jealousy of his two surviving brothers, William and Henry, for Richard was killed in hunting, by a stag, who, by greater submission and compliance, had acquired the affections of their father. In this disposition on both sides, the greatest strife sufficed to produce a rupture between them.

The three princes, residing with their father in the castle of the Angle in Normandy, were one day engaged in sport together; and the eldest also took a fancy of throwing over some water on Robert as he passed through the court on leaving their apartment; a frolic, which he would naturally have regarded as innocent, had it not been for the suggestions of Alberic de Gerberoy, the eldest son of Hugh de Verberie, who, while the prince had formerly deprived of his fortunes, when that house deserted him during his greatest difficulties in England. The young man, mindful of the injury, persuaded the prince that this action was meant as a public affront, which it behoved him in honour to resent; and the cholerine Robert, drawing his sword, ran up stairs, with an intention of taking revenge on his brothers. The whole castle was filled with tumult, which the king himself, who hastened from his apartment, found some difficulty to appease. But he could by no means appease the resentment of his eldest son, who, complaining of his partiality, and finding that his father was not disposed to compensate him for the insult, left the court that very evening, and hastened to Rouen, with an intention of seizing the citadel of that place. But being disappointed in this view by the preparation and the arrival of his brother, he fled to Hugh de Neufchatel, a powerful Norman baron, who gave him protection in his castles; and he openly levied war against his father. The popular character of the prince, and a similarity of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Brittany, to take part with him; and it was suspected, that Matilda, his mother, whose favourite he was, supported him in his rebellion by secret remittances of money, and by the encouragement which she gave his partisans.

All the hereditary provinces of William, as well as his family, were, during several years, thrown up in composition by the dissensions, which had been occasioned by the law which banished all monks, and by the great ferment which had at last obliged to have recourse to England, where that species of military government which he had established gave him greater authority than the ancient feudal institutions permitted. He entered into an engagement with Richard of Deines; and soon over an army of English under his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert and his adherents from their retreats, and restored the authority of the sovereign in all his dominions. The French monarch then began to fill the castle of Gerberoy in the Beauvais, which the King of France, who secretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father, against whom, having a strong garrison, he made a bold stand. As the walls of this place many encounters which resembled more the single combats of chivalry, than the military actions of armies; but one of them was remarkable for its circumstances; and it was that, in order to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and unloosed him. On his calling out for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son, who, struck with remorse for his past guilt, and astonished with the apprehensions of one much greater, which he had so neurously conceived, he prayed his son to give him due pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. The resentment harbouring by William was so implacable, that he did not immediately correspond to this dutiful submission of his son with like tenderness; but giving him his malediction, departed for his own camp, on Robert’s horse, which that prince had assisted him to mount. He soon after raised the siege, and marched with his army to Normandy; where the introduction of the queen, and other common friends, brought about a reconciliation, which was probably not a little forwarded by the generosity of the son’s behaviour in this action, and by the returning sense of his past misconduct. The king seemed so fully appeased, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, in order to repel an inroad of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and to reorganize the happenings of the war. The prince, unable to resist William’s power, were, about the same time, necessitated to pay a compensation for their incursions; and every thing was reduced to full tranquillity in this island.

This state of affairs gave William leisure to begin and finish an undertaking, which proves his extensive genius, and does honour to his memory: it was a general survey of all the lands...
in the kingdom, their extent in each district, their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in some counties the number of tenants, cottagers, and slaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. He appointed commissioners to visit every particular in their register by the verdict of juries; and after a labour of six years (for the work was so long in finishing) brought him an exact account of all the landed property of his kingdom, in one document, called Doomsday book, the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any nation, is still preserved in the Exchequer; and though only some extracts of it have hitherto been published, it serves to illustrate to us, in many particulars, the ancient state of England.

The great Alfred had finished a like survey of the kingdom in his time, which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably served as a model to William in this undertaking.

The king was naturally a great economist; and though an prince had ever been more bountiful to his officers and servants, it was merely because he had rendered himself universal proprietor of England, and had a whole kingdom to bestow. He reserved an ample revenue for the crown, and in the general distribution of land among his followers, he kept possession of no less than 1422 manors in different parts of England, which paid him rent, either in money, or in corn, cattle, and the usual produce of the soil of certain parts of the country, that his annual fixed income, besides escheats, fines, revenues, and other casual profits to a great value, amounted to near 400,000 pounds a year; a sum which, if all circumstances be attended to, will appear widely incredible. A pound in that age, as we have already observed, contained three times the weight of silver that it does at present; and the same weight of silver, by the most probable computation, would purchase nearly three times the necessities of life, though not in the same proportion of the finer manufactures. This revenue, therefore, of William, would be equal to at least nine or ten millions at present; and as this prince had neither need nor army to support, the former being only an occasional expense, and the latter being maintained without any charge to him, by his military vassals, we must thence conclude, that no emperor or prince, in any age or nation, can be compared to the Conqueror for opulence and riches. This leads us to suspect a great mistake in the computation of the historians; though, if we consider that avarice is always imputed to William, as one of his vices, and that having by the sword received dominion of all the world, he would certainly in the partition retain a great proportion for his own share; we can scarcely be guilty of any error in ascertaining, that perhaps no king of England was ever so rich; and may be able to trace, the splendid and magnificent of a court, or could bestow more on his pleasures, or in liberality to his servants and favourites.

There was one pleasure, to which William, as well as all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was extremely addicted, and that was hunting; but this pleasure he indulged more at the expense of his unhappy subjects, whose interest he always disregarded, than to the loss or diminution of his own revenue. Not content with those large forests which former kings possessed in all parts of England, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence; and for that purpose he had wasted the country in Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, even demolished churches and convents, and made the sufferers no compensation for their injury. At the same time, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in his forests, and rendered the penalties more severe than ever had been inflicted for such offences. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time, when the killing of a man would have been atoned for by paying a moderate fine or compensation. The transactions recorded during the remainder of this reign, may be considered more as domestic occurrences which concern the prince, than as national events which regard England. William had an only brother, Robert, by his wife Matilda, whom he had created Earl of Kent, and intrusted with a great share of power during his whole reign, had amassed immense riches; and agreeably to the usual progress of his mind, he regarded his present possessions but as a step to further grandeur. He had formed the chimerical project of buying the papacy; and though Gregory, the reigning Pope, was not of advanced years, the prelate had confided so much in the pretensions of an astrologer, that he reckoned upon the pontiff's death, and upon attaining, by his own intrigues and money, that envied state of greatness. Resolving, therefore, to remit all his riches to Italy, he had persuaded many considerable barons, and among the rest, Hugh, Earl of Chester, to take the same course; in hopes that, when he should mount the papal throne, he would bestow on them more considerable establishments in that country. The king, from whose projects had been carefully concealed, at last got intelligence of the design, and ordered Odo to be arrested. His officers, from respect to the immunities which the ecclesiastics now assumed, scrupled to execute the command; but the king humbly intreated them to seize him; and when Odo insisted that he was a prelate, and exempt from all temporal jurisdiction, William replied, that he arrested him not as Bishop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent. He was sent prisoner to Normandy; and not long afterwards, the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory, was detained in custody during the remainder of this reign.

Another domestic event gave the king much more concern; it was the death of Matilda, his consort, whom he tenderly loved, and for whom he had ever preserved the most sincere friendship. Three years afterwards he passed into Normandy, and curtailed with him Edgar Atheling, to whom he granted permission to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was detained on the continent by a misunderstanding, which broke out between William and him and the King of France, and which was occasioned by intrads made into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. It was little in the power of princes at that time to restrain their licentious nobility; but William suspected, that these barons durst not have proceeded so impudently, if the countenance and protection of Philip. His displeasure was increased by the account he received of some ruffians which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, finding that by his treaty he had been detained in bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king sent him word, that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre-dame, as would perhaps give little pleasure to the King of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after child-birth. Immediately on his recovery, he led an army into Lisle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. He took the town of Monte, which he reduced to ashes.

But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident which soon after put an end to William's life. His horse, being carried away, was instantly bruised on the pommel of the saddle; and being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Croyes. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered at last the vanity of all human grandeur, and was struck with remorse for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence, which in the attainment and defence of it, he had committed during the course of his
he, as has been the case with most conquerors, was obliged to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and he issued orders, that Earl Morcar, Seward, Beare, and other English princes, should be set at liberty. He was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to con-

ce not his subjects. He also sudden an abbot of the principal Roman church against whom he was extremely incensed. He left Norm-

\footnote{1 M. West, p. 570. Anglia Saxica, vol. I, p. 236.}

\footnote{2 H. Hunt, p. 370. Brosnan, p. 250.}

\footnote{3 See further, Abbot H攴f, p. 570, Ec. All the barons and military men of England were won over by his splendor, his magnanimity, and his munificence.}
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CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

Accessions of William Rufus—Conspiracy against the king—Invasion of Normandy—The marriage of Eustace—The interior government of England.

Accessions of William Rufus.

WILLIAM, afterwards Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, had no sooner procured his father's recommendatory letter to Lanfranc, the primate, than he hastened to take measures for the government of England. Sensible that a deed so unusual, and so little prepared, which violated Robert's right of primogeniture, might meet with great opposition, he trusted entirely for success to his own office, and having left St. Gervas, while William was breathing his last, he arrived in England before intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom.\(^a\)

Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, whose situation rendered them of the greatest importance; and he got possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the sum of sixty thousand pounds, by which he hoped to encourage and increase his partisans.\(^b\) The primate, whose rank and reputation in the kingdom gave him great authority, had been intrusted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and being connected with him by these ties, and probably dooming his resentment, he declared that he would pay a willing obedience to the last will of the Conqueror, his friend and benefactor. Having assembled some bishops, and some of the principal nobility, he instantly proceeded to the ceremony of crowning his new king, and by this despatch endeavoured to prevent all faction and resistance. At the same time Robert, who had been already acknowledged successor to Normandy, took peaceable possession of that duchy.

But though this partition appeared to have been made without any violence or opposition, there remained in England many causes of discord, which seemed to menace that kingdom with a sudden revolution. The barons who generally possessed large estates both in England and in Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories; and foresaw, that as it would be impossible for them to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must necessarily resign either their ancient patrimony or their new acquisitions.\(^c\) Robert's title to the duchy he esteemed incontestable, his claim to the kingdom plausible; and they all desired that this prince, who alone had any pretensions to unite these states, should be put in possession of both. A comparison also of the personal qualities of the two brothers led them to give the preference to the elder. The duke was brave, open, sincere, generous. Even his predominant faults, his extreme insolence and facility, were not disagreeable to those haughty barons, who affected independence, and submitted with reluctance to a rigorous administration in their sovereign. The king, though equally brave, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and seemed disposed to govern more by the fear than by the love of his subjects. Oslo, Bishop of Bauges, and Robert, Earl of Mortagne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, enquiring the great credit of Lanfranc, which was increased by his late services, enforced all these motives with their partisans, and engaged them in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king. They communicated their design to Eustace, Count of Bolognæ; Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel; Robert de Belme, his eldest son; William, Bishop of Durham; Robert de Moulrey; Roger Bigod; Hugh de Gontremesnil; and they easily procured the assent of these potent noblemen. The conspirators, returning to their castles, hastened to put themselves in a military posture; and expecting to be soon supported by a powerful army from Normandy, they had already begun hostilities in many places.

The king, sensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native English. As that people were now so thoroughly subduèd that they no longer aspired to the recovery of their ancient liberties, and were content with the prospect of some mitigation in the tyranny of the new princes, they zealously supported the king, because, upon receiving general promises of good treatment, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal forests. The king was soon in a situation to take the field; and as he knew the ill effects of delay, he suddenly proceeded to the Kent; where his uncle had already seized the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochester. These places he successively reduced by famine; and though he was prevailed on by the Earl of Chester to desist from the further attempts of the Angevins of the church, held sacred in those days, were a feeble rampart against his usurpations. He seized the temporary of all the vacant bishoprics and abbeys; he relieved them of the tribute; he gave the prelates a new settlement of successions; that he might the longer enjoy the profits of their revenue; he bestowed some of the church lands in property on his captains and favourites; and he openly set to sale such sees and abbeys as he thought proper to dispose of. Though the murmur of the ecclesiastics, which were quickly propagated to the nation, rose high against this grievance, the terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, retained every one in his position, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

The king even thought himself enabled to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy. But the administration of that prince had imboldened the Norman barons to affect a great independence; and their mutual quarrels and devastations had rendered that whole territory a scene of violence and outrage. Two of them, Walter and Oto, were hired by William to deliver the fortresses of St. Valori and Albemarle into his hands. Others soon after imitated the example of revolt; while Philip, king of France, who ought to have protected his vassal in the possession of his fief, was, after making some efforts in his favour, engaged by large presents to remain neutral. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry. This young prince, who had inherited the courage and spirit of his father, had some of his money, had furnished Robert, while he was making his preparations against England, with the sum of three thousand marks; and in return for so slender a supply, had been put in possession of those territories comprehended near a third of the duchy of Normandy. Robert afterwards, upon some suspicion, threw him into prison; but finding himself exposed to invasion from the King of England, and dreading the reduction of the barons his brothers against him, he now gave Henry his liberty, and even made use of his assistance in suppressing the insurrections of his rebellious subjects. Conan, a rich baron of Housen, had entered into a conspiracy to deliver that city

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\(^b\) Chron. Sax., p. 193. 9 Virginius, in 1007.
The king appeared in Normandy at the head of an army; and affairs seemed to have come to extremity between the French and English, so strongly connected by interest and alliances, interposed and mediated an accommodation. The chief advantage of this treaty accrued to William, who obtained possession of the county of Flanders, Flanders, and other places: but in return he promised that he would assist his brother to subduing Maine, which had rebelled; and that the Norman barons, attainted to Robert's cause, might conduct themselves to England.

The two brothers also stipulated, that on the demise of either without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions; and twelve of the most powerful barons on each side swore, that they would employ their power to preserve the effects of the whole treaty: a strong proof of the great independence and authority of the nobles in those ages!

Prince Henry, distressed that so little care had been taken of his brother, sprang to his horse, and advanced to St. Michael’s Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, besieged his post, but were compelled to give it up by the scarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being received by William with open arms, he was permitted to return to his own country, and to justify himself, fought in the presence of the court at Windsor, a duel with Geoffrey Basset, who accused him. But being worsted in the combat, he was compelled to make satisfaction, and to have his eyes put out. William de Alder, another conspirator, was supposed to be treated with more rigour, when he was sentenced to be hanged.

The continued intestine discord among the barons was alone in that age destructive; the public wars were commonly short and feeble, produced little bloodshed, and were attended with no immense calamity. To this dissension was, which was so soon concluded, there succeeded hostilities with Scotland, which were not of longer duration. Robert here commanded his brother’s army, and obliged Malcolm to accept of peace, and to make the homage to the crown of England.

This peace was not more durable. Malcolm, two years after, levying an army, invaded England; after ravaging Northumberland, he laid siege to Alnwick, where a party of Earl Mounbray’s troops falling upon him by surprise, a sharp action ensued in which Malcolm was slain. This incident interrupted for some years the regular succession to the Scottish crown. Though Malcolm left legitimate sons, his brother Donald, on account of the youth of these princes, was advanced to the throne; but kept not long possession of it. Duncan, natural son of Malcolm, formed a conspiracy against him; and being assisted by William with a small force, made himself master of the kingdom. New broils ensued with Normandy. The frank, open, tempestuous manner of Robert was all fitted to withstand the interested, rapacious character of William, who, supported by greater power, was still encroaching on his brother’s possessions, and uniting his turbulent barons to rebellion against him.

The king, having gone over to Normandy, to support his partisans, ordered an army of twenty thousand men to take a station against the English, who were conducted to the sea-coast, as if they were instantly to be embarked. Here Ralph Flammond, the king’s minister, and the chief instrument of his extortions, exacted ten shillings apiece of them, in his name, and then dismissed them into their several counties. This money was so skilfully employed by William, that it rendered him better service than he could have expected from the army. The French had sent orders to the barons to depart from the protection of Robert; and to daily bribe the Norman barons to desert his service; but was prevented from pushing his advantages by an occurrence of the French, which obliged him to return to England. He found no difficulty in repelling the enemy; but was not able to make any considerable impression on a country guarded by its mountainous situation. The conspiracy of his eldest barons was also detected at this time, appeared more serious concern, and engrossed all his attention. Robert Mounbray, Earl of Northumberland, was at the head of this combination; and he engaged in it the Count d’Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacevy, and many others.

The purpose of the conspirators was to dethrone the king, and to advance in his stead Stephen, Count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. William’s despatch prevented the design from being effectual, and engaged the count and his associates in the spirit of fidelity against their royal master, which, not long after, brought about the overthrow of the said Conqueror and his family.

The barons of the county of Flanders and Hainault, from the influence of the psalms, and the example of the Crusades, which now engrossed the attention of Europe, and have ever since engaged the curiosity of Christians, have adopted the idea of lending an army to the Christians, with the greatest interest in the possession of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation. After Mahomet had, by means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed Arabs into one head, they issued forth from their deserts in great multitudes; and being animated with zeal for their new religion, and supported by the vigour of their new government, they made deep impression on the Eastern empire, which was far in the decline, with regard both to military discipline and to civil policy. Jerusalem, by its situation, became one of their most easy conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places consecrated by the piety of their first founder, fallen into the possession of infidels. But the Arabs or Saracens were so employed to military enterprises, by which they spread their empire, in a few years, from the banks of the Caucasus to the Straits of Gibraltar, and to the west of the Pyrenees. The original monument of their faith, seems to contain some violent precepts, they were much less infected with the spirit of bigotry and persecution, than the indolent and speculative Greeks, who were continually refining on the several articles of their religious system.

They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every one that wished to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious dutie, and to return to peace. But the Turcomans or Turks, a tribe of Tartars, who had embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having in the year 1065 made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners, and the confusions attending their unsettled government, oppressed the pilgrims to many insults, robberies, and extortions; and these zealots, returning from their meritorious fatigue and sufferings, filled all Christendom with indignation against the infidels, who were the authors of all these misfortunes, by their presence, and derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion. Gregory VII. among the
other vast ideas which he entertained, had formed the design of uniting all the Western Christians against the Mahometans; but the egregious and violent invasions of that pontiff on the civil power of princes, had created him so many enemies, and had rendered his schemes so suspicious, as not to allay the great progress of this undertaking. The work was reserved for a more fit instrument, whose low condition in life exposed him to no jealousy, and whose folly was well calculated to coincide with all the prevailing principles of the Peter. Commonly called the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, as well as with the instances of the carnage which the Eastern Christians labouring, he entertained the bold, and in all appearance impene-
table, project of leading into Asia from the furthest extremities of the West, armies sufficient to subdue those potent and warlike nations which now held the holy city in subjection. He proposed his views to Martin II., who filled the papal chair, and who, though sensible of the advantages which the head of the Christian religion might expect from a religious war, and though he esteemed the blind zeal of Peter a reason for effecting the purpose, resolved not to interpose his authority, till he saw a greater probability of success. He summoned a council at Placentia, which consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and of twenty thousand civil lords; and which was so numerous that no hall could contain the multitude, and it was necessary to hold the assembly in a plain. The hangers of the Pope, and of Peter himself, repre-
senting the dismal situation of their brethren in the East, and the indignity suffered by the Christian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of infidels, here found the minds of men so well prepared, that the whole multitude, blindly and violently declared for the war, and solemnly devolved upon themselves to perform this service, so meritorious, as they believed it, to God and religion.

But though Italy seemed thus to have zealously em-
abled the enterprise, Martin knew that, in order to as-
sure success, it was necessary to enlist the greater and more warlike nations in the same engagement; and hav-
ing previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Clermont in Auvergne. The fame of this great and pious design, being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes, and when the Pope and the Hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, immediately moved, not moved by their preceding im-
pressions, exclaimed with one voice, IT is the will of God, It is the will of God! words deemed so memorable, and so inculcated with a deep reverence of a divine influence, that they were employed as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardor; and an exterior symbol too, a circumstance of chief moment, was here chosen by the devoted combatants. The age of the cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Chris-
tians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach among the pagan world, was the more passionately che-
rushed by them, because the badge of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder, by all who enlisted them-
selves in this sacred war.

Europe was at this time sunk into profound ignorance and superstition: the ecclesiastics had acquired the great-
est ascendancy over the human mind: the people, who, being little restrained by honour, and less by law, aban-
doned themselves to the worst crimes and disorders, knew of no other expiation than the observances imposed on them by their spiritual pastors: and it was easy to repre-
sent the holy war as an equivalent for all penances, and an atonement for every violation of justice and humanity. But, amidst the object superstition which now prevailed, the military spirit also had universally diffused itself; and though not supported by art or discipline, was because the general character of the nations governed by the feudal law. All the great lords possessed the right of peace and war: they were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other: the open country was become a scene of outrage and massacre, the roads being guarded by walls nor protected by privileges, and were exposed to every insult: individuals were obliged to depend for safety on their own force, or their private alliances: and valour was the only excellence which was held in veneration, or gave one man the right to another. When all the particular superstitions, therefore, were here united in one great object, the ardour for mili-
tary enterprises took the same direction; and Europe, impelled by the blind and passionate spirit of revenge, as it were, from its foundations, and seemed to precipitate itself in one united body upon the East.

All orders of men, deeming the Crusades the only road to heaven, enlisted themselves under these sacred banners, and were impatient to open the way with their sword to the holy city. Nobles, artisans, peasants, even priests, enrolled their names; and to decline this meritorious ser-
vice was branded with the reproach of impious, or what perhaps was esteemed in those times violation of piety, and puerility. The inform and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money; and many of them, not satisfied with the merit of this atonement, attended it in person, and brought their personal troops; and thus, in their last sight of that city where their Saviour had died for them. Women themselves, concealing their sex under the disguise of armour, attended the camp; and com-
monly forgot still more the duty of their sex, in protect-
ing themselves, without reserve, to the army. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they regarded as a propitiation for all crimes; and the most enormous disorders were, during the course of those expeditions, committed; among men, iniquity turned to the worst example, and impelled by necessity. The multitude of the adventurers soon became so great, that their more sagacious leaders, Hugh, Count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Raymond, Count of Toulouse, God-
drey of Bouillon, Prince of Bézant, and Stephen, Count of Blois, became apprehensive lest the greatness itself of the armament should disappoint its purpose; and they permitted an uncontrolled multitude, composed of 300,000 men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Waler the Moneyless. These men took the road towards Constantinople through Hungary and Bulgaria, and trusting that Heaven, by superna-
tural power, would supply them with the means of subsistence, the march went on without provision for subsistence on their march. They soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of every city and village, only considered the pillaging bands gathered together in arms, attacked the disorderly mul-
titude, and put them to slaughter without resistance. The more disciplined armed forces followed after; and passing the straits at Constantinople, they were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted in the whole to the number of 700,000 combatants.

Amidst this universal frenzy, which spread itself by contagion throughout Europe; especially in Italy and Germany, were not entirely forgetful of their present interests; and both those who went on this expedition, and those who stayed behind, entertained schemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enlisted themselves were moved, from the romantic spirit of the age, to hope for opulent es-
tablishments in the East, the chief seat of arts and commerce during those ages; and in pursuit of these chimerical projects, they sold at the lowest price their ancient castles and inheritances, which had now lost all value in their own eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, besides establishing peace in their dominions by giving occupa-
tion abroad to the ineptitude and madness of those upon their subjects, took the opportunity of amassing a

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5 History Bell. Sacri, tom. 2. Manue Lat.
If this story be true, it is probable that he meant only to abuse himself by turning both into ridicule: but we must be cautious of admitting every thing related by the monkish historians to the disadvantage of this prince: he had the misfortune to be engaged in quarrels with the ecclesiastics, particularly with Anselm; commonly called St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; and it is no wonder his memory should be blackened by the historians of that order.

After the death of Lanfranc, the king, for several years, retained in his own hands the accounts of the revenues of Canterbury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics; but falling into a dangerous sickness, he was seized with remorse, and the clergy represented to him his rashness; but he would not repent of it, if before his death he did not make atonement for those multiplied impieties and sacrileges, of which he had been guilty. He resolved therefore to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury; and for that purpose he sent for Anselm, a Piedmontese by birth, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety. The Abbot earnestly refused the dignity, fell on his knees, wept, and entreated the king to change his purpose; and when he found the prince obstinate in forcing the pastoral staff upon him, he kept his fist so fast clenched, that it required the utmost violence of the bystanders to open it, and force him to resign.

William soon after recovered, and his passions regaining their wonted vigour, he returned to his former violence and rapine. He detained in prison several persons whom he had ordered to be freed during the time of his penance; he still prevailed on the ecclesiastics to consign to him the revenues of the Church of Canterbury, which he had been in the habit of appropriating to himself; and he had reason to expect from the ostentatious humility which that prelate had displayed in refusing his promotion.

The opposition made by Anselm was the more dangerous to the king, who was in the habit of gauging the value of his subjects' vassals and possessions; and he had soon ascertained the value of Anselm's estates in England, by his great zeal against all abuses, particularly those in dress and ornament. There was a mode, which, in that age, prevailed throughout Europe, both among men and women, of adorning their persons with an enormous length of ribbon and gold, with a shoe, to a sharp point, and to the figure of a bird's bill, or some such ornament, which was turned upwards, and which was often sustained by gold or silver chains tied to the knee. The ecclesiastics took occasion at this time of the king's penance, and said an attempt to belie the Scripture, where it is affirmed, that no man can add a cup to his stature; and they denounced against it with great vehemence, nay, assembled some seeds, which were afterwards sown. But, such are the strange contradictions in human nature: though the clergy, at that time, could overturn thrones, and had authority sufficient to send above a million of men on their errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never prevail against those long-pointed shoes: on the contrary, that caprice, contrary to all other modes, maintained its ground during several centuries; and if the clergy had not at last desisted from their persecution of it, it might still have been the prevailing fashion in Europe.

But Anselm was more fortunate in decting the particular mode which was the object of his aversion, and which probably had not the same fast hold of the affections of the people. He preached sedulously against the long hair and curled locks which were then fashionable among the courtiers; he refused the ashes on Ash-Wednesday to those who were so accoutrèd; and his authority and eloquence had such influence, that the young and universally abandoned that ornament, and appeared in the cropt hair, which was recommended to them by the sermons of the primates. The noted historian of Anselm, who was also his companion and secretary, celebrates highly this effort of his zeal and piety.

a Ead. p. 47. b W. Malm. p. 103.

The 'buttery' of the king, a large room, in which bread was kept and distributed among the poor. a Ead. p. 10. b Ead. p. 10. c Ead. p. 11. d Ead. p. 11. e Ead. p. 11. f Ead. p. 11. g W. Malm. p. 173. h W. Malm. p. 173. i W. Malm. p. 175. j W. Malm. p. 175.
When William's profaneness therefore returned to him with his health, he was soon engaged in controversies with this austere prelate. There was at that time a schism in the church between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy; 1 and Anselm, who, as Abbé of Bec, had already acknowledged the former, was determined, without the king's consent, to introduce his authority into England. 2 William, who, imitating his father's example, had prohibited his subjects from recognizing any prelates, who had not personally received, was extorted at this attempt; and summoned a synod at Rockingham, with an intention of deposing Anselm: but the prelate's suffragans declared, that without the papal authority, they knew no warrant for inflicting so punishment on their primate. 3 The king was at last engaged by other motives to give the preference to Urban's title; Anselm received the pall from that pontiff; and matters seemed to be accommodated between the king and the primate, 4 when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. William had undertaken an expedition against Wales, and required the archbishop to furnish his quota of soldiers for that service; but Anselm, who regarded the demand as an oppression on the church, and yet durst not refuse compliance, sent them so miserably equipped, that the king was extremely displeased, and threatened him with a prosecution. 5 Anselm, on the other hand, demanded positively the title of the bishop of Bath, which was retired to aliquot to Rome against the king's injustice; 6 and came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired and obtained the pope's leave to retire beyond seas. All his temporale were scarred; 7 but he was received with great respect by Urban, who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even menaced the king, on account of his proceedings against the primate and the church, with the sentence of excommunication. Anselm assisted at the council of Bar, where, besides fixing the controversy between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, 8 the right of election to church preferments was declared to belong to the clergy alone, and spiritual censures were denounced against all ecclesiastics, who did homage to laymen for their sees or benefices, and against all hymen who exalted it. 9 The right of homage, by the feudal customs, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees, should put his joined hands between those of his superior, and should in that posture swear fealty to him. 10 But the council declared it excessive, that the hands should first salute God, and could offer him up as a sacrifice for the salvation of mankind, should be put, after this humiliating manner, between profane hands, which, besides being injur'd to mine and contaminating the sacred vessels of the temple, might perhaps be employed in sacrilege, or obscene contents. 11 Such were the reasonings prevalent in that age; reasonings which, though they cannot be passed over in silence, without omitting the most curious, and perhaps not the least instructive, part of history, can scarcely be delivered with the requisite decency and gravity.

A. D. 1097.

Duke Robert increased the king's territories; but brought him no great increase of power, because of the unsettled state of those countries, the mutinous disposition of the barons, and the v implacability of the French king, who supported them in all their insurrections. Even Henry, who had at first been a friend to Anjou, was able to give him inquietude; and this great monarch was oblig'd to make several expeditions abroad, without being able to prevail over so petty a baron, who had acquired the confidence, and the respect of the inhabitants of Maine.

He was, however, so fortunate as at last to take his prisoner in a encounter; but having released him, at the intervention of the French king and the Count of Anjou, he found the province of Maine still exposed to his intrigues and incursions. Helie, being introduced by the citizens into the town of Mans, besieged the garrison in the citadel: William, who was hunting in the new forest when he received intelligence of this hostile attempt, was so provoked, that he immediately repaired to the sea-shore at Dartmouth; declaring, that he would not stop a moment till he had taken vengeance for the offence. He found the weather so cold and tempestuous, that the mariners though they were brave and expert mariners, could not stand on board, and ordered them to set sail instantly, telling them, that they never yet heard of a king that was drown'd. 12 By this vigour and celerity, he delivered the citadel of Mans from its foreign danger; and pursuing Helie into his own territories, he had siege to Maplo, a small castle in those parts: but a wound, which he received before this place, obliged him to raise the siege; and he returned to England.

The weakness of the greatest monarchs, during this age, in their military expeditions against their nearest neighbours, appears the more surprising, when we consider the prodigious numbers which even petty princes, seconding the dictates of the popular rage, were able to assemble, and to conduct in dangerous enterprises to the remote provinces of Asia. William, Earl of Potters and Duke of Guene, inflamed with the glory, and not discouraged by the misfortunes of his predecessor, who had perished in the Crusades, had put himself at the head of an immense multitude, computed by some historians to amount to 60,000 horse, and a much greater number of foot, 13 and he prayed popes and emperors to send him the arms which should enable him to invade the Holy Land. He wanted money to forward the preparations requisite for this expedition, and he offered to mortgage all his dominions to William, without entertaining any scruple on account of that magnanimous and generous hand to which he resolved to consign them. 14 The king accepted the offer; and had prepared a fleet and an army, in order to escort the money, and take possession of the rich provinces of Guene and Fournou; when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects.

He was engaged in hunting, the sole amusement, and indeed the chief occupation, of princes in those rude times, when society was little cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the new forest was the scene; and as William had discharged after a most prodigious and impatient to show his prowess, he set a mark for him on a stag, which he suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly slew him; 15 while the monarch, though surprised, and exasperated at the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the Crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem; a penance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime. The body of William was found in the forest by the country people, and was buried without any pomp or ceremony at Winchester. His courtiers were negligent in performing the last duties to a master who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the interesting object of fixing his successor, to attend the funeral of a dead sovereign.

The memory of this monarch is transmitted by us with little advantage by the chroniclers, W. W. W. W. W. whom he has left no happy successor, and at the same time, may suspect, in general, that their account of his vices is somewhat exaggerated, his conduct affords little reason for contradicting the character which they have assigned him, or for attributing to him, such and such extraordinary actions. He is said to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungrateful relation. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed

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HEINRY I.  

abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions, that he made little use of them in his administration; and he indulged, without reserve, that determinate policy, which suited his temper, and which, if supported, as it was in him, with courage and vigour, proved often more successful in disorderly times, than the deepest foresight and most refined artifice.

The monuments of which remain of this prince in England, are the Westminster Hall, and London Bridge, which he built. The most laudable foreign enterprise which he undertook, was the sending of Edgar Atheling, three years before his death, into Scotland with a small army, to restore Prince Edgar, the true heir of that kingdom, son of Malcolm, and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling; and the enterprise proved successful. It was remarked in that age, that Richard, an elder brother of William's, perished by an accident in the new forest; Richard, his nephew, natural son of Duke Robert, lost his life in the same place, after the same manner. And all men, upon the king's fate, exclaimed, that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence, in expelling all the inhabitants of that large district to make room for his game, the just vengeance of Heaven was signalized, in the same place, by the slaughter of his posterity. William was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign, and about the tenth of his age. As he was never married he left no legitimate issue.

In the eleventh year of this reign, Magnus, King of Norway, made a descent on the Isle of Anglesey, but was repulsed by him, then amongst his forces. This was the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England. That restless people seem about this time to have learnt the practice of tillage, which thenceforth kept them at home, and was the source of their subsistence, which, from past customs and their nature, spread over them by those pitiable invaders. This proved one great cause of the subsequent settlement and improvement of the southern counties.

CHAP. VI.

HENRY I.


A.D. 1100.  

After the adventurers in the holy war  
The Crusades, were assembled on the banks of the Rhophus, opposite to Constantinople, they proceeded on their enterprise; but immediately experienced those difficulties which their zeal had hitherto concealed from them, and for which, even if they had landed, it would have been almost impossible to provide a remedy. The Greek emperors, Alexis Comnenus, who had applied to the Western Christians to succour against the Turks, entertained hopes, and those but feeble ones, of obtaining such a moderate supply, as, acting under his command, might enable him to repulse the enemy. But he was extremely astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed, on a sudden, by such an invasion of inextricable barbarians, who, though they pretended friendship, despised his subjects as uncivilized, and detested them as heretical. By all the arts of policy, by which he excelled, he endeavoured to divert the torrent; but while he employed professions, eulogies, civilities, and warning services towards the invaders of the Crusade, he secretly regarded those impetuous allies as more dangerous than the open enemies by whom his empire had been formerly invaded. Having effected that difficult point of dissuading his soldiers, which suited his temper, and which made good forward any such prodigious migrations. His danger policy was seconded by the disorders inseparable

from so vast a multitude, who were not united under one head, and were conducted by leaders of the most independent, intractable spirit, unacquainted with military discipline, and determined enemies to civil authority and submission. The scarcity of provisions, the excess of fatigue, the influence of unknown climates, joined to the want of concert in their operations, and to the sword of a warlike enemy, destroyed the adventurers by thousands, and would have abated the ardour of most men if allied to less powerful motives. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and continually advanced them to the great end of their enterprise. After an obstinate siege they took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire; they defeated Soltan William of two great battles; they made themselves masters of Antioch; and entirely broke the force of the Turks, who had so long resisted those countries. The Soldiers of Egypt, whose alliance they had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, his former authority in Jerusalem; and he informed them by his ambassadors, that if they came dismayed to that city, they might now perform their religious vows, and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessor. The offer was received, and was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and on his refusal, the champions of the cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which they regarded as the consummation of their labours. By the detachments which they had ever since made, they had all the time brought, and thence forth diminished to the number of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but these were still formidable, from their valour, their experience, and the obedience which, from past customs and their nature, spread over them by those pitiable invaders. This proved one great cause of the subsequent settlement and improvement of the southern counties.

This great event happened on the fifth of July, in the last year of the eleventh century. The Christian princes and nobles, after choosing Godfrey of Bouillon King of Jerusalem, began to settle themselves in their new possessions; while some of them returned to Europe, in order to enjoy at home that glory which their valour had acquired them in this popular and meritorious enterprise. Among these was Robert, Duke of Normandy, who, as he had relinquished the greatest dominions of any prince that attended the Crusade, had all along distinguished himself by the most irreplicable courage, as well as by that affable disposition and beardless generosity which, again the hearts of soldiers, and qualify a prince to shine in a military life. In passing through Italy, he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the Count of Conversano, a young lady of great beauty and determined manner, who indulging himself in this new passion, as well as fond of enjoying ease and pleasure, after the fatigues of so many

b M. Pavi, p. 34.  
Order. Vital, p. 736.  
Diecio, p. 439.
rough campaigns, he lingered a twelvemonth so that delicious climate; and though his friends in the North looked every moment for his arrival, none of them knew when they could with certainty expect it. By this delay he lost the kingdom of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the Crusades, as well as his unobtained title, both by birth, and by the preceding agreement with his brother; for, as it seemed, had he been present, he might have infully secured to him.

Accession of Henry II.

Prince Henry was hunting with Rufus in the new forest, when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him. By this advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, in order to secure the royal treasure, which he knew to be a necessary implement for facilitating his designs on the crown. He had scarcely reached the palace when William de Brecel, keeper of the treasurer, arrived, and opposed himself to Henry's pretensions. This nobleman, who had been engaged in the same party of hunting, had no sooner heard of his master's death, than he hastened to take care of his charge; and he told the prince that this treasure, as well as the crown, belonged to his eldest brother, who was now his sovereign; and that he, for his part, was determined, in spite of all other pretensions, to maintain his allegiance to him. But Henry, drawing his sword, threatened him with instant death if he dared to disobey him; and as others of the late king's retinue, who came every moment to Winchester, pressed for his part, Brecel was obliged to withdraw his opposition, and to succumb to this violence.

Henry, without losing a moment, hastened with the money to London; and having assembled some noblemen and prelates, who, by his address, or abilities, or present gained to his side, he was suddenly elected, or rather salluted, king; and immediately proceeded to the exercise of royal authority. In less than three days after his brother's death, the ceremony of his coronation was performed. Bishop of London: who was present, was not so much appalled by the death of his master, and the absence of his own person, as to refuse to officiate on that occasion; and thus, by his courage and gender, he incurred himself to the vacant throne. No one had sufficient spirit or sense of duty to maintain in defence of the crown prince; all men were seduced or intimidated; present possession supplied the apparent defects in Henry's title, which was indeed founded on plural usurpation: and the barons, as well as the people, acquiesced in a change, though, which, though it could neither be justified nor comprehended, could now, they found, be opposed through the perils alone of civil war and rebellion.

But true or false Henry foresaw that a crown, usurped against all rules of justice, will not stand upon his head, he resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation oath to maintain laws and execute justice, he passed a charter, which was calculated to remove many of the grievous oppositions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He there promised, that, at the death of any bishop or abbot, he never would seize the revenues of the see or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the successor; and that he would never let to farm any ecclesiastical benefice, nor dispose of it for money. After this concession to the church, whose favour was so of great importance, he proceeded to enumerate the civil grievances which he proposed to redress. He promised, that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate, on paying a just and lawful relief; without being exposed to such violent exactions as had been usual during the late reign; he promised the wardship of minors, and allowed guardianship to a noblewoman. He then dissolved the trust: he promised out to dispose of any heires in marriage, but by the advice of all the barons; and if any baron renounced to give his daughter, sister, niece, or kins-

![Image](image-url)
sons whom he might offend, than the rights of those whom he might injure. The very form of this charter of Henry proved that the barons of the realm were determined, rather than the people of England, were chiefly concerned in it) were totally ignorant of the nature of limited monarchy, and were ill qualified to conduct, in conjunctioi'n with their sovereign, the machine of government. It is an act of the first magnitude of this possession of the people of England, that the king, by some articles which bind others as well as himself, and is therefore unfit to be the deed of any one who possesses not the whole legislative power, and who may not at pleasure revoke all that he had done:

Henry, farther to increase his popularity, degraded and committed to prison Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, who had been the chief instrument of oppression under his brother: but this act was followed by another, which was a direct violation of his own charter, and was a bad prognostic of his sincere intentions to observe it: he kept the see of Durham vacant for five years, and during that time retained possession of all its revenues. Sensible of the great authority which Anselm had acquired by his character of poet, and by the persecutions which he had undergone from William, he sent repeated messages to him at Lyon, where he resided, and invited him to return and take possession of his See. On the arrival of the prelate, he proposed to him the renewal of that bondage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refused by any English bishop: but Anselm had acquired other and more powerful allies to support him than the king an absolute refusal. He objected the decrees of the council of Bari, at which he himself had assisted; and he declared, that so far from doing bondage for his spiritual dignity, he would not so much as communicate with any ecclesiastic who paid that submission, or who accepted of investitures from laymen. Henry, who expected, in his present delicate situation, to reap great advantages from the authority and popularity of Anselm, therefore insisted on his demands: and only discovered than the controversy might be suspended; and that messengers might be sent to Rome, in order to accommodate matters with the Pope, and obtain his confirmation of the laws and customs of England.

Marriage of the king.

There immediately occurred an important affair, in which the king was obliged to have recourse to the authority of Anselm. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and the subsequent revolutions in the Scottish government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt Christina, in the married life. She was the greatest heiress that married; but as she had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might arise concerning the lawfulness of the act; and it behoved him to be very careful not to shock, in particular, the religious prejudices of the people.

The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles, which was summoned at Lambeth: Matilda there proved that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely in consequence of a custom familiar to the English ladies, who protected their chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking shelter under that habit, which, amidst the horrid licentiousness of the times, was yet severer than any other. The council, sensible that every princess had otherwise no security for her honour, admitted this reason as valid: they pronounced that Matilda was still free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity.

No act of the king's reign rendered him equally popular with his English subjects, and tended more to establish him on the throne. Though Matilda, during the life of her uncle and brothers, was not love of the Saxons less, she became reconciled to the English on account of her connexions with it: and that people, who, before the Conquest, had fallen into a kind of indifference towards their ancient royal family, had felt so deeply the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with extreme regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild administration, when the blood of their native princes should be mingled with that of their new sovereigns.

But the policy and prudence of Henry, which, if time had been allowed for these virtues to produce their full effect, would have secured the crown of England, was frustrated by the sudden appearance of Robert, who returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother William. He took possession, with ease and opposition, of that duchy; and immediately made preparations for recovering England, of which, during his absence, he had, by Henry's intrigues, been so unjustly defrauded. The great fame which he had acquired in the East forwarded his pretensions; and the Norman barons, sensible of the consequences, expressed the same discontent at the separation of the duchy and kingdom, which had appeared on the accession of William. Robert de Belême, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, William de la Warre, Earl of Surrey, Arnaud de Montgomery, Walter Giffard, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentemoul, and many others of the principal nobility, invited Robert to make an attempt on England, and promised on his landing to join him with all their forces. Even the seamen were affected with the general popularity of his name, and they carried over to him the greater part of a fleet which had been reposed in the port of England. When this extremity began to be apprehensive for his life, as well as for his crown, and had recourse to the superstition of the people, in order to oppose their sentiment of justice. He paid diligent court to Anselm, whose sanctity and wisdom he pretended to revere. He consulted him in all difficult emergencies; seemed to be governed by him in every measure; promised a strict regard to ecclesiastical privileges; professed a great attachment to Rome, and an resolution of persevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils, and to the will of the sovereign pontiff. By these caresses and declarations he entirely gained the confidence of the primate, whose influence over the people, and authority with the barons, were of the utmost service to him in his present situation. Anselm scrupled not to assure the nobles of the king's sincerity in those professions, which he made, of avoiding the tyrannical and oppressive government of his father and brother: he even rode through the ranks of the army, recommended to the soldiers the defence of their prince, represented the duty of keeping their oaths of allegiance, and prognosticated to them the beauty of the change and the advantage of a wise and just sovereign. By this expedient, joined to the influence of the Earls of Warwick and Mellent, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-James, powerful barons, who still adhered to the present government, the king was retained in the king's interest, and marched, with seeming union and firmness, to oppose Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portsmouth.

The two armies lay in sight of each other, and the effect of some days without coming to action; with Robert, and both princes, being apprehensive of the event, which would probably be decisive, hearkened the more willingly to the counsels of Anselm and the other great men, who mediated an accommodation between them. After employing some negotiation, it was agreed that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of 3000 marks; that, if either of the princes failed without cause, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned and restored to all their possessions either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should henceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

This treaty, though calculated so much for Henry's advantage, he was the first to violate. He restored indeed the estates of all Robert's adherents; but was secretly determined, that noblemen so
powerful and so ill affected, who had both inclination and ability to disturb his government, should not long remain unmolested in their present opulence and grandeur. He began the tumbrel of Silvertongue was watched for some time by spies, and then incited on a charge, consisting of forty-five articles. This turbulent nobleman, knowing his own guilt, as well as the prejudices of his judges and peers, resolved to arms, for defence: but, being soon suppressed by the activity and address of Henry, he was banished the kingdom, and his great estate was confiscated. His ruin involved that of his son, Renaud de Montgomerie, and Roger Lewis of Lancaster. Soon after followed the prosecution and condemnation of Robert de Pontefract and Robert de Mallet, who had distinguished themselves among Robert's next victors: even William Earl of Cornwall, son of the Earl of Mortaigne, the king's uncle, having given matter of suspicion against him, lost all the vast acquisitions of his family in England. Though the usual violence and tyranny of the Norman barons afforded a plausible pretence for these prosecutions, and it is probable that none of the sentences pronounced against these noblemen were wholly iniquitous; men easily saw or conjectured, that the chief part of their guilt was not the injustice or illegality of their conduct. Robert, enraged at the fate of his friends, imprudently ventured to come into England; and he renounced with his brother, in severe terms, the breach of treaty, met with so little a reception, that he began to apprehend danger to his own liberty, and was glad to purchase an escape by resigning his pension.

This usual pretence of Robert soon exposed him to more fatal injuries. This prince, whose bravery and condour procured him respect while at a distance, had no sooner attained the possession of power and enjoyment of peace, than his former disposition of mind relapsed, and he fell into contempt among those who approached his person, or were subjected to his authority. Alternately abandoned to dissolve pleasures and to womanish superstition, he was so removed, both in the case of his treasure and the exercise of his government, that his servants pilaged his money with impunity, stole from him his very clothes, and proceeded theco to practise every species of extortion against his defenceless subjects. The barons of Normandy, whom a severe administration alone could have restrained, gave reins to their unbridled rapine upon their vassals, and inveterate animosities against each other; and all Normandy, during the reign of this benign prince, was in a scene of disorder and devastation.

The Normans at last, observing the regular government which Henry, notwithstanding his usurped title, had been able to establish in England, applied to him, that he might use the influence of his munificence, and the discontents and disorders of the Normans, and they thereby afforded him a pretence for interposing in the affairs of Normandy. Instead of employing his mediation to render his brother's government respectable, or to redress the grievances of the Normans; he was only attentive to support his own partisans, and to increase their number by every act of bribery, intrigue, and insinuation. Having found, in a visit which he made to that duchy, that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal sovereign, he collected, by arbitrary extortions on England, a great army and treasure, and returned next year to Normandy, in a situation to obtain, either by violence or corruption, the dominion of that province. The Earl took Bayeux by storm after an obstinate siege: he made himself master of Caen by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants: but being repulsed at Falaise, and obliged by the winter season to return out of England; after giving assurance to his adherents, that he would persevere in supporting and protecting them.

Next year he opened the campaign with the siege of Trenehem; and it became evident, from his preparations and progress, that he intended to usurp the entire possession of Normandy. Robert was at last roused from his lethargy; and being supported by the Earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Bellesme, the king's inveterate enemies, he raised a considerable army, and approached his brother's camp, with a view to accomplish a design formed long before between them. He was now entered on that scene of action in which alone he was qualified to excel; and he so animated his troops by his example, that they threw themselves into the breach, with such obstinacy, and energetically, as to effectual victory: when the flight of Bellesme spread a panic among the Normans, and occasioned their total defeat. Henry, besides doing great execution on the enemy, made his brother feel the force of his rage. He pillaged and pillaged him himself, and all the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy: Roscn immediately opened its gates; and by this acquisition, besides rendering himself master of an important fortress, he got into his hands Prince William, the only son of Robert: he assembled the states of Normandy; and having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, having settled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and dismantled the castles lately built, he returned into England, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. He lived out the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and he died in the castle of Carduff, in Clunemorganshire, happy if, without losing his liberty, he could at least have made his son equally qualified either to hold or exercise. Prince William was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of prudence, and a successor beyond whom his ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, and who had lived with him ever since the battle of Tenebray, was banished the kingdom, after the battle of Tenebray. Henry gave him his liberty, and settled a small pension on him, with which he retired; and he lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was succeeded by personal bravery: but nothing can be a stronger proof of his mean talents in every other respect, than that, notwithstanding he possessed the affections of the English, and enjoyed the only legal title to the throne, he was obliged, during the reign of his brother, to become his usurer, to live unmolested, and go to his grave in peace.

A little after Henry had completed the conquest of Normandy, and settled the government in the province, he began to meditate the expedition into foreign parts, in order to put a stop to the controversies which were now in great rage between him and the Pope, with regard to the investitures in ecclesiastical benefices; and though he was slower in making his move than the ancient rights of the crown, he extricated himself from the difficulty on easier terms than most princes, who, in that age, were so unhappy as to be engaged in disputes with the apostolic see. The king's situation, in the beginning of his reign, obliged him to pay great court to Anseilm: the advantages which he had reaped from the zealous friendship of that prelate, had made him sensible how prone the minds of his people were to superstition, and what an ascendant the ecclesiastics had been able to assume over them. He had seen, on the accession of his brother Rufus, that, though the rights of primogeniture were then violated, and the institutions of almost all the barons thwarted, yet the same spirit of resistance which he had experienced in the divorce of their prince, the Ingl. took Bayeux by storm after an obstinate siege: he made himself master of Caen by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants: but being repulsed at Falaise, and obliged by the winter season to return out of England; after giving assurance to his adherents, that he would persevere in supporting and protecting them.

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pensions; that this prelate was celebrated for his piety and zeal, and mastery of manners; and though his modesty and rare礼貌 ingratitude, and pronounced no great knowledge of the world or depth of policy, he was, as on very account, a more dangerous instrument in the hands of politicians, and retained a greater ascendant over the bigoted populace. The prudence and temper of the public officer, in keeping up the balance, was the management of this delicate affair; where he was always sensible that it had become necessary for him to mis his whole crown, in order to preserve the most inva-

Anselm had no sooner returned from banishment, than his refusal to do homage to the king raised a dispute, which Henry evaded at that critical juncture, by promising to some a messenger, in order to reconcile and for the purpose with Pascal II. who then filled the papal throne. The messenger, as was probably foreseen, returned with an absolute refusal of the king's demands; and that, fortified by many reasons, which were well qualified to operate on the understandings of men in those ages. Pascal quoted the Scriptures to prove that Christ was the door; and he thence inferred, that all ecclesiastics must enter into the church through Christ alone, not through the civil magistrates, who are mere profane laymen. "It is monstrous," added the pontiff, "that a son should pretend to beget his father, or a man to create a God: priests are called gods in Scripture, as being the vicars of God. Let any man then whom you think incapable to grant them investiture, assume the right of creating them."

But however contrary to these arguments, they could not persuade Henry to return to his promised concession, and perhaps, as he was possessed of great reflection and discernment, he thought that the absurdity of a man's creating God, even allowing priests to be gods, was not urged with such pertinacity as he believed the Roman pontiff. But as he had desired still to avoid, at least to delay, the coming to any dangerous extremity with the church, he persuaded Anselm, that he should be able, by further negotiation, to obtain a compulsion from Pascal, for the purpose he despised three bishops to Rome, while Anselm sent two messengers of his own, to be more fully assured of the Pope's intentions. Pascal wrote back letters equal in positive and arrogant, both to the king and princes: urging to the former, that, by assuming the right of investitures, he committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the church, who was the spouse of Christ, and must not admit of such a commerce with any other that was offensive to God. But in the meantime, the pretension of kings to confer benefices was the source of all animosity; a topic which had but too much foundation in those ages.

Henry had no other expedient than to suppress the letter addressed to himself, and to persuade the three bishops to prevaricate, and assert, upon their episcopal faith, that Pascal had assured them in private of his good intentions towards Henry, and of his resolution not to represent any future exerts of his prerogative in granting investitures; though he himself scrupled to give this assurance under his hand, lest other princes should copy the example, and assume a like privilege. Anselm's two messengers, who were monks, affirmed to him, that it was impossible this story could have any foundation; but their word was not deemed equal to that of three bishops; and the king, as he had finally gained his cause, proceeded to the use of his crown, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner. But Anselm, who, as he had good reason, gave no credit to the уверенией of the king's messengers, refused not only to consecrate the new bishops, but to invest the and the bishops themselves, finding how obdious they were become, returned to Henry the enigmas of their dignity.

The quarrel every day increased between the king and the primate: the former, notwithstanding the prudence and moderation of his temper, threw out menaces against such as should pretend to oppose him in exerting the ancient prerogative of his crown, and was sensible of his own dangerous situation, desired leave to make a journey to Rome, in order to lay the case before the sovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleased to rid himself, without violence, of so dangerous an obstacle as his refusal to grant him permission. The prelate was attended to the shore by infinite multitudes, not only of monks and clergymen, but people of all ranks, who scrupled not in this manner to show their care for their sovereign, and who regarded his departure as the final abolition of religion and true piety in the kingdom. The king, however, seized all the revenues of his see; and sent William de Warelaw to negotiate with Pascal, and to find some means of accommodation in this delicate affair.

The English minister told Pascal, that his master would rather lose his crown, than part with the right of granting investitures. "And I," said Pascal, "would rather lose my head than allow him to retain it." Henry secretly prohibited Anselm from returning, unless he resolved to conform himself to the laws and usages of the kingdom; and the primate took up his residence at Lyons, and was, in expectation that the king would at last be obliged to yield the point which was the present object of controversy between them. Soon after, he was permitted to return to his monastery at Bec in Normandy; and Henry, besides restoring to him the revenues and offices, permitted him to have the greatest respect, and held several conferences with him, in order to soften his opposition, and bend him to submission. The people of England, who thought all difficulties now accommodated, were inclined to blame their primate for absenting himself so long from his charge; and he daily received letters from his partisans, representing the necessity of his speedy return. The total extinction, they told him, of religion against his country, was likely to ensue from the want of his fatherly care; the most shocking customs prevail in England; and the dread of his severity being now removed, sodomy, and the practice of wearing long hair, gain ground among all ranks of men, and these enormities openly appear everywhere without sense of shame or fear of punishment.

The policy of the court of Rome has commonly been much admired; and men, judging by success, have bestowed the highest eulogies on that prudence by which a power, from such slender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to establish an universal and almost absolute monarchy in Europe. But the wisdom of so long a succession of men, was delayed and insatiable, and the filled passion of kings to confer benefices was the source of all animosity; a topic which had but too much foundation in those ages.

Henry had now no other expedient than to suppress the letter addressed to himself, and to persuade the three bishops to prevaricate, and assert, upon their episcopal faith, that Pascal had assured them in private of his good intentions towards Henry, and of his resolution not to present any future exertion of his prerogative in granting investitures; though he himself scrupled to give this assurance under his hand, lest other princes should copy the example, and assume a like privilege. Anselm's two messengers, who were monks, affirmed to him, that it was impossible this story could have any foundation; but their word was not deemed equal to that of three bishops; and the king, as he had finally gained his cause, proceeded to the use of his crown, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner. But Anselm, who, as he had good reason, gave no credit to the уверенией of the king's messengers, refused not only to consecrate the new bishops, but to invest the and the bishops themselves, finding how obdious they were become, returned to Henry the enigmas of their dignity.

The quarrel every day increased between the king
demonstration: the most criminal means were sanitised by the party of the end: treaties were not supposed to be binding, where the interests of God were concerned: the ancient laws and customs of states had no authority against a divine right: impudent forgeries were received as authentic monuments of antiquity: and the champions of holy church, if successful, were celebrated as heroes; if unsuccessful, they were disavowed as madmen; and all events thus turned out equably to the advantage of clerical usurpations. 

Pascal himself, the reigning Pope, was, in the course of this very controversy concerning investitures, involved unfairly for the insecurity of the papal conduct, which would have drawn disgrace and ruin on any temporal prince that had been so unfortunate as to fall into a like situation. His person was seized by the Earl of Pembroke; and Vannes, bishop of Salerno, was sent by the papal court to resign that munificence of the right of granting investitures, for which they had so long contended.1 In order to add greater solemnity to this agreement, the emperor and Pope communicated together on the same day, one half of which was given to the prince, the other taken by the pontiff. The most tremendous imprecations were publicly denounced on either of those who should violate the treaty: yet no sooner did Pascal recover his liberty, than he revo-
kicked all his concessions, and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, who, in the end, was obliged to submit to the terms required of him, and to yield up all his pretensions, which he never could restore.

The King of England had very nearly fallen into the same dangerous situation. Pascal had already excommunicated the Earl of Nellent, and the other ministers of Henry, whom he aimed at in settling his pretensions: he daily measured the king himself with a like sentence; and he suspended the blow only to give him leisure to prevent it by a timely submission. The malcontents would not wait for the opportunity of disturbing the government by conspiracies and insurrections: the king's best friends were anxious at the prospect of an incident which would set their religious and civil duties at variance; and Henry Vane was, for some time, his closest councilor. But this process of piety, who had great influence over him, was affrighted with the danger of her brother's eternal damnation.2 Henry, on the other hand, seemed determined to run all hazards, rather than resign a power of such importance, which had been enjoyed by all his predecessors; and it seemed probable, from his great prudence and abilities, that he might be able to sustain his rights, and finally prevail in the contest. While Pascal and Henry thus stood near in a point of each other, it was the more easy to bring about an accommodation between them, and to find a medium in which they might agree.

Compromise Before bishops took possession of their See, they had been accustomed to pass through two ceremonies: they received from the hands of the sovereign a ring and crozier, as symbols of their office, and this was called their investiture: they also made those submissions to the prince which were required of vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of homage. And as the king might refuse both to grant the investiture and to receive the homage, though the chapter had, by some canons of the middle age, been endowed with the right of election, the sovereign had in reality the sole power of appointing prelates. Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting and receiving homage; the emperors never were able, by all their maxims and negotiations, to make any distinction be admitted between them: the interpolation of profane laymen, in any particular, was still represented as impious and abominable: and the church openly opposed to total independence on the state. But Henry had put England as well as Normandy in such a situation, as gave greater weight to his negotiations: and Pascal was for the present satisfied with his resigning the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and he allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges.3 The pontiff was well pleased to have made this acquisition, which, he hoped, would in time involve the whole; and the king, anxious to procure an escape from a very dangerous situation, was content to retain some, if with a more precarious authority, in the election of prelates.

After the principal controversy was accommodated, it was not difficult to adjust the other differences. The Pope, who allowed granting investitures, would not permit the ordination of clerics to this mode. He had already received investitures from the crown; and he only required of them some submissiveness for their past misconduct.4 He also granted Anselm a plenary power over the clergy to this mode, but not sufficient to arise from the barbaryness of the country.5 Such was the idea which the popes then entertained of the English; and nothing can be a stronger proof of the miserable ignorance in which that people were then plunged, than that a man who sat on the papal throne, and who subsisted by absurdi- ties and nonsense, should think himself entitled to treat them as barbarians.

During the course of these controversies, a synod was held at Westminster, where the king, intent only on the main dispute, allowed some canons of less importance to be enacted, which tended to promote the usurpations of the clergy. The elisy of priests was enjoined, a point which the king had found very difficult to discern; and even laymen were not allowed to marry within the seventh degree of affinity.6 By this contravince the Pope augmented the profits which he reaped from granting investitures, and dispensed with the intervention of the clero- 
pontificla. For as the art of writing was then rare, and parish registers were not regularly kept, it was not easy to ascertain the degrees of affinity even among people of rank; and any man who had married within the seventh degree might, without prejudice that his wife was more nearly related to him than was permitted by the canons. The synod also passed a vote, prohibiting the laity from wearing long hair.7 The averse attitude of the clergy to this mode, and the importance of the cause, thus put the English into a very disagreeable situation. When the king went to Normandy, before he had conquered that province, the Bishop of Sezis, in a formal harangue, earnestly exhorted him to redress the manifest disorders under which the people laboured, and to oblige the people to pull their hair in a decent form. Henry, though he would not resign his prerogatives to the church, willingly parted with his hair. He cut it in the form which they required of him, and obliged all the courtiers of the court to follow his example.8

The acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition; being the ancient patrimony of his family, and the only territory which, while he lived, they had been accustomed to fill up by the passage of the hands of his sovereign a ring and crozier, as symbols of their office, and this was called their investiture: they also made those submissions to the prince which were required of vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of homage. And as the king might refuse both to grant the investiture and to receive the homage, though the chapter had, by some canons of the middle age, been endowed with the right of election, the sovereign had in reality the sole power of appointing prelates. Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting and receiving homage; the emperors never were able, by all their maxims and negotiations, to make any distinction be admitted between them: the interpolation of profane laymen, in any particular, was still represented as impious and abominable: and the church openly opposed to total independence on the state. But Henry had put England as well as Normandy in such a situation, as gave greater weight to his negotiations: and Pascal was for the present satisfied with his resigning the


[1. A. D. 1107.—CHAP. VI.]

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mated than terrified by the blow, he immediately best his antagonist to the ground, and so encouraged his troops by the example, that they put the French to total rout, and had very nearly taken the king prisoner. The dug

Henry I. 67

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Lewis, H>»«deci. the French orders of the ecclesiastics council, with the p. presents, and unable to serve his family, had taken care to have him recognised successor by the

council. He was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, having spent the interval in drinking, were so flustered, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they heedlessly threw the ship overboard. At last the death of Baldwin, who was slain in an action near Eu, gave some respite to Henry, and enabled him to carry on war with more advantage against his enemies. He received news from the king, by force of arms, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of applying to the spiritual power, and of affording the ecclesiastics a pretence to interpose in the temporal concerns of princes. He carried young William to a general council, which was assembled by Pope Calixts II. presented the Norman prince to them, complained of the manifest usurpation and injustice of Henry, craved the assistance of the church for re-establishing the true heir, and offered to crown the boy himself, in the presence of the old king, under the condition of retaining his temporal power.

A. D. 1113. dexterity. He had sent over the English bishop to this synod; but at the same time had warned the Pope or the ecclesiastics, he was determined to adhere to the laws and customs of England, and maintain the prerogatives transmitted to him by his predecessors. to the new king, whoever had his father's name; hear his apostolical precepts; but take care to bring none of his new inventions into my kingdom." Finding, however, that it would be easier for him to elude than oppose the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambassador orders to gain the Pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. The complaints of the Norman prince were thereupon heard with great coldness by the council, as Caston Wulfhold, after conferences which he had with the same summer with Henry, and when that prince probably renewed his presents, that, of all men whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, he was, beyond comparison, the most eloquent and persuasive. The war was going on with Normandy was regarded as his intrigue. He had laid a scheme for surprising Avoir; but Henry, having received intelligence of the design, marched to the relief of the place, and suddenly attacked the French at Breuilly, where they were all crowded towards it. A sharp conflict ensued; where Prince William behaved with great bravery, and the king himself was in the most imminent danger. He was wounded in the head, and was carried to Caen, where he died, having followed the fortunes of William; but, being rather an
absence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession. Henry, who was now a widower, was induced to marry, in hopes of having a son by the younger of his two male heirs; and he made his address to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, a young princess of an amiable person. But Adelais brought him no son, and the prince who was least likely to dispute the succession, and even the immediate possession of the crown, recovered hopes of subverting his rival, who had successively seized all his patrimonial dominions. William, the Duke of Aquitaine, was still protected to the French court; and as Henry's connections with the Count of Anjou were broken off by the death of his son, Fulk joined the party of the unfortunate prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and aided him in raising disturbances in Normandy. But Henry found the means of drawing off the Count of Anjou, by forming anew with him a nearer connexion than the former, and one more material, the interests of that Count's family. The emperor, his son-in-law, dying without issue, be bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey, the eldest son of Fulk, and endeavoured to insure his succession by having her recognized heir to all his dominions, and chief of his barons, both of Normandy and England, to swear fealty to her. He hoped that the choice of this husband would be more agreeable to all his subjects than that of the emperor; as securing a man of less danger of falling under the dominion of a great and distant potentate, who might bring them into subjection, and reduce their country to the rank of a province; but the barons were displeased that a step so material to national interests had been taken without consulting them; and Henry had too sensibly experienced the turbulence of their disposition, not to dread the effects of their resentment. It seemed probable, that his nephew's party might gain force from the increase of the malcontents: an accession of power which that prince acquired in little after, tended to render his pretensions still more dangerous. Charles, Earl of Flanders, being assassinated during the celebration of divine service, King Lewis immediately put the young prince in possession of that county, to which he had pretensions in the right of his grandmother Matilda, wife to the Conqueror. But William survived a very little time this piece of good fortune, which seemed to open the way to still further pros persity. He was killed in a skirmish with the Landgrave of Alsace, his competitor for Flanders; and his death put an end, for the present, to the jealousy and inquietude of Henry.

The first object of the reverend government consisted in the profound tranquillity which he established and maintained throughout all his dominions during the greater part of his reign. The mutinous barons were retained in subjection by his immediate and his council; and every attempt which they made upon him, found here so well prepared, that they were discouraged from continuing or renewing their enterprises. In order to repress the incursions of the Welsh, he brought over some Flemings, in the year 1111, and settled them in Pembrokeshire, where they long main tained a different language, and customs, and manners, from their neighbours. Though his government seems to have been arbitrary in England, it was judicious and prudent; and was as little oppressive as the necessity of his affaires would permit. He wanted not attention to the redress of grievances; and historians mention in particular the levying of purveyances, which he endeavoured to moderate. The remotest parts of his dominions were at that time obliged to supply, gratis, the court with provisions, and to furnish carriages on the same hard terms, when the king made a progress, as he did frequently, through the waste country. The expectations were so grievous, and levied in so licentious a manner, that the farmers, when they heard of the approach of the court, often deserted their houses as if an enemy had invaded the country, and sheltered their persons and families in the woods from the insalubrities of the king's return. Henry prohibited those enormities, and punished the persons guilty of them by cutting off their hands, legs, or other members. But the prerogative was perpetual; the rev enue was immense; and the court was a means of subsisting itself of this remedy, so far from giving security to the people, was only a proof of the fercity of the government, and threatened n quick return of like abuses. One of the most important strokes of public policy was, the guarding against the encroachments of the court of Rome, and protecting the liberties of the church of England. The Pope, in the year 1101, had sent Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, as legate into Britain; and though he was the first that for many years had appeared there in that character, and his commission gave general surprise, the king, who was then in the commencement of his reign, and was involved in many difficulties, was obliged to submit to this encroachment on his authority. But in the year 1116, Ascelin, Abbot of St. Sabas, who was coming over with a like legatine commission, was prohibited from entering the kingdom, and Pope Calix tus, on his return, was deprived of his legatine powers. By these difficulties, by reason of the pretensions of Gregory, an Anti-pope, was obliged to promise that he never would for the future, except when solicited by the king himself, send a legate into England. In the same year, and after this engagement, the Pope, as soon as he had suppressed his antagonist, granted the Cardinal de Crema a legatine commission over that kingdom; and the king, who, by reason of his nephew's intrigues and invasions, had invol ved himself at that time in a dangerous situation, was obliged to submit to the exercise of this commission. A synod was called by the legate at London; where, among other canons, was passed, enacting that the pope should have the marriages of the clergy. The cardinal, in a public harangue, declaimed it to be an unpalpable enormity, that a priest should dare to consecrate and touch the body of Christ immediately after he had risen from the side of a straiten for that was the decent appellation which he gave to the wives of the clergy. But it happened that, the very next night, the officers of justice, breaking into a disorderly house, found the cardinal in bed with a courte sen woman, that would have thrown such a ridiculous light that he immediately stole out of the kingdom. The synod broke up; and the canons against the marriage of clergy men were worse executed than ever.
As every thing in England remained in tranquillity, Henry took the opportunity of paying a visit to Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderness for his daughter the Empress Matilda, who was always his favourite. Some time after, that princess was betrothed to a son of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, further to insure her succession, made all the nobility of England and Normandy renew the oath of fealty, which they had already sworn to him. The year he was at the court, was likewise remarkable for the better behaviour of the Normans, who bore successively two other sons, made his residence in Normandy very agreeable to him; and he seemed determined to withdraw the greater part of the courts to that country; when an insurrection of the Welch obliged him to think of returning into England. He was preparing for the journey, but was seized with a sudden illness at St. Dennis le Fort, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his constitution.

He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth year of his reign; leaving by will his daughter, Matilda, heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of his daughter Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure.

This prince was one of the most accomplished that has filled the English throne and possessed all the great qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, which could fit him for the high station to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. The affability of his address encouraged those who might be overawed by the sense of his dignity or of his wisdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to keep it with discretion, and ever kept at a distance from all indecent familiarities with his courtiers. His superior eloquence and judgment would have given him an ascendant, even had he been born in a private station; and his personal bravery would have procured him respect, though it had been less supported by art and policy. By his great progress in literature, he acquired the name of Beauceron, or the Schollar: but his application to those sedentary pursuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government; and though the learning of that age was better fitted to corrupt than to improve the understanding, his natural good sense preserved him untainted both from the pedantry and affectations of his age, which is a very great blessing to a prince. His temper was susceptible of the sentiments as well of friendship as of resentment; and his ambition, though high, might be deemed moderate and reasonable, had not his conduct towards his brother and nephew showed that he was too much disposed to sacrifice to it all the maxims of justice and equity. But the total incapacity of Robert for government afforded his younger brother a reason or pretence for seizing the sceptre both of England and Normandy; and when violence and usurpation are once begun, necessity obliges a prince to continue in the same criminal course, and engages him in measures which his better judgment and sounder principles would otherwise have induced him to reject with warmth and indignation.

King Henry was much addicted to women; and his ladies mentioned the names of three and six daughters born to him. Hunting was also one of his favourite amusements; and he exercised great vigour against those who encroached on the royal forests, which were augmented during his reign, though their number and extent were already too great. To kill a stag was regarded as criminal as to murder a man: he must have the permission of the owner of the barks of his forests; and he sometimes deprived his subjects of the liberty of hunting on their own lands, or even cutting their own woods. In other respects, he executed justice, and that with rigour; the best maxim which a prince of that age could follow. Stealing was first made capital in this reign; false coinage, which was then a very common crime, and by which the money had been extremely debased, was severely punished by Henry. Near fifty criminals of this kind were at one time hanged or mutilated; and though these punishments seem to have been exercised in a manner somewhat arbitrary, they were grateful to the people, and attentive to present advantages than jealous of general laws. There is a code which passes under the name of Henry I., but the best antiquaries have agreed to think it spurious. It is however a very ancient compilation, and may be useful to instruct us in the manners and customs of the times. We learn from it, that a great distinction was then made between the English and Normans, much to the advantage of the latter.

Among the laws granted on the king's accession, it is remarkable that the re-union of the civil and ecclesiastical courts, as in the Saxon times, was enacted. But this law, like the articles of his charter, remained without effect, probably from the opposition of Archbishop Anselm.

Henry, on his accession, granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation. By this charter, the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from suit to the king, Danegeld, or by-laws, and bearing the king's revenue. These, with a confirmation of the privileges of their court of husting, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey, are the chief articles of this charter.

It is said, that this prince, from indulgence to his tenants, changed the rents of his demesnes, which were formerly paid in kind, into money, which was more easily remitted to the exchequer. But the great scarcity of corn would render that commutation difficult to be executed, while at the same time provisions could not be sent to a distant quarter of the kingdom. This affords a probable reason why the ancient kings of England so frequently changed their place of abode; they crossed their court from one place to another, that they might consume upon the spot the revenue of their several demesnes.

CHAP. VII.

STEPHEN.

Accession of Stephen.—War with Scotland.—Intrusion in favour of Matilda.—Stephen taken prisoner.—Matilda crowned.—Stephen released.—Restored to the crown.—Continuation of the civil wars.—Compromise between the king and prince Henry.—Death of the king.

In the progress and settlement of the feudal law, the municipal seeming to fortis had taken place some time before the female was admitted; and estates being considered as military benefices, not property, were transmitted to such only as could serve in the armies, and perform in person the conditions upon which they were

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x W. Malm. p. 177.
 xi H. Hunt. p. 915.
 1 H. Hunt. p. 320.
 2 M. Paris. p. 36.
 3 H. Malm. p. 789.
 4 de Gr. Vital, p. 368.
 5 G. Gul. Gemel. lib. i, cap. xvii
 6 W. Malm. p. 179.
 8 Rowen. p. 62.
 9 ibid. p. 132.
 11 S. W. p. 149.
 12 L. P. H. 1, l. 10, 15.
 13 B. E. H. 1, l. 10.
 16 Dial. S. Seraphin, lib. i, cap. i.
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[AD. 1135.—CHAP. VII.

originally granted. But when the continuance of rights, during some generations, in the same family, had, in a great measure, oblitered the primitive idea, the females were gradually admitted to the possession of feudal property; and the same revolution of principles which procured them the inheritance of private estates, naturally induced them to assert a right to the government and authority of his dominions.

The failure, therefore, of male heirs to the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy, seemed to leave the succession open, without a rival, to the Empress Matilda; and as Henry had made all his vassals, in both states, swear allegiance to his daughter, they assumed, that they would not easily be induced to depart at once from her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated oaths and engagements. But the irregular manner in which he himself had acquired the crown, might have instructed him, that neither his Norman nor English subjects were as yet capable of adhering to a strict rule of government; and as every precedent of this kind seems to give authority to new usurpation, he had reason to dread, even from his own family, some invasion of his daughter's title, which he had taken such pains to establish.

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen, Count of Blois, and had brought him several sons, among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited over by Edward, king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment, from the real friendship which that prince bore to every thing that had been so fortunate as to acquire his favour and good opinion. Henry, who had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical profession, was created Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Winchester; and though these dignities were considerable, Stephen had, from his uncle's liberality, attained establishments still more solid and durable.6 The king had married him to Matilda, who was daughter and heir of Eustace Count of Boulogne, and who brought him, besides that, all sovereign sway in France, an immense property in England, which, in the distribution of lands, had been conferred by the Conqueror on the family of Boulogne. Stephen also by this marriage acquired a new connexion with the royal family of France; as Mary, his wife's mother, was sister to David the reigning King of Scotland, and to Matilda, the first wife of Henry, and mother of the empress. The king, still imagining that he had strengthened the interests of his family by the aggrandizement of Stephen, took pleasure in enriching him by the grant of new possessions; and he conferred on him the great estate forfeited by Robert Malet, in Hereford, and by the Earl of Mortaigne, in Normandy. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle; and appeared so zealous for the succession of Matilda, that when the barons swore fealty to that princess, he contended with Robert, Earl of Craven; and, by the Earl of Chester's natural son, admitted to give her this testimony of devoted zeal and fidelity. Meanwhile he continued to cultivate, by every art of popularity, the friendship of the English nation; and many virtues, with which he seemed to be endowed, favoured the success of his intentions. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he acquired the esteem of the barons; by his generosity, and by an affable and familiar address, unusual in that age among men of his high quality, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the Londoners.5 And though he dared not to take any steps towards his further grandeur, lest he should expose himself, and put the state to a public hazard, he still hoped that, by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might, in time, be able to open his way to the throne.

Matilda, having hesitated his last, than Stephen, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to danger, gave full reins to his criminal ambition, and trusted that, even without any previous intrigue, the celerity of his enterprise, and the boldness of his attempt, might reduce the country to his wishes. Stephen, the one, and Normans in that age bore to the laws and to the

9 Bretonis. p. 1024.
10 Such term was formerly laid on the rise of coronation, that the markish

rights of their sovereign. He hastened over to England; and though the citizens of Dover, and those of Canterbury, apprised of his purpose, shut their gates against him, he stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower rank, instigated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately subscribed, and not only to the good will of the clergy, but to the performance of his coronation, to put himself in possession of the throne, from which he was confident it would not be easy afterwards to expel him. His brother, the Bishop of Winchester, joined him by a promise, that they would have gaged Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who, though he owed a great fortune and advancement to the favour of the late king, preserved no sense of gratitude to that prince's family, he applied, in conjunction with that prince, to William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and required him, in virtue of his office, to give the royal sanction to Stephen. The prince, who, as all the others, had sworn fealty to Matilda, refused to perform this ceremony; but his opposition was overcome by an expedient equally dishonourable with the other steps by which this revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the council, that the late king on his death-bed, had shown a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving the Count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions.6 William, Count of Mortain, who stood here, Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, 2nd Dec. and put the crown upon his head; and from this religious ceremony, that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or consent of the nobility or people, was allowed to proceeds to the exercise of sovereign authority. Very few barons attended his coronation; but none opposed his usurpation, however unjust or flagrant. The sentiment of religion, which, if corrupted into superstition, had become the support of a corrupted civil society, was not affected by the multiplied oaths taken in favour of Matilda, and only rendered the people obedient to a prince who was countenanced by the clergy, and who had entered into the primacy the rites of the royal union and consecration.7

Stephen, that he might further secure his tottering throne, placed a charter, in which he made liberal promises to all men of orders; to the clergy, that he would speedily fill all vacant benefices, and would never levy the remis of any of them during the vacancy; to the nobility, that he would reduce the royal forests to their ancestors' bounds; to the city and county of London, that he would render justice to the people, that he would remit the tax of Danegeld, and restore the laws of King Edward.8 The late king had a great treasure at Winchester, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds; and Stephen, by seizing this money, presumed to fortify his dominions with a fund, which he should never have been justified in requisition which that prince had employed for their grandeur and security: an event which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures. By means of this money, the usurper insured the compliance, though not the attachment, of the principal clergy and nobility; but not trusting to this frail security, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoes or disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe, by reason of the general ill police and turbulent government, extremely abounded.9 These mercenary troops guarded his throne by the terrors of the sword; and, whenever the prince as Henry, or as Stephen, he still hoped that, by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might, in time, be able to open his way to the throne.

Matilda, and her husband Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, moved by an apprehension that his son, Henry, would first apply to Thosoid, Count of Blois, Stephen's elder brother, for

writers never give any prince the title of King till he is crowned; though he had for some time been in possession of the crown, and exercised all the powers of that dignity.

9 Haguad. p. 529. 313.
protection and assistance; but hearing afterwards that Stephen had got possession of the English crown, and having many of them the same reasons as formerly for desiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, they transferred their allegiance to Stephen, and put him in the place of his father. One of the most eminent of the regninsg kings of France, accepted the homage of Eastsex, Stephen's eldest son, for the duchy; and the more to corroborate his connexions with that family, he betrothed his sister, Constance, to Stephen's daughter. The Count of Blois resigned all his pretensions, and received, in lieu of them, an annual pension of two thousand marks; and Geoffrey himself was obliged to conclude a truce for twenty years with Stephen, while he was paying him, during that time, a pension of five thousand. Stephen, who had taken a journey to Normandy, finished all these transactions in person, and soon after returned to England.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, was a man of honour and abilities; and as he was much attached to the interests of his sister, Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession, it was chiefly from his intrigues and resistance of the king, that he had reason to dread a new revolution of government. This noblemen, who was in Normandy when he received intelligence of Stephen's accession, found himself much embarrassed concerning the maintenance of his house, which he was wholly disposed to resign to his father. To swear allegiance to the usurper appeared to him dishonourable, and a breach of his oath to Matilda: to refuse giving this pledge of his fidelity, was to banish himself, at least, from the enjoyment of his estates, and to lose the comfortable situation of a privy-counsellor of the royal family, or contributing to their restoration. He offered Stephen to do him homage, and to take the oath of fealty; but with an express condition, that the king should maintain all his stipulations, and should never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities: and Stephen, though sensible that this reserve, so unusual in itself, and so unbecoming the duty of a subject, was made only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the first favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends and retainers of that nobleman, to receive him on those terms. The clergy, who could scarcely, at this time, be deemed subjects to the crown, imitated that dangerous example: they annexed to their oaths of allegiance this condition, that they were only bound so long as the king defended the ecclesiastical liberties, and supported the discipline of the church. The barons, in returning their oaths of allegiance, were more daunted by the destructive public peace, as well as of royal authority: many of them required the right of fortifying their castles, and of putting themselves in a posture of defence; and the king, as long as the rebels were not disposed to this exorbitant demand, was not able to suppress them. All England was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the noblemen garnished either with their vassals, or with hirelings soldiers, who frequently general, as well as the quantity of requisites. Unhoused rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of these troops: and private animosities which had with difficulty been restrained by law, now breaking out without control, rendered England a scene of uninterrupted violence and devastation. Wars between the nobles were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter; the barons even assumed the right of coming money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction: and the defence of the laws during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, were obviated, for their immediate safety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieflain, and to purchase his protection. It was a common practice among the populace, and by assisting him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one castle proved the immediate cause of building many others; and even those who obtained not the favour of protecting him, were compelled to give ministration to his entreaties, and by assisting him in his rapine upon others. The elevation of one castle proved the immediate cause of building many others; and even those who obtained not the favour of protecting him, were compelled to give ministration to his entreaties, and by his great principle of self-preservation, to put themselves on an equal footing with their neighbours, who commonly were also their enemies and rivals. The aristocratic power, which is usually so oppressive in the feudal governments, had now risen to its utmost height, during the reign of a prince, who, though endowed with vigour and abilities, had usurped the throne without the pretence of a title, and who was necessitated to tolerate in others the same violence, to which he himself had been beholden for his sovereignty.

But Stephen was not of a disposition to submit long to these usurpations, without making some effort for the recovery of royal dignity. Finding the rebellious magnates of the crown were resisted and abridged, he was also tempted to make his power the sole measure of his conduct; and to violate all those concessions which he had made to himself, and which were not in the ancient privileges of his subjects. The mercenary soldiers, who chiefly supported his authority, having exhausted the royal treasure, subsisted by depredations; and every place was filled with the most grounded complaints against the government. The Earl of Gloucester, having now settled with his friends the plan of an insurrection, A. D. 1157. retired beyond sea, sent the king a de- 


dance, solemnly resourced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of those conditions which had been annexed to the oath of fealty sworn by that nobleman. David, King of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's claim to the crown of Scotland. He was join'd on his journey by the Earls of Albemarle, Robert de Ferrers, William Piercy, Robert de Brus, Roger Mounray, Gilbert Lacey, Walter l'Espece, powerful barons in those parts, assembled an army, with which they encamped at North-Allerton, and sustained the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was here fought, called the battle of the Standard, from a high cresset, erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The superiority of forces was defeated, and he himself, as well as his son Henry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. This success oversaw the malcontents in England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so attached with prosperity as to engage in a controversy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch.

Though the great power of the church, in ancient times, weakened the authority of the crown, and interrupted the course of the laws, it may be doubted whether, in ages of such violence and outrage, it was not rather advantageous that some limits were set to the power of the sword, both in the states of the kingdom, and in the hands of the nobles, and that men were taught to pay regard to some principles and privileges. The chief misfortune was, that the prelates, on some occasions acted entirely as barons, A. D. 1159. employed military power against their sovereign or their neighbours, and thereby often increased those disorders which it was their duty to repress. The Bishop of Salisbury, in imitation of the nobility, had built two strong castles, one at Sherborne, another at Devizes, and had laid the foundations of a third at Malmsbury: his nephew, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, had erected a fortress at Newark: and Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischief attending these multiplied fortifications, resolved to have all the barons, and by destroying those of the clergy, who, by their function, seemed less entitled to the barons to such military securities. Making pretence of a fray which had arisen in court between the return of the Bishop of Salisbury and those of his forefathers, he seized both that prelate and the Bishop of Lincoln, threw them into prison, and obliged them by menaces to deliver up those places of strength which they had lately erected.

Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, being armed with a legatine commission, now conceived himself to be an ecclesiastical sovereign, no less powerful than...
and the civil; and forgetting the ties of blood which connected him with the king, he resolved to vindicate the clerical privileges, which, he pretended, were here openly violated.

August 30. He assembled a synod at Westminster, and there pronounced the impolicy of Stephen's measures, who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the church, and had not awaited the sentence of a spiritual court, by which alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had amounted to aggression or perfidy. The synod ventured to send a summons to the king, charging him to appear before them, and to justify his measures; and Stephen, instead of resenting this indignity, sent Aubrey de Vere, the son of the earl, as his ambassador, to inform the synod that he accused the two prelates of treason and sedition; but the synod refused to try the cause, or examine their conduct, till those castles, of which they had been possessed, were previously restored to them. The Bishop of Salisbury declared that he would appeal to the Pope; and had not Stephen and his partisans employed menaces, and even shewed a disposition of executing violence by the hands of the soldiers, affairs had instantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre.

While this quarrel, joined to so many other grievances, increased the discontent among the people, the empire was divided into two parties; and, encouraged by the example of the legate, he landed in England, with an intention to Robert Earl of Gloucester, and a retinue of those high and honorable men, which he had made. He opened to her by Adeliza, the queen-dowager, now married to William de Albinia, Earl of Sussex; and she excited, by messengers, her partisans to take arms in every county of England. Adeliza, who had expected that her daughter-in-law would have invaded the kingdom with a much greater force, became apprehensive of danger; and Matilda, to ease her of her fears, removed, first to Brindisi, which belonged to her brother Robert, then to Gloucester, where to lead his cause before the protector of Mito, a great nobleman in those parts, who had embraced her cause. Soon after Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganel, and many other barons, declared for her; and her party, which was generally favoured in the kingdom, seemed every day to gain ground upon that of her antagonist.

We were to relate all the military events transmitted to us by contemporary and authentic historians, it would be easy to swell our accounts of this reign into a large volume; but those incidents, so little memorable in themselves, and so confused both in time and place, could afford no attraction, nor entertainment, to the reader. It suffices to say, that the war was spread into every quarter, and that those turbulent barons, who had already shaken off in a great measure the restraint of government, having the encouragement of a public cause, carried on their devastations with redoubled fury, exercised implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the people. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licencious robbers; who, calling forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities, the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons to slavery; and set fire to their houses, after they had pillaged them. They also committed every act of violence, exposed to the same outrage which had laid waste the rest of the kingdom. The land was left uninhabited; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a confusion, as well as a calamitous result, of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence.

A. D. 1140.

As a sequel to these destructive hostilities, there happened at last an event, which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities. Ralph Earl of Chester, and his half-brother, William de Roumain, partisans of Matilda, had surprised the castle of Lincoln; but the earl, exasperated by the affront to Stephen, having invited him to their aid, that prince had close siege to the castle, in hopes of soon rendering himself master of the place, either by assault or by famine. The Earl of Chester, hastened with an army the size of his friends; and Stephen, informed of his approach, took the field with a resolution of giving him battle. After a violent shock, the two wings of the royalists were put to flight; and Stephen himself, surrounded with his enemy, was at last, after exerting great efforts of valor, borne down by numbers, and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Gloucester; and though at first treated with humanity, was soon after, on some suspicion, thrown into prison, and loaded with irons.

Stephen's party was entirely broken by the captivity of their leader, and the barons came in daily from all quarters, and did homage to Matilda. The empress, however, amidst all her prosperity, knew that she was not secure of success, unless she could gain the confidence of the clergy; and as the conduct of the legate had been of late very unsatisfactory, she determined to humiliate his brother, than totally ruining him, she employed every endeavour to fix him in her interests. She held a conference with him in an open plain near Winchester, where she promised all that he wished, with the oath, that if he would acknowledge her for sovereign, would recognise her title as the sole descendant of the late king, and would again submit to the allegiance, which he, as well as the rest of the kingdom, had sworn to her, he should in return be exalted as master of the administration, and in particular, should, at her pleasure, dispose of all vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Earl Robert, her brother, Brian Fitz-Count, Milo of Gloucester, and other great men, being in the same condition, promised to carry on the administration in the same spirit: and the prelate was at last induced to promise her allegiance, but that still burdened with the express condition, that she should, on her part, fulfil her promises. He then conducted her to Winchester, led her in procession to the cathedral, and with great solemnity, in the presence of many bishops and abbots, denounced curses against all those who blessed her, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and communicated such as were rebellious. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, soon after came also to court, and swore allegiance to the empress. Matthew, Bishop of London, and the attachment of the clergy, was willing to receive the crown from their hands; and instead of assembling the states of the kingdom, the measure which the constitution, had it been either fixed by a council of much prince had, in every particular, been wanting to his engagements; public peace was interrupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, bishops were thrown into prison, those who declared for the queen were put to sale, churches were pillaged, and the most enormous disorders prevailed in the administration. That he himself, in order to procure a redress of these grievances, had formed a conspiracy against the person of the abbot; but instead of inducing him to amend his conduct, had rather offended him by that expedient. That, how much soever misguided, that prince was still his brother, and the object of his affections; but his interests, however, must be regarded as subordinate to those of
their heavenly Father, who had now rejected him, and thrown him into the hands of his enemies; that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had summoned them together for that purpose, and having invoked the divine assistance, he now pronounced Matilda, and, in the name of God, as Queen of England. The whole assembly, by their acclamations or silence, gave, or seemed to give, their assent to this declaration.

The only laymen summoned to this council, which decided the fate of the crown, were the Londoners; and even those were required not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod. The deputies of London, however, declined the appointment, alleging that their king should be delivered from prison; but were told by the legate, that it became not the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with those barons, who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and who had treated the holy church with contumely; it is with reason that the citizens of London assumed so much authority, if it be true, what is related by Fitz-Stephen, a contemporary author, that that city could at this time bring into the field no less than 50,000 combatants.

London, notwithstanding its great power, and its attachment to Stephen, was at length obliged to submit to Matilda; and her authority, by the prudent conduct of Earl Basset, the third of the rights of England, and of her kingdom; but affairs remained not long in this situation. That princess, besides the disadvantages of her sex, which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, was used by her enemies, not only to tempt with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband; and offered that, on this condition, she should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate desired that Prince Eustace, her nephew, might inherit Boulogne, and the other patrimonial estates of his father; the Londoners applied for the establishment of King Edward's laws, instead of those of King Henry, which, they said, were grievous and oppressive. All these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner. The legate, who had probably never been since in his complaint treated Matilda's government, availed himself of the ill humour excited by this imperious conduct, and secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt. A conspiracy was entered into to seize the person of the empress; and she saved herself by fleeing to Henry, their king, by a precipitate retreat. She fled to Oxford; soon after she went to Winchester: whether the legate, desirous to save appearances, and watching the opportunity to ruin her cause, had retired. But she was forced to leave Oxford, withdrew to Lincoln, and returned to London. Here she recovered her forces to that of the Londoners, and to Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom; and he besieged Matilda at Winchester. The princes, being thereby assembled, and advised to march, but at the flight, Earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy. This nobleman, though a subject, was as much the life and soul of his own party, as Stephen was of the other; and the empress, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange the prisoners on equal terms. The civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever.

A. D. 1147. Earl Robert, finding the successes on both sides nearly balanced, he took possession both of Anjou and Maine, and concluded a marriage, which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William, Duke of Gloucester, and Earl of Poictou, had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. King of France; and had attended him in a Crusade, which that monarch conducted against the infidels: but having there lost the affections of her husband, and even

A. D. 1146. Matilda's consent, invested in that duchy; and upon the death of his father, Geoffrey, which happened in the same year, he took possession both of Anjou and Maine, and concluded a marriage, which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William, Duke of Gloucester, and Earl of Poictou, had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. King of France; and had attended him in a Crusade, which that monarch conducted against the infidels; but having there lost the affections of her husband, and even

A. D. 1147. continued his government, he was, by the death of his father, enabled to conspire against the queen. He obtained possession of Anjou, and of a large tract of land in England, and appeared at the head of his partisans. This expedition, however, produced nothing decisive. Stephen took Oxford after a long siege: he was defeated by Earl Robert at Wilton: and the empress, though of a masculine spirit, yet being harassed with a variety of good and bad fortune, and alarmed with continual dangers to her person and family, at last retired into Normandy, whither she had sent her son some time before. The death of her brother, which happened shortly after her resignation, the loss of his train of influence, the slighting of her interests, had not some incidents occurred, which checked the course of Stephen's prosperity. This prince, finding that the castles built by the noblemen of his own party encouraged the spirit of insubordination, he set out with his attendants, and proceeded to visit the churches of the country, and intercede for the protection of the clergy. The people attached to the church, which his brother had brought over to his side, had, after some interval, joined the other party. Eustace the Bishop of Winchester was deprived of the legate's commission, which was conferred on Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, the enemy and rival of the former legate. That pontiff also, having summoned a general council at Rheims, in Champagne, instead of allowing the church of England, as had been usual, to elect its own deputies, nominated five English bishops to represent that church, and required their attendance in the council. Stephen, who, notwithstanding his present difficulties, was jealous of this council, refused to give the list of the bishops he would attend; and the pope, sensible of his advantage in contending with a prince who reigned by a disputed title, took revenge by laying all Stephen's party

A. D. 1147. The disasters of these events caused a sort of royalists, at being thrown into this situation, were augmented by a comparison with Matilda's party, who enjoyed all the benefits of the sacred ordinances; and Stephen was at last obliged, by making great submission to the see of Rome, to remove the reproach from his party. The weakness of both sides, rather than

A. D. 1148. any decrease of mutual animosity, having produced a tacit cessation of arms. In England, many of the nobility, Roger de Mohun, William de Warrenne, and others, finding no opportunity to exert their military ardour at home, enlisted themselves in a new Crusade, which, with surprising success, after former disappointments and misfortunes, was now preached by St. Bernard. But an event soon after happened, which threatened a revival of hostilities in England. Prince Henry, who had reached his sixteenth year, was desirous of recovering the honor of his father; and determined to cover every gentleman in that age passed through before he was admitted to the use of arms, and which was even deemed requisite for the greatest princes. He intended to receive his education from the hand of the Pope, and the courts of the King of Sicily; and for that purpose was passed through England with great repute, and was attended by the most considerable of his partisans. He remained some time with the King of Sicily; made excursions into England; and by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave symptoms of those great qualities which he afterwards displayed when he mounted the throne of England. Soon after his return to Normandy, he was, by the

A. D. 1149. Matilda's consent, invested in that duchy; and upon the death of his father, Geoffrey, which happened in the same year, he took possession both of Anjou and Maine, and concluded a marriage, which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William, Duke of Gloucester, and Earl of Poictou, had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. King of France; and had attended him in a Crusade, which that monarch conducted against the infidels; but having there lost the affections of her husband, and even

A. D. 1150. inhabitants in London, which is much more likely. See Epit. 151. What Geoffrey Stephen says of the difficulties of the king of France in London, proves only the great power of the other towns of the kingdom, and indeed of all the mark-graves. See Epit. 151. To the Mennonite, or the great deacon George, Gervase, p. 1555. k Chron. W. Tho. p. 187. F. E. Were this account to be depended on, London must at that time have contained near 30,000 souls, which must have been about four times the number of the inhabitants at the death of Queen Elizabeth. But these loose calculations, which are often made by historians, are entirely too great. London, in the middle ages, was certainly not more than 15,000 or 20,000 inhabitants. w Wide, and a man of sense, says there were then only forty thousand in
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A.D. 1155.— Chap. VIII.

HISTORY

fallen under some suspicion of gallantry with a handsome Saracen; Lord, much delicate to the polite, procured a divorce from her, and restored her those rich provinces, which by her marriage she had annexed to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, made successful courtship to that princess, and, espousing her six weeks after her divorce, possessed all her dominions as her dowry. The two princes, received from the bosom of their father, with the interest of his rising fortune, had such an effect in England, that when Stephen, desirous to ensure the crown to his son Eustace, required the Archbishop of Canterbury to take that prince as his successor, the private right and public opinion, and made his escape beyond seas, to avoid the violence and resentment of Stephen.

Henry, informed of these dispositions in the people, made an invasion on England: having gained some success at a battle near Falmesbury, and having taken that place, he proceeded thence to throw successes into Wallingford, which the king had advanced with a superior army to besiege. A decisive action was every day expected; when the great men of both sides, terrified at the prospect of further bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and set on foot a negociation between the rival princes.

The death of Eustace, during the course of his campaign, by which it was agreed, that Stephen should possess the crown during his lifetime, that he should be ad

ministered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to Henry, and that this latter prince, on Stephen's demise, succeed to the kingdom, and Wil

liam, Stephen's son, to Rouen, and his patrimonial estate.

After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as to the heir of the crowns, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year, after a short illness, prevented all those quarelts and jealousies, which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation.

England suffered great miseries during the reign of this prince: but his personal character was so free from tur

temity and injustice of his usurpation, appears not liable to any great exception; and he seems to have been well qualified, had he succeeded by a just title, to have promoted the great and secular interests of his subject.

He was possessed of industry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; though not endowed with a sound judgment, he was not deficient in abilities; he had the talent of gaining men's affections, and understanding his particular situation, he never indulged himself in the exercise of any cruelty or revenge.

His advancement to the throne procured him neither tranquillity nor happiness; and though the situation of England reunited the neighbouring states from taking any durable advantage of her confusions, her intestine disorders were to the last degree ruinous and destructive. The court of Rome was also per

mitted, during those civil wars, to make further advances in her usurpations; and appeals to the Pope, which had always been strictly prohibited by the English laws, became now common in every ecclesiastical controversy.

they are apt to diffuse the least spark of dissension throughout the whole, are at least attended with this advantage, that they prevent any violent revolutions or conquests in particular states, were totally unknown in ancient ages; and the theory of foreign polities, in each kingdom, formed a spectacle of disorders, of which the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, and the prospect of his rising fortune, had such an effect in

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CHAP. VIII.

HENRY II.


putes between the civil and ecclesiastical powers—Thomas a Becket—

Archbishop of Canterbury—Quarrell between the king and Becket—

Commissions of archbishops—Military operations of Henry—His

return from Cambrai—His murder—Grief—Submission of the king.

A.D. 1154.

The extensive confederacies, by which the State of Europe—European politiques are now at once united and set in opposition to each other, and which, though w. Male p. 80. e M. Paris p. 51. Hugon p. 322. p. H. Houl f. 705.
Henry II. was of the same rank with themselves. By this means, the King of France found it more easy to conquer those numerous provinces from England, than to subdue a Duke of Normandy or Guienne, a Count of Anjou, Maine, or Poictou. And after reducing such extensive territories, and having which immediately incorporated with the body of the monarchy, he found greater facility in uniting to the crown the other great fiefs which still remained separate and independent.

But as these important consequences could not be foreseen by human wisdom, the King of France remarked with terror the rising grandeur of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet; and, in order to retard its progress, he had endeavoured to support the tottering fortunes of that bold usurper. But after this prince's death, it was too late to think of oppressing the succession of Henry, or preventing the performance of those stipulations which, with the unanimous consent of the nation, he had made with his predecessor. The English, harassed with civil wars, and disgusted with the bloodshed and depredations which, during the course of so many years, had attended them, were little disposed to violate their oaths, by excluding the lawful heir from the succession of their monarchy.

Many of the most considerable fortresses were in the hands of his partisans; the whole nation had had occasion to see the noble qualities with which he was endowed, and to compare them with the mean talents of William the son of Stephen; and as they were acquainted with his great power, and were rather pleased to see the accession of so many foreign dominions to the crown of England, they never endeavoured the least thoughts of revolting from him. Henry himself, sensible of the advantages attending his present situation, was in no hurry to arrive in England; and being engaged in the siege of a castle on the borders of Normandy, when he received the letter of Stephen's death, he made it a point of honour not to depart from his enterprise, till he had brought it to an issue. He then set out on his journey, and was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who swore with pleasure the oath of fealty and allegiance to him.

The first act of Henry's government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his person by his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He immediately, in a most solemn manner, ordered all those who had committed great disorders in the nation; and he sent them abroad, together with William of Ypres, their leader, the friend and confidant of Stephen. He revoked all the grunts made by his predecessor, even those which necessitated the suppression of the Empress Matilda, who had resigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no opposition to a measure so necessary for supporting the dignity of the crown. He repaired the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor; and he took proper measures against a return of the like abuse. He was rigorous in the execution of justice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence; and that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the new-erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries in freebooters and rebels. The Earl of Ailesimarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger the son of Milo of Gloucester, were all punished with the utmost rigor; some resistance to this salutary measure; but the approach of the king with his forces soon obliged them to submit.

Everything being restored to full tranquillity in England, Henry went abroad in order to oppose the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his absence, had made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, had advanced some pretensions to those provinces, and had got possession of a considerable part of them. On the king's return to his dominions, they would have arisen from the oppression of a co-valuation, which anything against any monstrous vassal, the same sense of common interest made the others oppose themselves to the success of his pretensions. Lewis the Gross, the last sovereign, marched at one time to his frontiers against the Germans at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men; but what immediately follows, was, with the firmness and ability, at another period, to set that prince at defiance, and to maintain open war against him.

The authority of the English monarch was much more extended in his kingdom, and the disproportion much greater between him and the most powerful of his vassals. His demesnes and revenue were large, compared to the greatness of his state; he was accustomed to levy arbitrary exactions on his subjects, of judicature extended his jurisdiction into every part of the kingdom; he could crush by his power, or by a judicial sentence, well or ill founded, any obnoxious baron; and though the feudal institutions which prevailed in his kingdom had the same tendency, in other states, to extirpate the aristocracy and depress the monarchy, it required, in England, according to its present constitution, a great combination of the vassals to oppose their sovereign lord, and those who had not hitherto arisen any baron so powerful, as of himself to levy war against the prince, and to afford protection to the inferior barons.

While such were the different situations of France and England, the last was much better prepared to see the noble qualities with which the former, the accession of Henry II. a prince of great abilities, possessed of so many rich provinces on the continent, might appear an event dangerous, if not fatal, to the French monarchy, and sufficient to break entirely the balance between the states. He was master, in the right of his father, of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, Perigord, Angoumois, and Guienne, the provinces of Normandy, and Maine, he possessed of the latter, and was already possessed of the superintendence over that prince, which, on the first cession of Normandy to Rolfo the Dane, had been granted by Chancellor; Simple, to his father. These provinces composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior, in extent and opulence, to those territories, which were subjected to the immediate jurisdiction and government of the king. This vassal was here more powerful than his liege lord: the situation which had enabled Hugh Capet to depose the Carolingian princes, seemed to be renewed, and that which had given greater advantages on the side of the French crown, and when England was added to so many provinces, the French king had reason to apprehend, from this conjuncture, some great disaster to himself and to his family; but in reality, it was this circumstance, which appeared so formidable, that saved the monarchy. The Emperor's tenacious quest, exalted to them that pitch of grandeur which they at present enjoy.

The limited authority of the prince in the feudal institutions, prevented the King of England from employing with advantage the force of so many states, which were subjected to his government; and these different members, disposed in situation, and disagreeing in laws, language, and manners, were never thoroughly cemented into one monarchy. He soon became, both from his distant place of residence, and from the incompatibility of interests, a kind of foreigner to his French dominions; and that subtle and artful art, which has often assisted the great in their designs, and which enabled the French crown to extend its influence on the world, when and when England was added to so many provinces, the French king had reason to apprehend, from this conjuncture, some great disaster to himself and to his family: but in reality, it was this circumstance, which appeared so formidable, that saved the monarchy. The Emperor's tenacious quest, exalted to them that pitch of grandeur which they at present enjoy.

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resigning his claim for an annual pension of a thousand pounds, departed and took possession of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled Count Hoel, his prince, had put into his hands. Henry returned to England the following year: the incursions of the Welsh were henceforth more opportune opportunities for him; and the natural fastnesses of the country occasioned him great difficulties, and even brought him into danger. His vanguard, being engaged in a narrow pass, was put to rout by Henry's own men, and he was generally defeated, but he survived the battle, and the consequences might have proved fatal to the whole army. For this massacre, Essex was afterwards accused of felony by Robert de Montfort; it was vanquished in single combat; his estate was confiscated; and he was thenceforth, Henry, Duke of Normandy, procured them an accommodation with England.

The martial disposition of the princes in that age engaged them to head their own armies in every enterprise; even the most frivolous and their seizable authority made it commonly impracticable for them to delegate, on occasion, the command to their generals. Geoffrey, the king's brother, died soon after he had taken possession of Nantz: that he had no other title to that county than the voluntary submission or election of the inhabitants two years before, Henry laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right. This was a pretension and in the hands of arms. Conan, Duke or Earl of Brittany, (for these titles are given indifferently by historians to these princes,) pretended that Nantz had been lately separated by rebellion from his authority, to which he was assigned, and immediately on Geoffrey's death he took possession of the dispute territory. Last Lewis, the French king, should interpose in the controversy, Henry paid him a visit, and entreated him to support his cause and civilisation; an alliance was contracted between them; and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be advanced to Margaret of France; though the former was only five years of age, and the latter was still in her cradle, new source of meeting with no interruption on this side, advanced with his army into Brittany; and Conan, in despair of being able to make resistance, delivered up the county of Nantz to him. The like conduct of the king proved as disastrous to himself, as more important advantages from this incident. Conan, harassed with the tremendous disposition of his subjects, was desirous of procuring to himself the support of so great a monarch; and, as he had been engaged in civilisation, and, as he was not strong enough, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was of the same tender years. The Duke of Brittany died about seven years after; and Henry, being mine lord, and also natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it for the present to his other great dominions.

A. D. 1150.

The king had a prospect of making still further acquisitions; and the action of his temper suffered no opportunity of that kind to escape him. Philippa, Duchess of Gienne, mother of Queen Eleanor, was the only issue of William IV. Count of Toulouse; and, as he had inherited his dominions, had not that prince, desiring of maintaining his authority in the main line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Gilles, by a contract of sale which was in that age regarded as fictitious and illusory. By this means the title of Toulouse was dissolved, and the dispute between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favoured them, had obtained possession—

Raymond, grandson of Raymond de St. Gilles, was the reigning sovereign; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, this prince had recourse for protection to the King of France, who was so much concerned in policy to prevent the further aggrandisement of the English monarch. Lewis, being anxious to secure his title to Guienne, of justice of her claim, and had demanded possession of Toulouse; but his sentiments changing with his interest, he now determined to defend, by his power and authority, the title which had been lately disputed. It was requisite to support his pretensions against potent antagonists; and that nothing but a formidable army could maintain a claim which he had in vain asserted by arguments and reasoning.

An army, composed of feudal vassals, was commonly very intractable and undisobedient, both because of the independent spirit of the persons who served in it, and because the commands were not given, either by the choice of the sovereign, or from the military capacity and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vassals; his rank was greater or less, proportioned to the extent of his property; even the supreme command under the prince was often asserted in a hundred; and the military vassals were obliged to serve only forty days at their own charge; though, if the expedition were distant, they were put to great expense; the prince reaped little benefit. Besides, whatever methods the king might adopt, he was unable to maintain his dominions, for the insurrections, levies upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces which were remote from Toulouse, a sum of money in lieu of their service; and this commutation, being exacted by the duke of Toulouse, who had no anxiety to make concessions by force of arms.

He imposed, therefore, a scatage of 180,000 pounds on the knights' fees, a commutation to which, though it was unusual, and the first perhaps of the kind, he would not willingly submit; and with this money, he levied an army which was more under his command, and whose service was more durable and constant. Assisted by these means, War was now openly carried on between the two monarchs, but produced no memorable event: it soon ended in a cessation of arms, and that followed by a peace, which was not, however, attended with any confidence or good correspondence between those sovereigns. The fortress of Gisors, being part of the dowry stipulated to Margaret of France, had been consigned A. D. 1150, by agreement to the Knights Templars, on condition that it should be delivered to Henry's hands after the conclusion of the treaty. The king, that he might prepare for immediately demanding the place, ordered the marriage to be solemnised between the prince and princess, though both infants; and he endeavoured to fret the marriage ceremony with the ceremony of consecration, as was generally suspected, to put him in possession of Gisors. Lewis, resenting this fraudulent conduct, present money. The Norman Chronicle, p. 905, says that Henry raised only 50,000 marks in his life for his foreign dominions; this is in no doubtful case of the sum which Geoffrey says he levied on England; an injustice so wide probable. A nation may, by degrees, be brought to bear a tax which it has not hitherto been in the power of the whole land. Geoffrey's is indeed a contemporary author, but chroniclers are often guilty of striking a story from whole to parts; but they are often be concerned in the public revenues. This tax would make 300,000 pounds of our
banned the Templars, and would have made war upon the King of England, had it not been for the mediation and authority of Pope Alexander III, who had been chased from Rome by the Anti-pope, Victor IV. and resided at that time in France. That we may form an idea of the authority possessed by the Roman pontiff during those ages, it may be proper to observe, that Henry not only submitted himself to the judgment of the Pope at the castle of Torei, on the Loire; and they gave him such marks of respect, that both dismounted to receive him, and holding each of them one of the terms of his bed, and remaining there a whole day, acknowledged the Pope as the sovereign of the kingdom. The aspiring spirit of Henry, which gave inquietude to all his neighbours, was not likely long to pay a tame submission to the encroachments of subjects, and at nothing opens the eyes of men so readily as their interest, he left the Pope, and in that submissive manner into the castle. A spectacle, which Baroniou, in an encomium, to God, angels, and men; and such as had never before been exhibited to the world!

Henry, soon after he had accommodated his differences with Lewis, by the Pope's mediation, returned to England; where he commenced an enterprise, which, though required by sound policy, and even conducted in the main with prudence, bred him great dissimulation, involved him in danger, and was not concluded without some loss and dishonour.

The usurpations of the clergy, which had at first been gradual, were now become so great, that the contest between the regal and pontifical was really arrived at a crisis in England; and it became necessary to determine whether the king or the pontiff was to be the sovereign of the kingdom. The aspiring spirit of Henry, which gave inquietude to all his neighbours, was not likely long to pay a tame submission to the encroachments of subjects, and at nothing opens the eyes of men so readily as their interest. He left the Pope, and in that submissive manner into the castle. A spectacle, which Baroniou, in an encomium, to God, angels, and men; and such as had never before been exhibited to the world!

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Thomas Becket, the first man of English descent, who, since the Norman conquest, had, during the course of a whole century, risen to any considerable station, was born of reputable parents at the court of London; and being endowed both with industry and capacity, he early instructed himself into the favour of Archbishop Theobald, and obtained from that prelate some preferments and offices. In these means he was enabled to travel for improvement to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law at Bologna; and on his return, he appeared to have made such proficiency in knowledge, that he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. He was afterwards employed with success by Theobald, in transacting business at Rome; and on Henry's accession, he was recommended to that monarch as worthy of further promotion. Henry, who knew that Becket was instrumental to the success of that resolution of the archbishop, which had tended so much to facilitate his own advancement to the throne, was already prepossessed in his favour; and finding, on further acquaintance, that he had been carefully brought up in every branch of study, he soon promoted him to the dignity of chancellor, one of the civil offices in the kingdom. The chancellor, in that age, besides the custody of the great seal, had possession of all vacant prelacies and abbey; he was the guardian of all such manors and parishes as were the king's tenures; all baronies which escheated to the crown were under his administration; he was entitled to a place in council, even though he were not particularly summoned; and as he exercised also the office of secretary of state, and it belonged to him to countersign all commissions, writs, and letters patent, he was a kind of prime minister, and was concerned in the despatch of every business of importance. Besides exercising this high office, Becket, by the favour of the king or archbishop, was made Provost of Beverley, Dean of Hastings, and Constable of the Tower. He was put in possession of the house of Bury, and Besides exercising this high office, Becket, by the favour of the king or archbishop, was made Provost of Beverley, Dean of Hastings, and Constable of the Tower. He was put in possession of the house of Bury, and

In the year 1161, Henry laid a heavy and an arbitrary tax on all the churches within his dominions. See Epist. 36. Thom. p. 235.

This is a natural inference from the history of the time. The clergy, then, were held in great esteem by the people; and it is not improbable that the bishops and deans were employed in the king's service, and even attended the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, where he maintained, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train, and in an embassy to France, with which he was intrusted, he astonished the court by the number and magnificence of his retinue. Henry, besides committing all his more important business to Becket's management, honoured him with his friendship and intimacy; and whenever he was disposed to relax himself by sports of any kind, he admitted his chancellor to the party. An instance of their familiarity is mentioned by Fitz-Stephens, which, as it shows the manners of the age, it may not be improper to relate. One day, as the king and the chancellor were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar, who was shivering with cold. Would it not be very praiseworthy, said the king, to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season? It would, surely, replace the chancellor.
and you do well, Sir, in thinking of such good actions. Then he should have one presently, created the king; and swung the skin of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, over his own, and assumed, began to censure violently. The chancellor defended himself for some time, and they had both of them like to have tumbled off their horses in the street, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat, and the crown bestowed on him by his peasant. His brother, who, in ignorance of the quality of the persons, was not a little surprised at the present.  

Becket, who, by his complaisance and good humour, had always made himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities useful, to his master, appeared to him the fittest person for supplying the vacancy made by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's person, and had the most pretensions to be the successor than he totally altered his demeanour and conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the character of sanctity, of which his former busy and ostentatious course of life might, in the eyes of the people, have naturally Beavered him. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor; pretending, that he must therefore detach himself from secular affairs, and be solely applied to the exercise of a spiritual function; but in reality, that he might break oft all connexions with Henry, and apprise him, that Becket, as Primate of England, was now become entirely a new person. He maintained, in his public and private transactions alone, his ancient pomp and lustre, which was useful to strike the vulgar: in his own person he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification, which, he was sensible would have an equal or greater tendency to the same end. He wore sackcloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily the more remarked by all the world: he changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin: his usual meal was a thin tumbler of water, and the he even refused to be further unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs: he tore his hair with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it: he daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, to the thousand beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents: he gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals: every one, who made profession of sanctity, was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of pious discourses: his aspect wore the appearance of seriousness and mental recollection, and secret devotion: and all men of penetration plainly saw that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object.

Becket waited not till Henry should consider the utility of those projects against the ecclesiastical state, but immediately took them in hand, which, he knew, had been formed by that prince: he was himself the aggressor, and endeavoured to overawe the king by the intracity and boldness of his enterprises. He summoned the Earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge, which, ever since the Conquest, had remained in the family of that nobleman, but which, as it had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury, Becket pretended his predecessors were prohibited by the canons to alienate. The Earl of Clare, besides the lustre which he derived from the greatness of his own birth, and the extent of his possessions, was a man of great abilities, and had been brought up in the kingdom, his sister, who was a celebrated beauty, had further extended his credit among the nobility, and was even supposed to have gained the king's affections; and Becket could not readily obtain his consent. But in this interest, his resolution of maintaining with vigour the rights, real or pretended, of his see. William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was warmly interested in the enterprise; living by his abilities, he had accumulated wealth, and held the Archbishops of Canterbury: but Becket, without regard to William's right, presented, on a new and illegal pretext, one Laurence to that living, who was rightly judged, that he had more interest, and was making himself, as was usual in spiritual courts, both judge and party, issued, in a summary manner, the sentence of excommunication against Eynsford, who complained to the king, that he who held in capite of the crown should, contrary to the practice established by the Conqueror, and maintained ever since by his successors, be subjected to that terrible sentence, without the previous consent of the sovereign. Henry, who had now broken off all personal intercourse with Becket, sent him orders to absolve Eynsford; but received for answer, that it belonged not to the king to inform whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate: and it was not till after a long and painful correspondence, that Becket, though with the worst grace imaginable, was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

Henry, though he found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of his favourite, which was dedicated to the primacy, determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. He was entirely master of his extensive dominions: the prudent and ingenuous had been summoned to the council, and the perpetual success, that Becket, had raised his character above that of any of his predecessors: the popacy seemed to be weakened by a schism which divided all Europe: and he rightly judged, that if he retained favour with the crown, its influence, if neglected, the crown must, from the prevalent superstition of the people, be in danger of falling into an entire subordination under the mitre. The union of greater and higher ecclesiastical power serves extremely, in every civilized government, to the maintenance of peace and order: and prevents those mutual encroachments which, as there can be no ultimate judge between them, are often attended with the most dangerous consequences. He who is the guiding hand in every part of the state, who unites these powers, receives the appellation of prince or primate, is not material: the superior weight which temporal interests commonly bear in the apprehensions of men and women, is far more prevalent: the clergy are often the most powerful; and in time prevents those gross impurities and bigoted persecutions, which, in all false religions, are the chief foundation of clerical authority. But during the progress of ecclesiastical usurpations, the state, by the resistance of the civil magistrate, is naturally thrown into convulsions: and it behoves the prince, both for his own interest, and for that of the public, to provide, in time, sufficient barriers against so dangerous and meddlesome a rival. This precaution had hitherto been much neglected in England, as well as in other catholic countries; and affairs at last seemed to have come to a dangerous crisis: a sovereign of the greatest abilities was now on the throne; a prelate of the most intangible and intrepid character was possessed of the primacy: the contending powers appeared to be armed with their full force, and it was natural to expect some extraordinary event to result from their conflict.

Among their other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin; and having again introduced the practice of paying them large sums as a commutation, or species of atonement, for the remission of those penances, the sins of the people, by these means, had become a revenue to
he knew that the bishops, though overawed by the present combination of the crown and the barons, would take the full advantage of the opportunity of denying this authority which had enacted these Constitutions, he resolved that they should all set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. None of the prelates dared to oppose his will. They, scourged by the Earl of Cornwall and Leicester, the barons of principal authority in the kingdom, obstinately withheld his assent. At last, Richard de Hastings, Grand Prior of the Templars in England, and the bishop of his own diocese, had been summoned to his kingdom, with many tears entreated him, if he paid any regard either to his own safety or that of the church, not to provoke, by a fruitless opposition, the indignation of a great monarch, who was at that time determined to keep the feeble revenge on every one that should dare to oppose him. Becket, finding himself deserted by all the world, even by his own brethren, was at last obliged to comply and he promised, "Egregiously, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve, to observe the Constitutions; and he took an oath to that purpose." The king, thinking that he had now fully prevailed in this great enterprise, sent the Constitutions to Pope Alexander, in order to have their ratification transmitted by his own hands, and not by the pontiff's mitigation of them: but Alexander, who, though he owed the most important obligations to the king, plainly saw, that these laws were calculated to establish the authority of the king of England on the whole earth, and to make his royal power on the clergy, condemned them in the strongest terms; abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. There were only six articles, the least important, which, for the sake of the rest, was willing to revolt against the king. Becket, when he observed that he might hope for support in an opposition, expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance; and endeavoured to engage all the other bishops of England to the same predicament to add the privileges of their common residence, and to the ecclesiastical privileges, in which he represented the interest and honour of God to be so deeply concerned. He redoubled his antics, in order to procure, in two or three clergymen, that it should not be in his power to execute any act in the primate of Canterbury; and the king, finding how fruitless such an authority would prove, sent back the commission by the same messenger that brought it. The prime minister, however, who founded himself still exposed to the king's indignation, endeavoured twice to escape secretly from the kingdom; but was as often detained by contrary winds; and Henry hastened to make him feel the effects of his own austerity. He instituted John, Mareschal of the Exchequer, to sue Becket in the archiepiscopal court for some lands, part of the manor of Poulsham; and to appeal thence to the king's court. The prelate, to avoid this cause, the primate sent four knights to represent certain irregularities in John's appeal; and at the same time to excuse himself, on account of sickness, for not appearing personally in the court of Poulsham. (2) (It even deserve the name) was represented as a grievous contempt; the four knights were menaced, and with difficulty escaped being sent to prison, as offering falsehoods to the court. (3) The king, in order to Becket to the utmost, summoned, at Northampton, a great council, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate. The king had raised Becket into a low station to the highest offices, had honoured him with his countenance and friendship, had trusted to his assistance in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy; and when he found him become of a sudden his most rigid opponent, while he was resolved to become his most bitter adversary, he was forced to disappointment, and indignation against such signal ingratitude, transported him beyond all bounds of moderation; and there seems to have entered more of passion than of policy into his deportment, and his proceedings. (4) The barons notwithstanding, in the great council, voted whatever sentence he was pleased to dictate to them; and the bishops themselves, who undoubtedly bore a secret favour to Becket, and were proud of the champion of their privileges, concurred with the rest in the design of oppressing his primate. In vain did Becket urge that his court was proceeding with the utmost regularity, and in accordance with the law; which, however, he said would appear, from the sheriff's testimony, to be entirely unjust and iniquitous: that he himself had discovered no contempt of the king's court; but, on the contrary, the Constitutions of the primate, his absence, had virtually acknowledged its authority: that he also, in consequence of the king's summons, personally appeared at present in the great council, ready to justify his cause against the marshal, and to submit his conduct to their inquiry and jurisdiction: that even should it be found that he had been guilty of non-appearance, the laws had affixed a very slight penalty to that offence; and that as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archiepiscopal palace was seated, he was by law entitled to some greater indulgence than usual in the rate of his fine. By this means the king obtained the passage of a new law, which was so palpably oppressive as one article, he may be presumed to be equally oppressive in the rest; (5) Though followed's letter, or order, as it may be, addressed to Becket himself, he does not obscure any authority on that account (6). For if even an ordain of letters cannot be supposed quite complete. Had that the collection be not made of one dealing very partial to that prelate, appears from the inherence of them, there are many prelates very little favorable to the cause of the king in his other state. (7) The King himself was interested in order to publish them with great care, particularly of this letter ofFollow. Pray, Becket, make no answer of it, nor design to write to any countenanced person, whose every communication would be communicated, and the bishop to his grave; that he may not succeed in giving him the more freely. (6) Though the sentence pronounced on Becket was a mere pretence, and that the Constitutions of the kingdom were delivered to the king, this does not satisfy the narrative of his. For it may be supposed to answer the purpose of his bearing a letter as no answer. Becket submitted so far to the sentiment of condemnation of goods may speak the voice of the king; but he found that they were then not at that time to question the authority of the king's courts. (7) It may be supposed that the sentence of the of the Constitutions of Clarendon, but the prime minister betrayed himself in the proclamation of the patent of excommunication. If it is in conformity to the testimony of all the historians, and directly contrary to
him. The primiate submitted to the decree; and all the prelates, except Fulkol, Bishop of London, who paid court to the king by this singularity, became sureties for him. It is remarkable, that several Norman barons voted in this council; and we may conclude, with some probability, that a like practice had prevailed in many of the great councils summoned since the Conquest. For the consideration of what has been written, we give the full accounts of these transactions, does not mention this circumstance as any wise singular; 4 and Becket, in all his subsequent remonstrances with regard to the severe treatment which he received from the hands with which he lived, to a certain irregularity which to us appears very palpable and flagrant. So little precision was there at that time in the government and constitution. 4

The king was not content with this sentence, however violent and oppressive. Next day, he demanded of Becket the sum of three hundred pounds, which the pri- mate had levied upon the honours of Eye and Berkhain, while in his possession. Becket, after pretending that he was not bound to answer to this suit, because it was not contained in his summons; after remarking, that he had expended more than that sum in the repairs of those castles, and of the royal palace at London; expressed however his resolution to never give any ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign: he agreed to pay the sum; and immediately gave sureties for it. In the subsequent meeting, the king demanded five hundred marks, which, out of the greater sum, that the king was required to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelates, abbots, and baronies, which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. 4 Becket observed, that, as there was no direction from any of his successors, who were consulted, he was not prepared to answer it; but he required a delay, and prom- ised to that case to give satisfaction. The king insisted upon sureties; and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans in a case of such importance. 4

It is apparent, from the known character of Henry, and from the usual vigilance of his government, that, when he promoted Becket to the see of Canterbury, he was, on good grounds, well pleased with his administration to the former high office with which he had intrusted him; and that, even if that prelate had dissipated money beyond the income of his place, the king was satisfied that his reputation was such, that the body of the prelates was more than capable of his account. 4 Two years had since expired; no demand had, during that time, been made upon him; it was not till the quarrel arose concerning ecclesiastical privileges, that the claim was started, and the prelate was, of a sudden, required to produce accounts of such intrac- tancy and extent before a tribunal which had shown a de- termined resolution to ruin and oppress him. To find sureties that he should answer so boundless and uncertain a claim, which, in the king’s estimation, amounted to 40,000 marks, 4 was impracticable; and Becket’s suffrag- ans were extremely at a loss what counsel to give him in such critical emergency. 4 Ily the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, he offered two thousand marks as a general satisfaction for all demands: but this offer was rejected by the king. 4 Some prelates exhorted him to resign his see, on condition of receiving an acquittal; others were of opinion that he must ery to submit himself entirely to the king’s mercy; 4 but the primiate, thus pushed to the utter- most, had too much courage to sink under oppression: he determined to brave all his enemies, to trust to thestanding of his character for protection, to involve his cause with that of God and his people, and to stand the utter- most efforts of royal indignation.

After a few days spent in deliberation, Becket went to

church and said mass, where he had previously ordered, that the intercess to the comination service should begin with these words, Princes sol, and spoke against us; the passage appropriated for the martyrdom of St Stephen, whom the primiate thereby tacitly pretended to resemble, in his sufferings for the sake of righteousness. He went thence to court, arrayed in his sacred vestments: as soon as he arrived, he was deplored by his friends, and in his own hands, bore it sted as his protection, and marched in that posture into the royal apartments. 4 The king, who was in an inner room, was astonished at this parade, by which the primiate seemed to menace him and his court with the sequel of excommunication; and he seized some of the prelates to remonstrate with him on account of such audacious behaviour. These prelates complained to Becket, that, by subscribing himself to the Constitutions of Clarendon, he had sinned them to transact any thing; and that now, when it was too late, he pretended to shake off all subordination to the civil power, and appeared desirous of involving them in the guilt which must attend any violation of these laws, established by their consent, and ratified by their subscriptions. 4 Becket replied, that he had indeed subscribed the Constitutions of Clarendon, legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve; but in these words there was virtually a salvo for the rights of their order, which, being connected with the cause of God and his church, could never be relinquished by their oath and engagements: that if he and they had erred in respecting the ecclesiastical privileges of the church, which they could now make was to retract their consent, which, in such a case, could never be obligatory, and to follow the Pope’s authority, who had solemnly annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from all oaths which they had been bound to observe them. 4 A determined resolution was evidently expressed to oppress the church; the storm had first broken upon him; for a slight offence, and which too was falsely imputed to him, he had been tyrannically deprived of his conclave, and he was not con-vinced that a new and unheard-of claim was since started, in which he could expect no justice; and he plainly saw, that he was the destined victim, who, by his ruin, must prepare the way for the absolute subversion of all ecclesiastical observance; that he strictly executed them who were his suffragans from assisting at any such trial, or giving their sanction to any sentence against him; he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff; and appealed to him against any penalty which his inquisitive judges might think proper to inflict upon him: and that, however terrible the indignation of so great a monarch as Henry, his sword could not break any thing that was sacred; he was, in fact, the church, intrusted into the hands of the primiate, that could kill the soul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and eternal perdición. 4

 Appeals to the Pope, even in ecclesiastical causes, had been abolished by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king’s demand upon Becket, was a practice altogether new and unprecedented; it tended directly to the subversion of the government, and could receive no colour of excuse, except from the determined resolution, which was but too apparent, in Henry and the great council, to effectuate, without justice, but under colour of law, the total ruin of the inimicable king. The Ling, having now obtained a pretext so much more plausible for his violence, would probably have pushed the affair to the utmost extremity against him; but Becket gave him no leas whereby he should like to conduct the prosecution. 4 He re- fused so much as to hear the seque, the bars, the bars of the second rank, had given upon the king’s claim; he departed from pale; and asked judgment of Henry’s immediate submission to the See of Northampton; and upon meeting with a refusal, he withdrew secretly; wandered about in disguise for some
time; and at last took shipping, and arrived safely at Gravelines.

The violent and unjust prosecution of Becket had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his side, and when once that had taken root, it became extremely

against him, and his departure from all oats and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion. There was the greater danger, because in all which proceedings for the defence and protection in foreign countries. Philip, Earl of Flanders, and Lewis, King of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, were well pleased to give him due attention to the government that he had become the common cause of princes, they affected to put very respectively the condition of the exiled prelate; and the latter even honoured him with a visit at Stourton, in which city he had invited him to fix his residence.* The Pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting him, gave a cold reception to a magnificent embassy which Henry sent to accuse him; while Becket himself, who had come to Sees in order to justify his cause before the sovereign pontiff, was received with the greatest marks of distinction. The king, in revenge, sequestered the revenues of Canterbury; and by a conduct which might be esteemed arbitrary, there had been at that time any regular charges, a very liberal, he handed all of the prince's relations and domestics, to the number of four hundred, whom he obliged to swear before their departure, that they would immediately join their patron. But this policy, by way of provocation, seemed to require to be followed by necessity, lost its effect. The Pope, when they arrived beyond sea, absolved them from their oath, and distributed them among the convents in France and Flanders. A residence was assigned to Becket himself, in the convent of Poitiers, where he lived for some years in great magnificence, partly from a pension granted him on the revenues of that abbey, partly from remittances made him by French monarchs.

The more to ingratiate himself with the Pope, Becket returned into the see of Canterbury, to which, he affirmed, he had been unconsciously elected by the abbey of the royal monastery, and Alexander, in his turn, besides investing him anew with that dignity, pretended to abrogate, by a bull, the sentence which the great council of England had passed against him. Henry, after attempting in vain to procure a conference with the Pope, who departed soon after for Rome, when the present state of his affairs now invited him, made provisions against the consequences of that breach which impeded between his kingdom and the apostolic see. He issued orders for the security of his persons, in that all appeals to the Pope or archbishop; forbidding any one to receive any mandates from them, or apply in any case to their authority; declaring it treasonable to bring from either of them, or to send them to the king, and punishable in secular clergyman by the loss of their eyes and by castration, in regular by imputation of their fact, and in lieu of death; and menacing with sequestrements and imprisonment the persons themselves, as well as their kindred, who should pay obedience to any such interdict. And he further obliged all his subjects to swear to the observance of those orders. These were edicts of the utmost importance, affected the lives and properties of all the subjects, and even changed for the time the national religion, by breaking off all communication with Rome; yet were enacted by the sole authority of the king, and were derived entirely from his will and pleasure.

The ceremonies, which, in the primitive church, were in a great measure dependent on the civil, had, by a gradual process, reached an equality and independence; and though the limits of the two jurisdictions were difficult of a precise division, the hierarchy, and, on the other hand, the government on both sides, government might still have been conducted in that imperfect and irregular manner which attended all human institutions. But as the ignorance of

the age encouraged the ecclesiastics daily to extend their privileges, and even to advance maxims totally incompatible with civil government; Henry had thought it high time to put an end to their pretensions, and, formally, in a public council, to abrogate the laws by which he had been distin-

Prince therefore principle stood on the one side, power on the other; and if the English had been actuated by conscientious motives, it was impossible that they should have been speedily disposed to the prince; and as soon, by the general defection of Henry's subjects, have been decided against him. Becket, in order to forward this event, filled all places with exclamations against the violence which he had suffered. He compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured. He took it for granted, as a point inseparable, that his cause was the cause of God; he assumed the character of champion for the propagation of the divinity; he pretended to be the spiritual father of the king and all the people of England: he even told Henry, he was regarded solely by the authority of the church; and thought he had no right to interfere in affairs of State so openly on the one side, than that prince had on the other, he seemed still, from the general favour borne him by the ecclesiastics, to have all the advantage in the argument. The king, on the other hand, having the power remaining in his hands, suspended the payment of Peter's pence: he made advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was at that time engaged in dread wars with Alexander; he recovered some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III. the present Anti-pope, who was protected by that emperor; and by these expedients he endeavoured to terrify the en
cerprises of the French monarch, and prevent the sovereign pontiff, from proceeding to extremities against him.

But the violence of Becket, still more than the nature of the controversy, kept affairs from remaining long in suspense between the parties. That prelate, instigated by revenge, and animated by the present glory attending his situation, pushed matters to a decision, and issued a censure, excommunicating the king's chief minister, and compelling all the clergy who had favoured or opposed the Constructions of Clarendon. These Constitutions he abrogated and annulled; he absolved all men from the oaths which they had taken to observe them; and he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry, who were penalised by the prince that might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.  

The situation of Henry was so unhappy, that he could employ no expedient for saving his ministers from this terrible storm, and he was involved, without being able to extricate himself, and having recourse to a tribunal whose authority he had himself attempted to abridge in this very article of appeals, and which he knew was so deeply engaged on the side of his adversary. But even this expediency was not likely to be long effectual. Becket had obtained from the Pope a legatine mission over England; and in virtue of that authority, which admitted of no appeal, he summoned the bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, to attend him, and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the ecclesiastics, sequestered on his account, to be restored in two months to all their benefices. But John of Oxford, the king's general, who represented the Pope, had ordered the bishops for suspending this sentence; and he gave the pon
tiff such hopes of a speedy reconciliation between the king and Becket, that two legates, William of Paria and Otto, were sent to Normandy, where the king then resided, and they were to alter his measures of conduct there. But the pretensions of the parties were as yet too opposite to admit of an accommodation. The king required, that all the Constitutions of Clarendon should be ratified;
Becket, that previously to any agreement, he and his adherents should be restored to their possessions; and as the legates had no power to pronounce a definitive sentence on either side, the negotiation soon after came to nothing. The Cardinal of Pisa also, being much attached to Henry, took a hand in making offers, in which he was supported by a number of counsellors; and to procure him every possible indulgence from the see of Rome. About this time, the king had also the address to interpose in the persons of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to settle by a formal sentence the two cases. The legates, Geoffrey, with the bearess of Brittany; a concession which, considering Henry's demerits towards the church, gave great scandal both to Becket, and to his zealous patron, the King of France.

The intricacies of the feudal law had, in that age, rendered the boundaries of power between the prince and his vassals, and between one prince and another, as uncertain as these between the crown and the mites; and all wars took their origin from disputes, which, had there been any tribunal possessed of power to enforce their decrees, ought to have been decided only before a court of jurisdiction. Henry, in prosecution of some object in which he was involved with the Count of Auvergne, a vassal of the duchy of Guienne, had invaded the territories of that nobleman, who had recourse to the King of France, his superior lord, for the redress of his wrongs between the two monarchs. But this war was, as usual, no less feeble in its operations, than it was frivolous in its cause and object; and after occasioning some mutual depredations, the French army, composed of the forces of Poitou and Guienne, was terminated by a peace. The terms of this peace were rather disadvantageous to Henry, and prove that this prince had, by reason of his contest with the church, lost the superiority which he had hitherto maintained over the crown of France; an additional motive to him for accommodating those differences.

The Pope and the king began at last to perceive, that, in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a final and decisive victory over the other, and that they had more to fear than to hope from the duration of the controversy. Though the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; and if England itself could, by its situation, be more easily guarded against the contigence of superstitious prejudices, his French provinces at least, whose communica- tion with some of the southern parts of France was so much exposed, on that account, to some great revolution or convulsion. He could not, therefore, reasonably imagine that the Pope, while he retained such a check over him, would suffer the constitutions of Clarendon, which both put an end to the presbyteries in England, and would give an example to other states of ascertaining a like independence. Pope Alexander on the other hand, being still engaged in dangerous wars with the Emperor Frederic, might, justly apprehend, that Henry, rather than relinquish claims of such importance, would join the party of his enemy; and as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Becket had not succeeded to his expectation, and every thing had remained quiet in all the king's dominions, nothing seemed impossible to the capacity and vigilance of so great a monarch. The disposition of minds on both sides, produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation; but as both parties knew that the essential articles of the dispute could not then be terminated, they entertained a perpetual jealousy of each other, and were resolved not to lose the least advantage in the negotiation. The munificence, Grisantes and Vivian, having received a commission to endeavour a reconciliation, met with the king in Normandy; and after all differences seemed to be adjusted, Henry offered to make such concessions as should make his eternal conciliator, the Popes, give such assurance to Becket, that the interdict, in the end, became fruitless, and the excommunications

were renewed against the king's ministers. Another negotiation was conducted at Montmirial, in presence of the King of France, and the French prelates; where Becket also offered to make his submissions, with a salvo to the honour of God, and the liberties of the church; which, for the like reason, was extremely offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference, under the same mediation, was broken off, by Becket's insisting on a like reserve in his submissions; yet a fourth was undertaken; the terms were adjusted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiss of peace, which it was usual for princes to grant in those times, and which was regarded as a sure pledge of Henry's good faith, he refused him that honour; under pretence, that, during his anger, he had made a rash vow to that purpose. This formality served, among such jealous spirits, to prevent the conclusion of the treaty; and though the difficulty was attempted to be overcome by a dispensation which the Pope granted to Henry from his vow, that prince could not be prevailed on to depart from the resolution which he had taken.

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch: "There have been many Kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself; there have also been many Archbishops of Canterbury, and others of great pretensions. It is not entitled to every kind of respect: let Becket but act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us." The Pope, therefore, made with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning the primate, and withdrawing his friendship from him during some time; but the bigotry of that prince, and other common animosities against Henry, soon produced a renewal of their former good correspondence.

All difficulties were at last adjusted between the parties; and the king allowed Becket to return, on conditions which may be esteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the controversy. It was agreed that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making further submission, be restored to all the livings, and that even the possessors of such benefits as depended on the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. The kings returned to Clarendon, and so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry respected only the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if these hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid on all his dominions. It was easy to see how much he dreaded that event, when a prince of so high a spirit could submit to terms so dishonourable in order to prevent it. So anxious was Henry to accommodate all differences, and to reconcile himself fully with Becket, that he took the most extraordinary steps to flatter his vanity, and even, on both sides, made proposals to hold the stirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted.

But the king attained not even that temporary tranquility which he had hoped to reap from these expedients. During the heat of his quarrel with Becket, which was every day expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, and a sentence of excommunication to be fulfilled against his person, he had thought prudent to have his son, Prince Henry, associated with him in the royalty, and named him in a diploma to the King of Scotland, and Archbishop of York. By this precaution he both insured the succession of that prince, which, considering the many
past irregularities in that point, could not but be esteemed somewhat precarious; and he preserved at least his family on the throne, if the sentence of excommunication should have the effect which he dreaded, and should be finally pronounced against him. Though this design was conducted with expedition and secrecy, Becket, before he was carried into execution, had got intelligence of it; and being desirous of obstructing all his would-be measures, as well as anxious to prevent this affront to himself, who pretended to the sole right, as Archbishop of Canterbury, to officiate in the coronation, he had inhibited all the prelates of England from assisting at it, or from performing any public service, or from proceeding from the Pope, a express avowal of these disputed prerogatives. Conscious also of his own violence in attempting to break or subdue the inlexible prince, he was not disposed to unto that measure which had given his enemies reason to believe that he meant to contest and to resist the contrary views of the Pope in the same manner which the controversy should terminate in that ambiguous manner, which was the utmost that princes, in those ages, could hope to obtain in their disputes with the see of Rome. Though in his own person, and in the name of Becket, he still reserved to himself the right of maintaining, that the Constitutions of Clarendon, the original ground of the quarrel, were both the ancient customs and the present law of the realm; and though he knew that the papal cipher asserted them to be impious in themselves, as well as abrogated by the sentence of the sovereign pontiff, he intended, in spite of their clamours, steadily to put those laws in execution, and to trust to his own abilities, and to the course of events, for success in that perilous enterprise. He hoped that Becket’s experience of a six years’ exile would, after his pride was fully gratified by his restoration, be sufficient to teach him more prudence and more discretion than he had shown in the past. But he thought that, as a further satisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in this coronation. But the violent spirit of Becket, elated by the power of the church, and by the victory which he had already obtained over his sovereign, was not content with this voluntary compensation, but resolved to make the injury, which he pretended to have suffered, a handle for taking revenge on all his enemies. On his arrival in London, and the second day of Christmas, the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the King in Normandy: he notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the Pope had pronounced against them. Hugnald de Warresme, and Gervase de Cornhill, two of the king’s ministers who were employed on their duty in Kent, asked him, on hearing of this bold step, whether he meant to bring fire and sword into the kingdom? But the prince, heedless of the reproach, proceeded, in the most ostentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese, and all the towns which he possessed, he was received with the shouts of triumph and acclamations of the populace. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance. And though he was obliged, by order of the young prince, who resided at Woodstock, to return to his diocese, he found that he was not mistaken, when he reckoned upon the highest generation of the public towards his person and his dignity. He proceeded, therefore, with the more courage, to dart his spiritual thunders: he issued the sentence of excommunication against Robert de Brock, and Nigel de Sackville, with many others, who either had assisted at the coronation of the prince’s son, or been active in the late persecution of the exiled clergy. This violent measure, by which he in effect denounced war against the king himself, is commonly ascribed to the vindication of the disposition and imperious character of Becket; but as this prelate was also a man of acknowledged abilities, we are not, in his passion alone, to look for the cause of his conduct, when he proceeded to these extremities against his enemies. His sagacity had led him to distinguish, in this instance, the intention of others, to the utmost of their expectations, by the bold and unexpected assault, to prevent the execution of the king, from his experience of the dispositions of his people, was become sensible that his enterprise had been too bold in establishing the Constitutions of Clarendon, in defining all the branches of royal power, and in endeavouring to put down the monarchical power of the king, and that it was impossible for him, the Pope, to express avowal of these disputed prerogatives. Conscious also of his own violence in attempting to break or subdue the inflexible prince, he was not disposed to undo that measure which had given his enemies reason to believe that he meant to contest and to resist the contrary views of the Pope in the same manner which the controversy should terminate in that ambiguous manner, which was the utmost that princes, in those ages, could hope to obtain in their disputes with the see of Rome. 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From F. N. S. Theor. p. 74.
From F. N. S. Theor. p. 82. 649.
matters, and reproaches against him, he was so incapable of that, that, without uniting it with the latter, his violence, he immediately went to St. Benedict's church to hear vespers. They followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, and having laid him prostrate, he retired without meeting any opposition. This was the tragic end of Thomas à Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover, to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprises of public integrity, with the air of a saint, and the armor for the interests of religion: an extraordinary person, surely, had he been allowed to remain in his first station, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the support of law and justice; instead of being engaged by the prejudices of the times, to sacrifice all private duties and public connexions to ties which he imagined, or represented, as superior to every civil and political consideration. But no man, who enters into the genius of that age, can reasonably doubt of this prelate's sincerity. The spirit of superstition was so prevalent, that in factually caught every careless reasoner, much more every one of his hearers, and ambition, were engaged to support it. All the wretched literature of the times was enlisted on that side: some faint glimmerings of common sense might sometimes pierce through the thick cloud of ignorance, or, what was worse, the illusion of knowledge would have embellished them, and enveloped the face of nature: but those who preserved themselves untainted by the general contagion, proceeded on no principles which they could pretend to justify: they were more inclined to their total want of instruction, than to their knowledge, if they still retained some share of understanding: folly was possessed of all the schools as well as all the churches; and her votaries assumed the gurh of philosophers, together with the ensigns of spiritual dignities. Throughout that large collection of letters, which bears the name of St. Thomas, we find, in all the retainers of that aspiring prelate, no less than in himself, a most entire and absolute conviction of the reason and purity of their own party, and a disdain of their antagonists: nor is there less cant and prudence in their style, when they address each other, than when they compose manifestos for the perusal of the public. The spirit of revenge, violence, and ambition, which accompanied their conduct, instead of forming a presumption of hypocrisy, are the surest pledges of their sincere attachment to a cause, which so much flattened these domineering passions.

Henry, on the first report of Becket's vio-

lent measures, had purposed to have him arrested, and had already taken some steps towards the execution of this intention, when the party of the}

ner threw the prince into great consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences which he had reason to apprehend from so unexpected an event. An archbishop of reputed sanctity, assassinated before the altar, in the exercise of his functions, and on account of his zeal in maintaining ecclesiastical privileges, must attain the highest honours of martyrdom; while his murderer would be ranked among the most bloody tyrants that ever were exposed to the hatred and detestation of mankind, interdicts and excommunications, weaons in themselves so terrible, would, he foresaw, be armed with double force, when employed in a cause so much calculated to work on human passions, and peculiarly adapted to the eloquence of popular preachers and declaimers. In vain would he plead his own innocenee, and even his total ignorance of the fact: he was sufficiently guilty, if the charge of revolt, and of the assassination of his predecessor, should be made to a prelate from all suspicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction. He shut himself up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his servants: he even refused, during three days, all food and succour to the courtiers, and, precluding dangerous effects from his despair, he was last obliged to break in upon his solitude; and they employed every topic of consolation, induced him to accept of nourishment, and occupied his leisure in taking precautions against any possible attempt against him, which was so justly apprehended from the murder of the prince.

The point of chief importance to Henry was, to convince the Pope of his innocenee; and submission of the king. The Archbishops of Rothen, the Bishops of Worcester and Foras, with five persons of inferior quality, were immediately despatched to Rome, and orders were given to perform their journey with the utmost expedition. Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct; the Pope was so little revered at home, that his invertebrate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from distant extremity of France, came to him the humblest, or rather the abject admissions of the greatest potentates of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet. It was at length agreed, that Richard Basset should be one of these munificent gifts, sent behind, and run all the hazards of the passage, in order to prevent the fatal consequences which might ensue from any delay in giving satisfaction to His Holiness. He found, on his arrival, that Alexander was already brought up to the greatest rage against the king, that Becket's partisans were daily stimulating him to revenge; that the King of France had exhorited him to fulminate the most dreadful sentence against England; and that all very mention of Henry's name before the sacred college was received with every expression of horror and execration. The Thursday before Easter was now approaching, when it is customary for the Pope to pronounce annual curses against all his enemies; and it was expected, that Henry should, with all the preparations peculiar to the discharge of that sacred artillery, be solemnly comprehended in the number. But Rome found means to appease the pontiff, and to deter him from a measure which, if it failed of success, could not afterwards be easily recalled: the anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The Abbot of Vaux-le-Vicomte, and the Archbishop of Calais and Lisseaux, with others of Henry's ministers, who soon after arrived, besides ascertaining their prince's innocenee, made oath before the whole consistory, that he would never return to the Pope without his taking the submission that should be required of him. The terrible blow was thus artfully eluded; the Cardinals Albert and Theodin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose; and though Henry's foreign dominions were already laid under an interdict by the Archbishop of Sens, Becket's great partisan, and the Pope's legate in France, the general expectation was, that the monarch would easily exculpate himself from any concurrency in the guilt, kept up one in suspense, and prevented all the bad consequences which might be dreaded from that sentence.

The clergy, meanwhile, though their race was happily diverted from fatal consequences, by the murder of Becket, were attempting to exalt the sanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom; and in exalting him above all that devoted tribe, who in several ages had, by their blood, cemented the fabric of the church. The Pope, with the consent of his court, procured for him the testimony by their sufferings to the general doctrines of Christianity; but Becket had sacrificed his life to the power and privileges of the clergy; and this peculiar merit challenged, and not in vain, a suitable acknowledgment of his merits, without the shadow of an imputation of the same nature to his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics were more numerous, more sensible, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any
confessor or martyr. Two years after his death he was canonized by Pope Alexander; a solemn jubilee was established for celebrating his merits; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents from all parts of Christendom; pious pilgrimages were permitted to take place with intercession to heaven; and it was computed, that in one year above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived in Altenburg, and paid their devotion at his tomb. It is indeed a mortifying reflection to those who seek for the means by which divine providence has extinguished the last infirmity of noble minds, that the wisest legislator, and most exalted genius that ever reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect such tributes of popular affection as are paid on the memory of whose whole conduct was probably, to the last degree, odious or contemptible, and whose industry was entirely directed to the pursuit of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a personage no less entitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory.

It may not be amiss to remark, before we conclude the subject of Thomas à Becket, that the king, during his controversy with that prelate, was on every occasion more anxious than usual to express his zeal for religion, and to avoid all appearance of a profane negligence on that head. He gave his consent to the imposition of a tax on all his domains for the defrayment of the war against the holy Land, now threatened by the famous Saladin; this tax amounted to two pence a pound for one year, and a penny a pound for the four subsequent. Almost all the princes of Europe had in like manner imposed on their subjects, which received the name of Saladin’s tax. During this period, there came over from Germany about thirty heretics of both sexes, under the direction of one Gerard; simple ignorant people, who could give no account of their faith, but declared themselves ready to suffer for the tenets of their master. They made only one convert in England, a woman as ignorant as themselves; yet they gave such umbrage to the clergy, that they were deprived of their arment, and were punished by being burned on the foreheads, and then whipped through the streets. They seemed to exult in their sufferings, and as they went along, sang the laudation, when men hate you and persecute you. After they were whipped, they were thrust out almost naked in the midst of winter, and perished through cold and hunger; no one daring, or being willing, to give them the least relief. We are ignorant of the particular number of these people; for it would be impossible to rely on the representations left of them by the clergy, who affirm that they denied the efficacy of the sacraments, and the unity of the church. It is probable that their departure was due to the weight of the weather still more sudden and minute. They seem to have been the first that ever suffered for heresy in England.

As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook an expedition against Ireland; a design which he had long projected, and by which he hoped to recover his credit, somewhat impaired by his late transactions with the hierarchy.

ANTIOCHY:

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY II.

State of Ireland—Conquest of that island—The king’s accommodation with the court of Rome—Revolt of young Henry and his brothers—Wars and interlusions—War with Scotland—Penance of Henry for Becket’s murder—William, King of Scotland, defeated and taken prisoner—Pope’s intercession—Cranes—Revolt of Prince Richard—Death and character of Henry—Narrative transactions of his reign.

A.D. 1177.

As Britain was first peopled from Gaul, and Ireland was divided to it; Ireland probably from Britain; and the inhabitants of all these countries to have been so many tribes of the Celts, who derive their origin from an antiquity that lies far beyond the records of any history or tradition. The Irish, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and as they were never conquered, or even invaded, by the Romans, from whom all the western nations were delivered by its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of society, and were distinguished by those vices alone, to which human nature, not tainted by education, or restrained by laws, is for ever subject. The small principalities, into which the country was so unjustly divided, were exercised by violence and rack against each other; the uncertain succession of their princes was a continual source of domestic convulsions; the usual title of each petty sovereign was the same as the Cape Verdeans, they were envied, and for the supposed exercised in the commission of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues; and the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown among them. They had felt the bloody wars of the Danes and the other northern tribes; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism in other parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Irish; and the only towns which were to be found in the island, had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exercised pasturage in the open country; sought protection from any danger in their forests and marts; and being divided by the statue of liberty, had no interest in the public welfare, except the intent on the means of mutual injury, than on the expedi-ents for common or even for private interest.

Besides many small tribes, there were in the age of Henry II. five principal empires, or confederations, in Ireland, Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and as it had been usual for the one or the other of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly some prince, who seemed to have the upper hand, as was the case of Roderick O’Connor, King of Connaught, who was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any common rendezvous, and the country, though for defence against foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved, by the prospect of these advantages, to attempt the subjection of Ireland; and his prince was only wanting to join the unhappy states, who, being always confined to their own island, had never given any reason of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpose, he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires; and, not considering the danger of such an invasion, one day to maintain with that, he helped, for presence, or rather for an imaginary, convenience, to give sanction to claims which were now become dangerous to all sover- eignties; and as he thought the country too small to be held by birth an Englishman; and being, on that account, the more disposed to oblige Henry, he was easily persuaded to act as master of the world, and to make, without any hazard or expense, the acquisition of a great island for his spiritual jurisdiction. The Irish had, by preceding mis-sions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to Christianity; and, what the Pope regarded as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, he followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledg-ed any submission to the see of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in the year 1156 issued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premising that this prince had ever shown an anxious desire to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven; he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motives: he considers his care of previously applying for the apostolic sanction a sure earnest of success and victory; and having establish-ed it as a point incontrovertible, that all christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to secure among them the souls of the gospel, which might in the last day fructify to their eternal salvation: he exorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay an annual tribute, a penny to the see of Rome; he gives him entire right and authority...
In prosecution of these views, he sent over a messenger to the Earl of Strigil, challenging the performance of his promise, and displaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not satisfied with the general permission given by Henry to all his subjects, went to demand the special permission of his own prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold and ambiguous permission, prepared himself for the execution of his designs. He first sent over Raymond, one of his companions, with ten hundred men and several ships, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard himself, who brought over two hundred horse, and a body of archers, joined his forces. In the course of a few days after, they made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural son, who had been left as a hostage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic, and the other Irish princes, were alarmed at the danger; and combining together, besiegéd Dublin with an army of thirty thousand men; but Earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chased them off the field, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this, Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry, jealous of the progress made by his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English, and he made forthwith proposals to attack Ireland in all offices of Richard and the other adventurers, found means to appease him, by making him the most humble submissions, and offering to hold all their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown. The monarch had been at home, and at the head of his armed knights, besides other soldiers: he found the Irish dissatisfied by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to destroy the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains in princes in possession of their ancient territories: bestowed some lands on the English adventurers; gave Earl Richard the commissary of Seneschal of Ireland; and after a stay of a few months, returned in triumph to England. By these trucal exploits, scarcely worth relating, except for the importance of the consequences, was Ireland subdued, and annexed to the English crown.

The loss of the Norman and Irish, during those ages, made it impracticable for princes to support regular armies, which might retain a conquered country in subjection; and the extreme barbarism and poverty of Ireland could not be so easily conquered. It was a mere impotent, by which a durable conquest could then be made or maintained, was by pouring in a multitude of new inhabitants, dividing among them the lands of the vanquished, establishing them once more from their own authority, and thereby transforming the ancient inhabitants into a new people. By this policy, the northern invaders of old, and of late the Duke of Normandy, had been able to fix their dominions, and to erect kingdoms, which remained stable on their foundations, and were transmitted to the posterity of the first conquerors. But the state of Ireland rendered that island so little inviting to the English, that only a few of desperate fortunes could be persuaded, from time to time, to seek their fortune there, and instead of reclaiming the natives from their uncultivated manners, they were gradually assimilated to the ancient inhabitants, and degenerated from the customs of their own nation. It was also found requisite to establish great military and arbitrary powers on the leaders, who commanded a handful of men amidst such hostile multitudes; and law and equity in a little time became as much unknown in the English settlements, as it had been among the Irish tribes. Factions were erected in favour of the new adventurers; independent authority conferred; the natives, never fully subdued, still returned their animosity against the conquerors; their hatred was retal
by his injuries; and from these causes, the Irish, during the course of four centuries, remained still savage and untractable. It was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, that the island was fully subdued; nor till that of her successor, that it gave hopes of becoming a useful conquest to the English nation.

Besides that the easy and peaceable submission of the Irish left Henry no further occupation in that island, he was recalled from it by another incident, which was of the last importance to his interest and safety. The two legates, Albert and Theodom, to whom was committed the trial of his conduct in the murder of Archbishop Bekket, were arrived in Normandy; and being impatient of delay, sent him letters full of menace; if he pretended any longer making his appearance before them.3 He hastened therefore to Normandy, and had a conference with them at Savary, where their demands were so exorbitant, that he broke off the negotiation, threatened to return to Ireland, and made them do their worst against him. They perceived that the season was now past for taking advantage of that tragic incident; which, had it been hotly pursued by interdicts and excommunications, was capable of throwing the whole kingdom into combustion. But the time which Henry had happily gained had contributed to appease the minds of men. The event could not now have the same influence as when it was a slight; and as was the custom every day looked for an accommodation with the king, they had not opposed the pretensions of their partisans, who had been very industrious in representing to the people his principal greatness and public service, and in the murder of the archbishop, and ignorance of the designs formed by the assassins. The legates therefore found themselves obliged to lower their terms; and Henry was so fortunate as to conclude an accordation with them. He declared upon oath, before the legates of his own accord, that, so far from commanding or desiring the death of the archbishop, he was extremely grieved when he received intelligence of it. But as the passion, which he had expressed on account of that perturbation, was immediate, and probably no notion of being a murder, he stipulatad the following conditions, as an atonement for the offence. He promised, that he should pardon all such as had been implicated in the said murder, and, through them in their lives; that the see of Canterbury should be reestablished in all its ancient possessions; that he should pay the Templars a sum of money sufficient for the subsistence of two hundred knights during a year in the Holy Land; that he should himself take the cross at the Christmas following; and, if the Pope required it, serve three years against the infidels either in Spain or Palestine; and should, during the absence of such customs, derogatory to ecclesiastical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time; and that he should not obstrue appeals to the Pope in ecclesiastical causes, but should content himself with executing sufficient security from such clerks as left his dominions to prosecute an appeal, that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown.4 Upon signing these concessions, Henry received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian; and nothing proves more strongly the great abilities of this monarch, than his extracting himself, on such easy terms, from so difficult a situation. He had always trusted, that the laws established at Clarendon contained not any new claimings but the ancient customs of the kingdom; and he was still at liberty, notwithstanding the articles of this agreement, to maintain his pretensions. Appeals to the Pope were not done imputed by that treaty; but so long as he was permitted to exact reasonable securities from the parties, and might stretch his demands on this head as far as he pleased, he had it virtually in his power to prevent the Pope from acting these concessions. And, on the whole, the Conventions of Clarendon remained still the law of the realm, though the Pope

duftel terms of his father; and soon after, in concert with Lewis, made his escape to Paris, where he was protected and supported by that monarch.

While Henry was alarmed at this incident, and had the prospect of dangereous intriguers, or even of a war, which, whether successful or not, must be extremely calamitous and disagreeable to him, he received intelligence of new misfortunes, which must have affected him in the most sensible manner. Queen Elizabeth, who had disgraced her first husband by her gallantries, was now less offensive to his second by her jealousy; and after this manner carried to extremity, in the different periods of her life, every circumstance of female weakness. She communicated her discontents against Henry to her two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard; persuaded them that they were also entitled to present possession of the territories assigned to them; engaged them to fly secretly to the court of France, and engaged them to come secretly to the court of France, and engaged them by oath to adhere to the cause of young Henry.

Henry, reduced to this perils and disagreeable situation, had recourse to the court of Rome: though sensible of the danger of his position, partly alarmed at the disposition of his courtiers, and partly by a wish to support them in these unnatural and absurd pretensions.

Henry, to exert his power in so justifiable a cause, issued the bulls required by him: but it was soon found, that these spiritual weapons had not the same force as when employed in a state of perfect concord, and that the clergy were very negligent in supporting a sentence which was nowise calculated to promote the immediate interests of their order. The king, after taking in vain this humiliating step, was obliged to have recourse to arms, and to use such extraordinary, as are the usual resources of tyrants, and have seldom been employed by so wise and just a monarch.

The loose government which prevailed in all the states of Europe, the many princes wars carried on among the neighbouring nobles, and the impossibility of enforcing any general execution of the laws, had caused a tribe of banditti to disturb everywhere the public peace, to infest the highways, and to have their hands full of the civil magistrate, and even the communications of the church, which were fulminated against them.

Troops of them were sometimes enlisted to defend the people against the potential calamity of another: they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own: the peaceable and industrious inhabitants, reduced to poverty by their ravages, were frequently obliged, for subsistence, to betake themselves to a disorderly course of life; and a continual intestine war, pernicious to industry, as well as to the execution of justice, was thus carried on in the bowels of every kingdom.

These desperate refugees received the name sometimes of Branchemans, sometimes of Rouriers or Couteux; but for what reason is not agreed by historians: and they formed a kind of society or government among themselves, which set at defiance the rest of mankind. The greater part of them were employed, on occasion, to have recourse to their assistance: and as their habits of war and depredation had given them experience, hardiness, and courage, they generally composed the most formidable troops of them they had acquired, and the situation of his affairs rendered even such banditti the only forces on whose fidelity he could repose any confidence. His licentious barons, disgusted with a vigilant government, were more desirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiss in their conduct, and profuse in their grants; and as the king had mercenary, his sons the succession to every particular province of his dominions, the nobles dreaded no danger in adhering to those who, they knew, must some time become their sovereigns. Prompted by these motives, much of his nobility had deserted to his son Henry; the Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarter of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection had crept in among the English; and the Earls of Leicester and Chester in particular had openly declared against the king. Twenty thousand Branchemans, therefore, joined to some troops which he brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed the sole force with which he set about his enterprises. The two continents.

Lewis, in order to bind the confederates in a closer union, summoned at Paris an assembly of the chief vassals of the crown, received their approbation of his measures, and engaged them by oath to adhere to the cause of young Henry. This prince, in return, bound himself by a like tie never to desert his French allies; and having made a new great seal, he faithfully distributed among them his letters to the French barons, of the terms in which he was disposed to conquer from his father. The Counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois, and Eu, partly moved by the general jealousy arising from Henry's power and ambition, by the prospect of being deprived of his aid. and from the inconsiderate temper and the necessities of the young prince, declared openly in favour of the latter. William, King of Scotland, had also entered into this formidable confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion on different parts of the king's extensive and factional dominions.

Hostilities were first commenced by the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, on the frontiers of Normandy. Those princes laid siege to Aumale, which was delivered into their hands by the treachery of the count of that name: this nobleman surrendered himself prisoner; and on pretence of thereby paying his ransom, opened the gates of all his other fortresses.

In another quarter, the King of France, being strongly assisted by his vassals, assembles a great army of seven thousand knights and their followers in horses, and a considerable number of infantry: carrying young Henry along with him, he laid siege to Verneuil, which was vigorously defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governor. After many days of on and off, he had it at length agreed that the besieged should be permitted to capitulate; and they engaged, if not relieved within three days, to surrender the town, and to retire into the citadel. On the last of these days, Henry appeared with his army upon the heights above Verneuil. Lewis, dreading an attack, sent the Archbishop of Sens and the Count of Blois to the English camp, and desired that next day should be appointed for a conference, in order to establish a general peace, and terminate the difference between Henry and his sons. The king, who passionately desired this accommodation and suspected no fraud, gave his consent; but Lewis, that morning, obliging the garrison to surrender, set fire to the place, and began to retire with his army. Henry, provoked at this intrigue, attacked the rear with vigour, put them to rout, did some execution, and took several prisoners. The French army, as the king had expected, immediately dispersed themselves into their several provinces; and left Henry free to prosecute his advantages against his other enemies.

The nobles of the Britains, instigated by the Earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougerei, were all in arms; but their
progress was checked by a body of Brabançons, which the king, after Lewis's retreat, had sent against them. The two armies came to an action near Dol; where the rebels were defeated, fifteen hundred killed on the spot, and the leaders, the Earls of Chester and Cornwall, obliged to take shelter in the town of Dol. Henry hastened to form the siege of that place, and carried on the attack with such ardour, that he obliged the governor and garrisons of the towns to open their gates by these vigorous measures and happy successes, the insurrections were entirely quelled in Brittany; and the king, thus fortunate in all quarters, willingly agreed to a conference with Lewis, who had suppressed all their mighty efforts entirely frustrated, would terminate hostilities on some moderate and reasonable conditions.

The two monarchs met between Trie and Gisors; and Henry had here the mortification to see his three sons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. As Lewis had no other pretence for war, than supporting the claims of the young princes, the king made them such offers as children might be ashamed to insist on, and could be extorted from him by nothing but his paternal affection, or by the present necessity of his affairs. He insisted only on retaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with some presents of state, in that kingdom; if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guise; he promised to resign Brittany to Geoffrey; and the insurrections were so insufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the Pope's donation and legate, when present, should require of him. The Earl of Leicester was also present at the negotiation; and either from the impetuosity of his temper, or from a view of abruptly breaking off a correspondence which must cover the allies with confusion, he gave vent to the most violent reproaches against Henry, and he even put his hand to his sword, as if he meant to attempt some violence against him. This further alarmed the king of Burgundy in an enemy company into confusion, and put an end to the treaty.

The chief hopes of Henry's enemies seemed now to depend on the state of affairs in England, where his authority was exposed to the most imminent danger. One article of Prince Henry's agreement with his foreign confederates was, that he should resign Kent, with Dover, and all its other fortresses, to the hands of the Earl of Flanders; yet so little national or public spirit prevailed amongst the independent English nobility, so wholly bent were they on the aggrandisement of each himself and his own family, that notwithstanding this pernicious concession, which must have produced the ruin of the kingdom in a few years' time if continued, so many of them had returned to it, and supported to the prince's pretensions. The king's principal resource lay in the church and the bishops, with whom he was now in perfect agreement; whether that the decency of their character made them ashamed of supporting so unnatural a rebellion, or that they were entirely satisfied with Henry's atonement for the murder of Becket, and for his former invasion of ecclesiastical immunities. That prince, however, had resigned none of the essential rights of his crown in the accommodation; he maintained still the same prudent jealousy of the court of Rome; admitted no legate into England, without his swearing to attempt nothing against the royal prerogatives of his own majesty, in the person of the archbishop of Canterbury, who pretended to a free election on the vacancy made by the death of Becket, to choose Roger, prior of Dover, in the place of that turbulent prelate.

War with Scotland. The King of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, and committed great devastations; but being opposed by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, he retreated northwards, and agitated hisSubjects of his own kingdom. This truce enabled the guardian to march southward with his army, in order to oppose an invasion, which the Earl of Leicester, at the head of a great body of Flemings, had made against Suffolk. The Flemings had been joined by Hugh Bigot, who made the town of Framlingham; and marching into the heart of the kingdom, where they hoped to be supported by Leicester's vassals, they were met by Lucy, who, assisted by Humphrey Bohun, the Constable, and the Earls of Arundel, Gloucester, and Devon, had advanced to Framlingham, with a less numerous but a braver army to oppose them. The Flemings, who were mostly weavers and artificers, for manufactures were now beginning to be established in England,Relation to the war, were defeated, ten thousand of them put to the sword, the Earl of Leicester, the king's eldest son, taken prisoner, and the remains of the invaders glad to compound for a safe retreat into their own country.

This great defeat did not dismay the king's subjects, being supported by the alliance of so many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's own sons, determined to persevere in their enterprise. The Earl of Ferrars, Roger de Mowbray, Archibald de Malleray, Richard de Moreville, Hamo de Masee, together with many friends of the Earls of Leicester and Chester, rose in arms: the fidelity of the Earls of Clare and Gloucester was suspected; and the guardian, though vigorously supported by Geoffrey, Bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond, found it difficult to defend himself on all quarters, from so many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confusion, the King of France, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with five thousand men; which, though undisciplined and disorderly, and better fitted for committing devastation, than for executing any military enterprise, was become dangerous from the presence of the rebellious followers of the young Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his footprints in a posture of defence, now found England the seat of danger; and he determined by his presence to overawe rebellions, and by his conduct and courage to subdue them. He landed at Southampton; and knowing the influence of monachorum, he conferred superintendence over all the monasteries, and made the monastic clergy his counsellors, and the chief executors of his commands. He attended to the ashes of Thomas à Becket, and tendered his submissions to a dead enemy. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury, he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting, and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques.

Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man, whose violence and ingratitude had so long disquieted the kingdom, and had produced the most inveterate animosity, he submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourage of disordered hair, and a habit of the poor, threw the shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics successively inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, got so soon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which he had obtained over the Scots, and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his absolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas à Becket.

William King of Scots, though repulsed before the castle of Prudlow, and other fortified places, had committed the most horrid depredations upon the northern provinces; but on the approach of Ralph de Glanville, the famous Oakenhammer, and his troops, led by Robert de Stutelye, Odonele de Umfrewe, William de Vesci, and other northern barons, together with the gallant Bishop of Lincoln, he thought proper to retreat nearer his own country, and be fixed there. He had there weakened his army extremely, by sending out numerous detachments in order to extend his ravages; and he lay absolutely safe, as he imagined, from any approach of the king. But in the consideration of his situation, made a hasty and fatiguing march to Newcastle; and, allowing his soldiers only a small interval for refreshment, he immediately set out towards evening for Alnwick. He marched that night above thirty miles, and arrived there in the morning of 13th July.
Henry II.

With glory, and absolute master of his dominions, might take revenge for the many dangers and disquietudes which the arms, and still more the intrigues, of France, bad, in his disputes both with Becket and his sons, found means to raise him. After making a freshcession of arms, a conference was held near Tours, where he granted his sons much less advantageous terms than he had formerly offered, and he received their submissions. The most material of his concessions were the king's assent to some penitential written to be stipulated to them, and some castles which he granted them the place of their residence; together with an indemnity for all their adherents, who were restored to their estates and holdings.

Of all those who had embraced the cause of the young princes, William, King of Scotland was the only considerable loser by that invidious and unjust enterprise. Henry delivered from confinement, without exacting any ransom, about nine hundred knights whom he had taken prisoners; but it cost William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other possessions; he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom should also do homage; that the bishops should take an oath of fealty; that both should swear to adhere to the King of England against their native prince; and that William should return to France the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxborough, and Jedeborough, should be returned into Henry's hands, till the performance of articles. This was delivered into his hands, and the two sovereigns concluded the treaty in its full rigour. William, being released, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged and his successors for their subjects.

The English monarch stretched still further the rigour of the conditions which he exacted. He engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland; and indeed the first important transaction which had passed between the kingdoms.

Few princes have been so fortunate as to gain considerable advantages over the weaker neighbours with less violence and injustice than was practised by Henry against the King of Scots, whom he had taken prisoners to his own advantage, and who had wantonly engaged in a war against which all the neighbours of that prince, and even his own family, were, without provocation, combined against him.

Henry having thus, contrary to expost—King's enmity, extricated himself with honour from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, was employed for several years in the administration of justice, in the execution of the laws, and in guarding against those inconveniences, which either the past cessions of his state, or the political institutions of that age, unavoidably occasioned. The provisions which he made above laments of thought as qualified him for being a legislator; and they were commonly calculated as well for the future as the present happiness of his kingdom.

He enacted severe penalties against rob-bery, murder, false spying, arson, and ordained that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary commutation for crimes, which has a false appearance of lenity, had been in general, and had been entirely abolished by the rigour of these statutes. The superstitious trial by water ordeal, though condemned by the church, still subsisted; but Henry ordained, that any man accused of murder, or any heinous felony by the oath of the legal knights of the county, should

Some Scotch historians pretend that William paid, besides, 100,000 pounds of ransom, which is quite incredible. The ransom of Robert I. was only 30,000 marks, and yet was levied with great difficulty. Indeed, two-thirds of it could not be levied without hazard. The expense of maintaining a hundred knights was only 30,000 marks, and yet was levied with great difficulty. Indeed, two-thirds of it could not be levied without hazard. The expense of maintaining a hundred knights was only 30,000 marks, and yet was levied with great difficulty. Indeed, two-thirds of it could not be levied without hazard.
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[CHAP. IX.

even though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the
realm.\(^1\)

All advances towards reason and good sense are slow and
gradual. Henry, though sensible of the great ab-
surdity of the trial by duel of bishops, did not venture to
abuse it: he only admitted either of the parties to
challenge a trial by an assize or jury of twelve fire-
bearers.\(^2\) This latter method of trial seems to have been
very sacred in England, and was fixed by the laws of
King Alfred: but the barbarous and violent genius of the
age had of late given more credit to the trial by battle,
which had become the general method of deciding all im-
portant controversies. It was never abolished by law in
England; and there is an instance of its use so late as the
reign of Elizabeth: but the institution revived by this
king, being found more reasonable and more suitable to a
civilized people, gradually prevailed over it.

The government of France into districts, and the
appointment of itinerant justices to go the circuit in each
division, and to decide the causes in the counties, was
another important ordinance of this prince, which had a
dear devoted, had not, at this time, become
to protect the inferior gentry and common people in their
property. Those justices were either prelates or con-
siderable noblemen; who, besides carrying the authority of the
throne, were able to hold up the dignity of their
own character, to give weight and credit to the laws.

That there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of
justice, the king was vigilant in demolishing all the new-
erections, both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical, so far as
his foreign dominions: and he permitted no fortress to
remain in the custody of those whom he found reason to
suspect.

But lest the kingdom should be weakened by this de-
omination of the fortresses, the king fixed an assize of arms,
by which all his subjects were obliged to put themselves
in a situation for defending themselves and the realm. Every
man of a certain age, and a knight of a certain
age, was ordained to have for each the
coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and
a lance; every free boy, possessed of goods to the value
of sixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner; every
one that possessed two marks was obliged to have an iron
gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance. The king also
ordered that all his subjects should have
a cap of iron, a lance, and a wambast; that is, a
coat quilted with wool, tow, or soch like materials.\(^3\) It
appears that archery, for which the English were after-
warly renowned, had not at this time, become
very common among them. The spear was the chief weapon
employed in battle.

The clergy and the laity were, during that age, in a
situation altogether new. The former were employed to
endeavour to make the laity as ignorant as possible of all things
which may seem totally incompatible with a civilized, and
indeed, with any species of government. If a clergyman
were guilty of murder, he could be punished by degrada-
tion; if he were guilty of theft, he was punished as
posed to nothing but excommunication and ecclesiastical
sustenances; and the crime was stoned for by penances
and submission.\(^4\) Hence the assassins of Thomas à Becket
himself, though guilty of the most atrocious wickedness,
and the most repugnant to the sentiments of that age,
lived securely in their own houses, without being called
account by Henry himself, who was so much con-
cerned, both in honour and interest, to punish that crime
and who professed, or affected on all occasions, the most
extreme abhorrence of it. It was not till they found their
presence shunned by every one as excommunicated per-
sons, that they were induced to take a journey to Rome,
and throw themselves at the feet of the pontiff, and to
submit to the penances imposed upon them; after which
they continued to possess, without molestation, their
honours and fortunes, and seemed even to have recovered
the good opinion of good opinion of the king, as the
king, by the Constitutions of Clarendon, which he
endeavoured still to maintain, had subjected the clergy
to a trial by the civil magistracy, it seemed but just to
give them the protection of that power to which they
owed obedience: it was enacted, that the murderers of
clergymen should be tried before the justiciary, in
the presence of the bishop or his official; and besides
the usual punishment of having their hand subject to a
forfeiture of their estates; and a confiscation of their
goods and chattels.\(^5\)

The king passed an equitable law, that the goods of a
vassal should not be sequestrated by the king, unless
the vassal be surety for the debt; and that the rents of
vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not
to the lord himself. It is remarkable that this law was
enacted by the king in a council which he held at Ver-
neuil, and which consisted of the greatest prelates and
knights of England, as well as some of Normandy, Poictou, Arjou,
Maine, Touraine, and Brittany; and the statute took
place in all these last-mentioned territories; though
the king meant that it should apply only to
England; and he viewed it as a signal superintendence;
how irregular the ancient feudal government was, and
how near the sovereigns, in some instances, approached
to despoticism, though in others they seemed scarcely to
the old sons. He probably thought it would end all
people, who, during several years, contain little
memorable. Scotland remained in
that state of feudal subjection to which he had reduced it,
d and gained to himself the title of its overlord.

The king of meted land had the care of the
And was, by a devotion more sincere than that of
Henry, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in
order to obtain his intercession for the cure of Philip, his
son. He probably thought it would end all
us the faveur of that saint, on account of their ancient
chivalry; and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected
while on earth, would not now, when he was so highly
exalted above him, turn his back on him, and such
The monks, sensible that their saint's honour was concerned
in the case, failed not to publish that Lewis's prayers were
answered, and that the young prince was restored to health
all the town of Saint-Denis, and the other places.
but of Philip, was soon after struck with an apoplexy, which deprived
of his understanding: Philip, though in the age of fifteen,
took on him the administration, till his father's death,
which happened soon after, opened his way to the throne,
and he proved the ablest and greatest monarch that
had governed that kingdom since the age of
A. D. 1189.

Charlemagne. The superior years, however,
and experience of Henry, while they moderated his
invention, gave him such an ascendancy over this prince, that
dangerous rivalry, for a long time, arose between them.
The English monarch, instead of taking advantage of his
own situation, rather increased his good offices in com-
posing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of
France; and he was successful in mediating a reconcili-
ation between Philip and his mother and uncle. These
services were but all required by Philip, who, when he
came to the throne, distributed among his kinsmen and
conquest of Ireland, to numerous barons and members of that country to
the Languedoc parliament. Mediator's Case of Ireland, p. 64. 65.
\(^1\) a Pemb, Abb. p. 132.
\(^2\) y Penn., 16th, ii, cap. 7.
\(^3\) By Bever, p. 330. 
\(^4\) By Beveret, s. 450. 
\(^5\) By Beveret, p. 563.
\(^6\) Bev., 14th, ii, cap. 1. 
\(^7\) By Beveret, p. 915. 
\(^8\) By Beveret, p. 253. 
\(^9\) By Beveret, p. 989. 
\(^10\) By Beveret, p. 557. 
\(^11\) By Beveret, p. 145. 
\(^12\) By Beveret, p. 596. 
\(^13\) By Beveret, p. 597. 
\(^14\) By Beveret, p. 145. 
\(^15\) By Beveret, p. 125. 
\(^16\) It was moed for the kings of England, after the
incapable of using it, renewed to the king the demand of his resigning Normandy; and on meeting with a refusal, he fled with his consort to the court of France; but not finding Philip at that time disposed to enter into war for his sake, he accepted of his father's offers of reconciliation, and made him submissions. It was a cruel circumstance in the king's fortune, that he could hope for no tranquillity from the criminal enterprises of his sons but by their mutual destruction; and he was so disconsolate at his family's fall, and threw his state into convulsions. Richard, whom he had made master of Guienne, and who had displayed his valour and military genius, by suppressing the revolts of his mutinous followers; and Henry's own mutiny against his sons, redressed his family's wrongs against his elder brother for that duchy, and he defended himself against young Henry and Geoffrey, who, uniting their arms, carried war into his territories. The king, with some difficulty, composed this difference; but immediately recovered his eldest son engrossed in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against himself. While the young prince was conducting these criminal intrigues, he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle near Turrene, to which he had retired in discontent; and seeing the approaches of death, he was at last struck with remorse for his unfaithful behaviour towards his father. He sent a message to the king, who was not far distant; expressed his contrition for his faults; and, before the face of a vast, that he might at least die with the satisfaction of having obtained his forgiveness. Henry, who had so often experienced the prince's ingratitude and violence, apprehended that his son would do nothing to make him repent, not mistrust himself into his son's hands. But when he soon after received intelligence of young Henry's death, and the proofs of his sincere repentance, this good prince was affected with the deepest sorrow. He therefore made his own grief a defence for his son's, and lamented that he had deprived that prince of the last opportunity of making atonement for his offences, and renewing once more the royal house of his deceased father. This prince died in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

The behaviour of his surviving children did not tend to give the king any consolation for the loss. As Peter, Henry had left no postercity, Richard became heir to all his dominions; and the king intended that John, his third surviving son and favourite, should inherit Guienne as his appanage. But Richard refused his consent, fled into that duchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well against his father as against his brother Geoffrey, who was now put into possession of Brittany. Henry sent for Eleanor his Queen, the hermit of Guienne, and some men of war to defend the territory of that duchy against all intruders; and the king, with great resolution, at the head of those who remained of his retinue, advanced to this resolution of the Guiscons in her favour, or restraining some sence of duty towards her, readily performed; and he presently returned to his father's court. No sooner was this quarrel accommodated, than Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, broke out into violence; demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Brittany, and on meeting with a refusal, fled to the court of France, and levied forces against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The young prince was slain after his decease, when he was delivered of a son, who received the name of Arthur, and was invested in the duchy of Brittany, under the guardianship of his grandfather, who, as Duke of Normandy, was also superior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, dispossessed him of this title to the duchy of Brittany; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

Cranes. But the enmity between those potentates, the first occasion of glory in either their houses, was now to have given place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land, and the expulsion of the Saracens. These incidents, though obliged to yield to the immense consumption of Christians in the first Crusade, had recovered courage after the torrent was past; and attacking on all quarters the settlements of the Europeans, had reduced these adventurers to great difficulties, and obliged them to apply again for succours from the West. A second Crusade, under the Emperor Conrado and Lewis VII, King of France, in which there perished above 200,000 men, brought them but a temporary relief; and those princes, after losing such immense armies, and seeing the flower of their nobility and valor to see, required assistance to maintain their dominions into Europe. But these repeated misfortunes, which drained the western world of its people and treasure, were not yet sufficient to curce men of their passion for those holy and spiritual adventures; they began to imagine new felicity; to dry the zeal of the ecclesiastics and military adventurers among the Latin Christians. Saladin, a prince of great generosity, bravery, and conduct, having fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over the East; and finding the settlement of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the cross, and having secretly gained the Count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with a mighty power, and, aided by the treachery of that Count, gained over them a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem.

The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a fierce resistance. A considerable part of it was almost entirely subdued; and except some maritime towns, nothing considerable remained of those boasted conquests, which, near a century before, it had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire.

The western Christians were astonished on receiving this dismal intelligence. Pope Urban III. it is pretended, died of grief, and his successor, Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of this short pontificate in robbing arms to all the Christians by whom he had been supported: the general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven, who did not vindicate from the dominion of the infidels, the inheritance of God on earth, and the blood of the martyrs which had been spilt by the footsteps of their Redeemer. A. D. 1187.

William, Archbishop of Tyre, having procured a conference between Henry and Philip near Gisors, enforced all these topics, gave a pathetic description of the miserable state of the eastern Christians, and employed every argument to excite the ruling passions of the age, superstition, and jealousy of military honour. The two monarchs immediately took the cross; many of their most generous vassals, and the Emperor Frederick I., entered into the same confederacy, some well-grounded hopes of success were entertained; and men flattered themselves that an enterprise which had failed under the conduct of many independent leaders, or of imprudent princes, might at last, by the efforts of such potent and able monarchs, be brought to a happy issue. The kings of France and England imposed a tax amounting to the tenth of all movable goods, on such as remained at home; but as they exempted from this burden most of the regular clergy, the secular aspired to the same immunity; pretended that their duty obliged them to assist the Crusade with their prayers alone; and it was with some difficulty they were constrained to desist from an opposition, which in them, who had been the chief promoters of those pious enterprises, appeared with the worst grace imaginable. This backwardness of the clergy is perhaps a symptom, that the enthusiastic ardour which had at first seized the people for Crusades, was now by time and ill success considerably abated; and that the phrenzy was chiefly supported by the military genius and love of glory in the West.

But before this great machine could be put in motion, there were still many obstacles to surmount. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with young Richard; and, working on his na-
hious and impatient temper, persuaded him, instead of supporting and abasing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to seek present power and independence by disturbing and dismembering it. In 1190, Philip, in order to give a pretence for hostilities be-
tween the two kings, Richard broke into the territories of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who immediately carried complaints of this to the King of France. Philip demonstrated with the King of France, who might have been covered with shame and confusion by this detection, still prosecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berri and Auvergne, under colour of ravaging the quarrel of the Count of Toulouse. Henry retaliated by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected Crusade, gave great scandal, the two kings held a con-
ference at the accustomed place between Grisost and Trie, in order to find means of accommodating their differ-
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private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish; and he seems to have possessed every accomplishment, both of body and mind, which makes a man either a subject of esteem or a model of morality, and his character was strong, and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining; his education easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; he was provident without timidity; severe in the execution of justice without rigour; and temperate without austerity. He preserved health, and kept himself from corrupcy, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet and bath. He was heedful of economy in everything, particularly in hunting. When he could enjoy leisure, he rehearsed himself either in learned conversation or in reading; and he cultivated his natural talents by study, above any prince of his time.

His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men never destroyed the natural sensibility of his temper, which disposed him to friendship and society. His character has been transmitted to us by several writers who were his contemporaries; and it extremely resembles, in its most remarkable features, that of his maternal grandfather Henry I.: excepting only, that ambition, which was a ruling passion in both, found not merely the death of so eminent a person a justifying itself, and pushed that prince into measures, which were both criminal in themselves, and were the cause of further crimes, from which his grandson's conduct was far removed.

This prince, like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, except Stephen, passed more of his time on the continent than in this island: he was surrounded with the English gentry and nobility, when abroad: the French gentry and nobility attended him when he resided in England: both nations acted in the government as if they were the same people; and, on many occasions, the legislatures seem not to have been distinguished. As the French, so the English barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people acquired the ascendant, and were regarded as the models of imitation. All foreign improvements, therefore, such as they were, in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem now to have been, in a good measure, transplanted into England; and that kingdom was become little inferior, in all the fashionable accomplishments, to any of its neighbours on the continent. The more honestly but more sensible manners and principles of the Saxons were exchanged for the affectations of chivalry, and the subsities of school philosophy: the feudal ideas of civil government, the Norman sentiments in religion, have taken the better possession of the people; by the former, the sense of submission towards princes was somewhat diminished in the barons; by the latter, the devoted attachment to papal authority was much augmented among the clergy. The Norman and other foreign families established in England, bad now struck deep root; and being entirely incorporated with the people, whom at first they oppressed and despised, they no longer thought that they needed the protection of the crown for the enjoyment of their possessions, or considered their tenure as precarious. They aspired to the same liberty and independence which they saw enjoyed by their brethren on the continent, and desired to restrain those excesses of prerogatives and arbitrary practices, which the necessities of war and the violence of conquest had at first obliged them to indulge in their monarch. That memory also of a more equal government under the Saxon princes, which remained with the English, diffused still further the spirit of liberty, and made the barons both desirous of more independence to themselves, and willing to indulge it to the people. And it was not long ere this secret revolution in the sentiments of mankind, which had been germinating in the state, then an evident alteration in the maxims of government.

The history of all the preceding Kings of England since

the Conquest, gives evident proofs of the disorders attending the feudal institutions; the licentiousness of the barons, their spirit of rebellion against the prince and laws, their contempt of armies, the poverty of the state, the debasement of the barons in the transmarine dominions of those monarchs, afforded perhaps still more flagrant instances of these convulsions; and the history of France, during several ages, consists almost entirely of narrations of this nature. The cities, during the course of that event, could neither be very numerous nor populous; and there occur instances which seem to evince, that, though these are always the first seat of law and liberty, their police was in general loose and unregular. But the same disorders with those by which the country was generally infested. It was a custom in London for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, the sons and relations of considerablen citizens, to form themselves into a licentious confederacy, to break into rich houses and plunder them, to rob and murder the passengers, and to commit with impunity all sorts of disorder. By these crimes, it had become so dangerous to walk the streets by night, that the citizens durst no more venture abroad after sun-set than if they had been exposed to the incursions of a public enemy. The brother of the Earl of Ferrars had been murdered by some of those nocturnal rioters; and a rich person, which was more than that of many thousands of an inferior station, so provoked the king, that he swore vengeance against the criminals, and became therefore more rigorous in the execution of the laws.

There is another instance given by historians, which proves to what a height such riots had proceeded, and how open these criminals were in committing their robberies. A band of them had attacked the house of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering; they had broken through a stone wall with hammers and wedges; and had already entered the house sword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pie, and supported by his faithful servants, appeared in the passage to oppose them: he cut off the right hand of the first robber that entered; and made such stout resistance, that his neighbours had leisure to assemble, and come to his relief. The man who lost his hand was taken; and was tempted by the promise of pardon to reveal his confederates; among whom was one John Senex, esteemed among the richest and best-born citizens in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refused the money, and ordered him to be hanged. It appears from a statute of Edward I. that these disorders were not remedied even in that reign. It was then made penal to go out at night after the hour of the curfew, to carry a weapon, or to wear a livery or liveryknow.' It is said in the preamble to this law, that, both by night and by day, there were continual frays in the streets of London.

Henry's care in administering justice had gained him so great a reputation, that even foreign and distant princes made him arbiter, and submitted their differences to his judgment. Sanchez, King of Navarre, having some controversies with Alphonso, King of Castile, was contented, though Alphonso had married the daughter of Henry, to choose this prince for a referee; and they agreed, each of them to consign three castles into neutral hands, as a pledge of their not departing from his award. Henry made the cause be examined before his great council, and gave a sentence, which was submitted to by both parties. These two Spanish kings sent each a stout champion to the court of England, in order to defend his cause by arms, in case the way of duel had been chosen by Henry. Henry so far abolished the barbarous and absurd practice of contesting ships which had been wrecked on the coast, that he ordained, if one man or animal were alive in the ship, that the vessel and goods should be restored to the owners.

The reign of Henry was remarkable also for an innovation which was afterwards carried further by his successors,
and was attended with the most important consequences. This prince was disgusted with the species of military force which was established by the feudal institutions, and which, though it was essentially burdensome to the subject, yet rendered very little service to the sovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; they were obliged to serve only forty days; they were unskilful and disorderly in all their operations; and they were apt to overreach the crown in the money, the barons and knights' fees, instead of requiring the personal attendance of his vassals. There is mention made, in the History of the Exchequer, of these scutages in his second, fifth, and eighteenth years; and other writers give us an account of three more of them. When the prince had thus obtained money, he made a contract with some of those adventurers in which Europe at that time abounded. They found him soldiers of the same character with themselves, who were bound to serve for a stipulated time: the numbers were less numerous, but more useful, than when composed of all the military vassals of the crown: the feudal institutions began to relax: the kings became rapacious for money, on which all the other taxes depended; the barons, seeing no end of exactions, sought to defend their property: and as the same causes had nearly the same effects in the different countries of Europe, the several crowns either lost or acquired authority, according to their different success in the contest.

This prince was also the first that levied a tax on the movables or personal estates of his subjects, nobles as well as commoners. Their zeal for the holy wars made them submit to this innovation; and a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became, in following reigns, the usual method of supplying the necessities of the crown. The tenor of himself, so generally odious to the nation, was remitted in his reign.

It was a usual practice of the kings of England, to repeat the ceremony of their coronation three every year, on assembling the states at the three great festivals. Henry, after the first years of his reign, never renewed this ceremony, which was found to be very expensive and very useless. None of his successors revived it. It is considered as a great act of grace in this prince, that he mitigated the rigour of the feudal laws, and punished any transgressions of them, not capitably, but by fines, imprisonments, and other more moderate penalties.

Since we are here collecting some detached incidents, which have a connexion with the age, and which could not, well enter into the body of our history, it may not be improper to mention the quarrel between Roger, Archbishop of York, and Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury. We may judge of the violence of military men and laymen, when ecclesiastics could proceed to such extremities. Cardinal Huguenin being sent, in 1176, as legate into Britain, summoned an assembly of the clergy at London; and as both the archbishops pretended to sit on his right hand, this question of precedence begot a controversy between them. The monks and retainers of Archbishop Richard fell upon Roger, in the presence of the cardinal and of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and so bruised him with blows, that he was taken up half dead, and his life was, with difficulty, saved from their violence. The Archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of monies to the legate, in order to suppress all complaints with regard to this enormity.

We are told by Gynaldus Cambrensis, that the monks and prior of St. Swithin threw themselves one day prostrate on the ground in the monastery, accusing, complaining, with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the Bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. Ten only, replied the discontented monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number. This king left two legitimate sons, Richard who succeeded him, and John who inherited no territory, though his father had often intended to leave him a part of his extensive dominions. He was the eldest son, Henry, left three legitimate daughters; Matilda, born in 1156, married to Henry, Duke of Saxony; Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alphous, Prince of England; Joan, born in 1165, and married to William, King of Jerusalem.

Henry, as is told by ancient historians to have been of a very amorous disposition. They mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond, daughter of Lord Clifford; namely, Richard Longespée, or Longsword, (so called from the sword he usually wore,) who was afterwards Earl of Pembroke, and is afterwards Earl, the daughter and heir of the Earl of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, first Bishop of Lincoln, then Archbishop of York. All the other circumstances of the story, commonly told of that lady, seem to be fabulous.

CHAP. X.

RICHARD I.

The king's preparations for the Crusade—Sets out on the Crusade—Transactions in Italy—King's arrival in Palestine—State of Palestine—Discoveries in S. I.-The king's heroic actions in Palestine—His return from Palestine—Captivity in Germany—War with France—The king's delivery—Return to England—War with France—Death—Character of the king—Miscellaneous transactions of this reign.

The composition of Richard for his unctuous behaviour towards his father was durable, and influenced him in the choice of his ministers and servants after his accession. Those who had seconded and favoured his rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honour which they expected, were surprised to find that they lay under disgrace with the new king, and were on all occasions shunned and despised by him. The well-disposed ministers of Henry, who had vigorously opposed all the enterprises of his sons, were received with open arms, and were continued in those offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master. This prudent conduct might be the result of reflection; but in a prince, like Richard, so much guided by passion, and so little by policy, it was commonly ascribed to a principle still more virtuous and more honourable.

Richard, that he might make atonement to one parent for his breach of duty to the other, immediately sent orders for releasing the queen dowager from the confinement in which she had long been detained; and he intrusted her with the government of England till his arrival in that kingdom. His bounty to his brother John was rather profuse and imprudent. Besides bestowing on him the county of Mortagne, in Normandy, granting him a pension of four thousand marks a year, and marrying him to Aviss, the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family, he increased his appanage, which the late king had destined him, by other extensive grants and concessions. He conferred on the whole estate of William Peverel, which he had bequeathed to the crown; he put him in possession of eight castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them: he delivered over to him no less than six earldoms, Conwent, Devon, Somerset, Nottingham, Dorset, Lancaster, and Derby. And endeavouring, by favours, to fix that vicious prince in his power, he put it too much in his power, whenever he pleased, to depart from it.

The king, inspired more by the love of the holy war, the king's pre-eminent military glory than by superstition, entered on the Crusade.
This zeal against infidels, being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation, and made them find a Crusade less dangerous, and attended with more immediate profit. The prej udices of the age had made the lending of money on interest pass by the invidious name of usury; yet the necessity of the pressing case still continued it. The greater part of that kind of dealing fell everywhere into the hands of the Jews; who, being already infamous on account of their religion, had no honour to lose, and were apt to exercise a profession, odious in itself, by every kind of rigour, and even sometimes by rapine and extortion. The industry and cingulity of this people had put them in possession of all the ready money, which the avarice and profusion, common to the English with other European nations, enabled them to lend at exorbitant and unequal interest. The monkish writers represent it as a great stain on the wise and equitable government of Henry, that he had carefully protected this infidel race from all injuries and insults; but the zeal of Richard afforded the populace a pretence for venting their animosity against them. The king had issued an edict prohibiting their appearance at his coronation; but some of them, bringing large presents from their nation, presumed, in confidence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined; being discovered, they were exposed to the insults of the bystanders; they took to flight; the people pursued them; and many were cut down without quarter, their houses plundered, after having murdered the owners; where the Jews barricaded their doors, and defended themselves with vigour, the rabble set fire to the houses, and made way, as before, for the pillage of the same vainKindom; the usual licentiousness of London, which the sovereign power with difficulty restrained, broke out with fury, and continued these outrage; the houses of the richest citizens, though Christians, were next attacked and plundered; and wantonness and salliness at last put an end to the disorder: yet, when the king empowered Glanville, the justiciary, to inquire into the authors of these crimes, the guilt was found to involve so many of the most con siderable citizens, that it was deemed more prudent to drop the prosecution; and very few suffered the punishment due to this enormity. But the disorder stopped not at London. The inhabitants of other cities of England, hearing of these proceedings, followed the example: in York, five hundred of that nation, who had retired into the castle for safety, and found themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, burnt their own houses, plundered the populace, and then setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, went to the cathedral, where their bonds were kept, and made a solemn bonfire of the papers before the altar. The compiler of the Annals of Waverley, in relating these events, blesses the Almighty for thus delivering over this impious race to destruction.8

The ancient situation of England, when the people possessed little riches and the public no credit, made it impossible for sovereigns to bear the expense of a steady or durable war, even on their frontiers; much less could they find regular means for the support of distant expeditions like those into Palestine, where were more the result of popular frenzy, than of sober reason or deliberate policy. Richard, therefore, knew that he must carry with him all the treasure necessary for his enterprise, and that both the remoteness of his own country and its poverty, made it unable to furnish him with those continued supplies, which the exigencies of so perilous a war must necessarily require. His father had left him a treasure of about 100,000 marks; a sum quite insufficien t of every consideration but his present end. He proceeded to augment this sum by all expedients, how per nicious soever to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and monas of the crown, the offices of greatest trust and power, even those of forester and sheriff, which anciently were so important, became venal; the dignity of chief justiciary, in whose hands was lodged the whole execution of the laws, was sold to Hug de Puyas, Bishop of Durham, for a thousand marks; the same prelate bought the castellum of Northumberland for life;9 many of the champions of the cross, who had re pented of their vow, purchased the liberty of violating it; and Richard, who stood less in need of men than of money, dispensed, on these conditions, with their attendance. Elated with the hopes of fame, which, in that age, attended no war but those against the infidels, he was blind to every other consideration; and when some of his wiser ministers objected to this dissipation of the revenue and power of the crown, he replied, that he would sell London itself, could he find a purveyor.10 Nothing, indeed, could be a stronger proof how negligent he was of all future interests in comparison of the Crusade, than his selling, for so small a sum as 10,000 marks, the vaissage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, the greatest acquisition that had been made by his father during the course of his victorious reign; and his accepting the homage of William in the usual terms, merely for the territories which that prince held in Eng land.11 The English and all mankind has been compressed by numerous exactions; menaces were employed, both against the innocent and the guilty, in order to extort money from them: and where a pretence was wanting against the rich, the king obliged them, by the fear of his displeasure, to lend that which, he knew, it would never be in his power to repay.

But Richard, though he sacrificed every interest and consideration to the success of this pious enterprise, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neunly, a zealous preacher of the Crusade, who, from that merit, had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious vice, and particularly his avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. You counsel well, replied Richard, and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates. Richard, jealous of attempts which might be made on England during his absence, laid Prince John, as well as his natural brother, Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, under engagements, confirmed by their oaths, that neither of them should enter into any agreement whereby any of the immense sums of money, which had been created, should be thought proper, before his departure, to withdraw this prohibition. The administration was left in the hands of Hugh, Bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, whom he appointed as overseers of the whole of the realm. The latter was a Frenchman, of mean birth, and of a violent character; who, by art and address, had insinuated himself into favour, with Richard, whom he created chancellor, and whom he had engaged the Pope also to invest with the legantine authority, that, by centring every kind of power in his person, he might the better insulate the public tranquillity. All the military and turbulent spirits flocked about the person of the king, and were impatient to distinguish themselves against the infidels in Asia; whither his inclinations, his engagements, led him, and whither he was impelled by messages from the King of France, ready to embark in this enterprise. The Emperor Frederick II, a prince of great spirit and conduct, had already taken the road to Palestine, at the head of 150,000 men, collected from Germany and all the northern states. Having surmounted every obstacle thrown in his way by the efforts of the Greeks and the influence of the Pope, he had penetrated to the borders of Syria; when, bating in the cold river Cevdros, during the greatest heat of the summer season, he was seized with a mortal distemper, and left his men to finish his rash enterprise.12 His army, under the command of

8 Calde's Collect. vol. ii. p. 125.
11 Froissart. Abb. 506.
his son, Conrad, reached Palestine; but was so diminished by fatigue, famine, maladies, and the sword, that it scarcely amounted to eight thousand men, and was unable to make any progress against the great power, valour, and conduct of Saladin. These reiterated calamities attending the Crusaders, had taught the Kings of France and Burgundy, on another river road to the Holy Land; and they determined to conduct their armies thither by sea, to carry provisions along with them, and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own state, and with the western parts of Europe. The place of rendezvous was appointed in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy: Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, 1193., found their combined army amount to 100,000 men; a mighty force, composed with glory and religion, conducted by two warlike monarchs, provided with every thing which their several dominions could supply, and not to be overcome but by their own misconduct, or by the unsurmountable obstacles of nature.

The French prince and the English here reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the Crusade, mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prätés to the same effect, and subjected themselves in the penalty of interdicts and excommunication, if they should ever violate this public and solemn compact. They then took the road to Gisors, Richard that to Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbours.

18th Sept. They met to sea; and not at the same time, were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This incident laid the foundation of animosities which were to impede their enterprises.

Richard and Philip were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory; and these causes of emulation, which had the princes been employed in the field against the common enemy, were now stimulated to their mutual enterprises, soon excited, during the present leisure and repose, quarrels between monarchs of such a fiery character. Equally haughty, ambitious, intransigent, and unyielding, they were irritated by the least appearance of injury, and were incapable, by mutual concessions, to efface those causes of complaint, which unavoidably arose between them. Richard, candied, sincere, undaunting, imperious, violent, laid himself open on every occasion, to the designs of his antagonist; who, provident, interested, intriguing, failed not to take all advantages against him: and thus, both the circumstances of the case and their temper, were fatal, and they in which they differed, rendered it impossible for them to persevere in that harmony which was so necessary to the success of their undertaking.

Transjersns in Sicily. The last King of Sicily and Naples was sickly. William H. who had married Joan, sister to Richard, and who, dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt, Constantia, the only legitimate descendant surviving of Roger, the first sovereign of those states who had been honoured with the royal title. This princess had, in expectation of that rich inheritance, been married to Henry VI. the reigning emperor, but Tancred, her natural brother, had fixed such an interfering impediment to his advantage, that Henry's absence, he had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim, by force of arms, against all the efforts of the Germans. The approach of the crusaders naturally gave little apprehensions for his unstable government; and he was uncertain whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or of the English monarch. Philip was engaged in strict alliance with the emperor. Richard was disgusted by his rage towards the queen dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo, because she had opposed with all her interest his succession to the crown. Tancred, therefore, sensible of the present necessity, resolved to pay court to both these formidable princes; and he was not unsuccessful in his endeavours. He persuaded Philip that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprise against the infidels, by any attempt against a Christian state: he restored Queen Joan to her liberty; and alarmed the empress Cornelia by representations, which she stipulated by treaty to marry his nephew, Arthur, the young Duke of Brittany, to one of the daughters of Tancred. But these terms of friendship were settled, Richard, Conrad, and of the inhabitants of Messina, had taken his quarters in this small fragment of the island, which he had possessed himself of a small fort, which commanded the harbour; and he kept himself extremely on his guard against their enterprises. The citizens took umbrage at these innovations, and their quarrel with the French and English, Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpose. While the two kings, meeting in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of those Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them; and Richard pushed forwards, in order to impinge into the reason of this extraordinary movement. The English, insolent from their power, and inflamed with former animosities, wanted but a pretence for attacking the Messines: they soon clashed them off the field, drove them into the town, and captured the fort; the garrison, under the king employed his authority to restrain them from pil- laging and massacring the defenceless inhabitants; but they gave orders, in token of his victory, that the standard of England should be erected on the walls. Philip, who considered that place as his quarters, explained against the insult, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard; but Richard informed him by a messenger, that, though he himself would willingly remove that mark of his ground and power, he would not permit it by others; and if the French king attempted such an insult upon him, he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, content with this species of haughty submission, and his own victory, the difference was seenally accommodated; but still left the remains of rancour and jealousy in the breasts of the two monarchs.

Tancred, who, for his own security, desired to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice which might have been attended with consequences still more fatal. He showed Richard a letter, signed by the French king, and delivered to him by Tancred. The letter pretended, by the Duke of Burgundy; in which that monarch desired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the English, and promised to assist him in putting them to the sword, as common enemies. The unwary Richard gave credit to this intelligence; but could not fail to betray his discontent to Philip, who absolutely denied the letter, and charged the Sicilian prince with forgery and falsehood. Richard either was, or pretended to be, entirely satisfied.

Lest those jealousies and complaints should multiply between them, it was proposed, that they should, by a solemn treaty, obviate all future differences, and adjust every point that could possibly hereafter become a controversy between them. But this expedient started a new dispute, which might have proved more dangerous than any of the foregoing, and which deeply concerned the honour of Philip. The English and the French were both in treaty, with the late king, mistook so strenuously on being allowed to marry Alice of France, he had only sought a pretence for quarrelling; and never meant to take his head, as a princes, suspected of a criminal amour with his own father. After he became master, of all the disposal of that alliance: he even took means for espousing Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, King of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured during his abode in Germany; but this project was at last laid aside. The marriage was at last, 1195, when Philip renewed to him his application for espousing his sister Alice, Richard
was obliged to give him an absolute refusal. It is pretended by Hoveden and other historians, that he was able to produce such convincing proofs of Alice’s infidelity, and even of her having borne a child to Henry, that her brother desired from his applications, and having settled all other controversies with that prince, he immediately set sail for the Holy Land. Richard awaited some time the arrival of his mother and bride; and when the lady of Ptolemais, his bride, was conducted to the Knights of St. John, he turned his fleet and squadrons, and set forward on his enterprise. Queen Eleanor returned to England, but Berengaria, and the queen dowager of Sicily, her sister, attended him on the expedi- tion. 8

The English fleet, on leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest, and the squadron on which the two princesses were embarked, was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Limioso so that island. Isaac Prince of Cyprus, who assumed the magnificent title of Emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, threw the seamen and passengers into prison, and even refused to the prince the usual tribute levied of merchants on shipping to the harbour of Limioso. But Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant, who opposed him; and Isaac, who had long envied the reputation of all the Saracen princes, was obliged to surrender himself upon which, Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror. 9

The time here espoused Bouillon, the capital of Cyprus; a dangerous rival, who was believed to have seduced the affections of his husband. Such were the libertine character and conduct of the heroes engaged in this pious enterprise. 10

The English army arrived in time to paral- lize of Palestine. take in the glory of the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, and had been defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of the German army, conducted by the Emperor Frederick, and the separate bodies of adventurers in that country, who had not the means to enable the King of Jerusalem to form this important enterprise; but Saladin, having thrown a strong garrison into the place under the command of Caracos, his own master, who was married to a princess, and needed the assistance of continual attacks and assails, had protracted the success of the enterprise, and wasted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Christians; and these princes, acting by concert, and sharing the honour and danger of every action, gave hopes of a final victory over the infidels. They agreed on this plan of operations: when the French monarch attacked the town, the English guarded the trenches; next day, while these two kings engaged and conducted the assault, the English proceeded, Richard in the vanguard, and Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the general attention, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. But this harmony was of short duration: the events which soon arose between these jealous and haughty princes.

State of Pales- time. The family of Bouillon, which had first been placed on the throne of Jerusalem, end- 1 Hoveden, p. 601. 2 Rymer, vol. I. p. 59. 3 Chron. de Danou, p. 44. 4 de Fleurac, A. p. 244. 5 H. W. Wawel, 164. 6 Vinseaux, 309. 7 W. Heneage, p. 203. 8 Venerani, p. 150. 9 Trotter, p. 148. 10 Venerani, p. 80. 11 W. Heneage, p. 471. 12 I. 13 Trivet, p. 101. 14 Venerani, p. 57. 15 W. Heneage, p. 574.
monarchs stood in awe of this Prince of the Assassins, (for that was the name of his people; whence the word has passed into most European languages,) and it was the highest satisfaction of his orders, that he was able at length to offend and affront him. The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by that nobleman, had put to death some of this dangerous people: the prince demanded satisfaction; for as his orders, however, were not efficacious, he had his regular and established formalities in requiring atonement: Conrade treated his messengers with disdain; the prince issued the fatal orders: two of his subjects, who had denounced themselves to Conrade's guards, openly, in the streets of Sidon, wounded him mortally; and when they were seized and put to the most cruel tortures, they triumphed amidst their agonies, and rejoiced that they had been destined by Heaven to suffer so long.

Every one in Palestine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from suspicion. Though that monarch had formerly maintained the cause of Lusignan, and had exerted himself in various ways to remove the bad effects attending those dissensions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he should resign to his rival all pretensions to the throne of Jerusalem and the entire western coast of Asia; and, in the dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard; but the Prince of the Assassins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he sent to Europe;[1] yet, on no account could the prince accommodate himself to build the most egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the Marquis of Montferrat, whose elevation he once openly opposed. He filled all Europe with the news of the death of the last heir of the house of Antioch, ascribed to him, and ascribed to him alone. The events of the war were engaged with so much glory in a war, universally acknowledged to be the common cause of Christendom.

But Richard's heroic actions in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers under his command, after opening the campaign, attempted the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the sea-coast with that intention. Saladin purposed to intercept their passage; and he placed himself on the road with an army, amounting to 300,000 combatants. On this occasion a great battle was fought, in which the Christian forces, under Richard, were engaged with such prosperity that they obtained the right wing of the Christians, commanded by d'Avenosa, and the left, conducted by the Duke of Burgundy, were, in the first attack, completely routed. Richard, who led in the main body, restored the battle, attacked the enemy with intrepidity and presence of mind; performed the part both of a consummate general and valiant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leave to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand are said to have perished in the field. Ascalon soon fell into the hands of the Christians; and on the 25th of April a truce was carried on with equal success: Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprises; where he had the mortification to find, that he must abandon all hopes of immediate success, and must put a stop to his enterprise, and are not displeased with the advantages which they could enjoy, in which case the Crusaders, animated with an enthusiastic ardour for the holy wars, broke at first through all regards to safety or interest in the prosecution of their purpose; and trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, sallied before defeated; with the fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, want, and the variety of incidents which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury, which nothing was able directly to withstand; and every one, except the
King of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning into Europe. The Germans and the Italians declared their resolution of desisting from the enterprise; the French were still more obstinate in this purpose: the Duke of Burgundy, in order to court Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and opposing Richard—and there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning for the present all hopes of further conquest, and of securing the king in his dominions, the district of Normandy, which had been de- ed; representing the impolicy of detaining in prison the most illustrious prince that had yet carried the banners of Christ into the Holy Land; claiming the protection of the apostolic see, which was due even to the memory of those adventurers; and upbraiding the Pope that he had a cause where justice, religion, and the dignity of the church were so much concerned, a cause which it might well belt his Holiness himself to support, by taking in person a journey to Germany, on which he had so long and in vain busied himself in Jerusalem un molested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

The liberty, in which Saladin indulged the Christians, to perform their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was an easy sacrifice on his part; and the famous war which he waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea was not with him, as with the European adventurers, the result of super- stition, but of policy. The advantage indeed of science, moderation, humanity, was at that time entirely on the side of the Saracens. The power of the Holy Roman Empire was puerile, displayed, during the course of the war, a spirit and generosity, which even his biggest enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. Richard, equally mortal, displayed a character; and was guilty of acts of ferocity, which threw a stain on his celebrated victories. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the King of England ordered all prisoners, to the number of five thousand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce with the French prince; and his death is memorable, that he, before he expired, ordered his winding-sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, This is all that remaineth to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East. By his last will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

The King's return
There remained, after the truce, no business in Palestine, that had been布置 to detain Richard in that country; and the intelligence which he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the King of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in England. Having crossed over to France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Aquila, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with a purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. Pursued by the Governor of Istera, he was forced out of the direct road to England, and was obliged to pass by Venia; where his expenses and liberality betrayed the monarch in the habit of the pilgrim; and on December 6th, he was arrested by orders of Leopold, Duke of Austria. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre; but being disgusted by some insult of that haughty monarch, he was so ungenerous as to seize the present opportunity of gratifying at once his avarice and his greatness, and to pretend to the possession of his former provinces.

A. D. 1193.

The emperor, Henry VI., who also considered Richard as an enemy, on account of the alliance contracted by him with Tancred King of Sicily, despised this pretension, went to England, and, in order to dispose of his treasures, put up the house of New-chapel, Neufelle, Gisors, Pacy, Jirve. He subdued the counties of Eu and Annuale; and advancing to form the siege of Rouen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword if they dared to make resistance. Happily, Robert Earl of Leicester appeared in that critical moment; a gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honour during the Crusade, and who, being more fortunate than his master in finding his passage homewards, took on him the command in Rouen, and exalted himself by his achievements and example, to infuse courage into the dismayed Normans. Philip was repulsed in every attack; the time of service from his vasals expired; and he consented to a truce with the emperor, that he even received injuries in return for the promise of 20,000 marks, and had four castles put into his hands, as a security for the payment. Prince John, who, with a view of increasing the general confusion, went to England, and, being left there, resolved to take advantage of the disorder in his enterprises. He was only able to make himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford; but when he arrived in London, and claimed the kingdom as heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to be in receipt, he was seized the same night, he was ransomed by all the barons, and measures were taken to oppose and subdue him. The justiciaries, under the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the king-

m Varnish, p. 280.

domain, that John was obliged, after some fruitless effors, to conclude a truce with them; and before its expiration, he thought it prudent to return into France, where he openly avowed his alliance with Philip.

The highest spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. The French ambassadors, in their master's name, renounced him as a vassal to the crown of France, and declared all his fiefs to be forfeited and unjustly held. The pope, also, by the excommunication, made him repent more impatient for the recovery of his liberty, and make him submit to the payment of a larger ransom, treated him with the greatest severity, and reduced him to a state even worse than that of the nearest malversation. He was even produced before the diet of the empire at Worms, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanors; of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of turning the arms of the kingdom against a Christian prince, and subduing Cyprus; of affronting the Duke of Austria before Acre; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms by his quarrels with the King of France; of assassinating Conrade, Marquis of Montferrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen emperor. Richard, whose spirit was not broken by his misfortunes, and whose genius was rather roused by these frivolous scandalous imputations; after promising, that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction, except that of Heaven; yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. He then maintained, that he had no hand in the treaty and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in possession of the throne; that the king, or rather tyrant of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation by the most ungenerous and unjust proceedings; and thought he chastised this aggressor, he had not retarded a moment the progress of his chief enterprise. That if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the Duke of Austria, he had already been sufficiently vindicated for that ungracious passion; and that he was better become men, embarked together in so holy a cause, to forgive each other's infirmities, than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance. That he had sufficiently appeared by the event, whether the King of France or he were most zealous for the conquest of the Holy Land, and were most likely to sacrifice private passions and animosities to that great object. That if the whole term of his life had not shown him incapable of base assassination, and justified him from that imputation in the eyes of his very enemies, it was in vain for him, at present, to make his apology, or plead the many irreparable errors committed by his adversary, which could produce in his own favour. And that, however he might regret, or even abhor the conduct of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the East had ever yet produced. Richard, after this disingenuous apology for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; that he, the champion of the Cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes in his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged to plead his cause, as if he were a subject and a misdemeanour, and what he still more regretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new Crusade, which he had projected, after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepultures of Christ, which had so long been profaned by the dominion of infidels. His spirit and eloquence of Richard made such impression on the German princes, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor; the Pope threatened him with excommunication, and he was threatened to the proposals of the King of France and Prince John, found that it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to detain the King of England any longer in captivity. He therefore concluded the King's desire with him a treaty for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of 150,000 marks, about 300,000 pounds of our present money; which 100,000 marks were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages delivered for the remainder.8 The emperor, as if to gloss over the infamy of this transaction, made at the same time a present to Richard of the lands of Arles, condemned to perpetual slavery, Vespasian, Narbonne, and other states, over which the empire had some antiquated claims; a present which the king very wisely neglected.

This treaty, the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vassals were in that event obliged to give an aid for his ransom. Twenty shillings were therefore levied on each knight's fee in England; but this money came in slowly, and was not sufficient for the intended purpose, the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate, to the amount of 30,000 marks; the bishops, abbots, and nobles paid a fourth of their yearly rents; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes; and the requisite sum being thus collected, Queen Eleanor, and Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, shared for the German emperor the money to the emperor and the Duke of Austria at Mentz; delivered them hostages for the remainder; and freed Richard from captivity. His escape was very easily contrived. He had been detected by the visitation of the Bishop of Liége, and in an attempt of a like nature on the Duke of Louvain; and finding himself extremely obnoxious to the German princes on account of these odious practices, he had determined to seek support from an alliance with the King of France; to enrich, by the enemy's fire, the perpetuity of his capital; to keep in his hands the money which he had already received for his ransom; and to exert fresh sums from Philip and Prince John, who were very liberal in the kind. But Richard, the enemy of his prince, should be pursued and arrested; but the king, making all imaginable haste, had already embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and was out of sight of land, when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp.

The joy of the English was extreme on King's return to the appearance of their monarch, who had suffered so many calamities, who had acquired so much glory, and who had gained the reputation of their name into the furthest East, whether their fame had never before been able to extend. He gave them, soon after his arrival, an opportunity of publicly displaying their exultation, by ordering leases of his possession at Westminster, if any remained, by that ceremony, to reinstate himself in his throne, and to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity. Their satisfaction was not damped, even when he declared his purpose of resuming all those exorbitant claims, which he had been oblig'd to make before his departure for the Holy Land. The barons, also, in a great council, consecrated, on account of his treason, all Prince John's possessions in England; and they assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents. Richard, having settled every thing in England, passed over with an army into Normandy; being impecunious to make war on Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries which he had received from that monarch. As soon as Philip heard of the king's delivery from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, in these terms: 'Tike care? answered: 'the devil is in front.'

When we consider such powerful and war with mortal monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against each other, enraged by mutual injuries, about 300,000 pounds, instead of a sum of 100,000 marks,instigating the spirit and violence of their own temper; our curiosity is naturally raised, and we expect an obstinate and furious war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. Yet are we not to be overpowered by the number of plausible stories, that scarce any carcan can entertain such a description for military despatches as to venture on a detail of them: 


a Byrner, vol. i. p. 81.
a certain proof of the extreme weakness of princes in those ages, and of the little authority they possessed over their refractory vassals! The whole amount of the exploits on both sides is, the taking of a castle, the surprise of a straggling party, a ransack of horse, which resembles more a rout than a battle. Richard obliged Philip to raise the siege of Virendo; he took Loches, a small town in the marches of France, and placed some of his barons there. The other places of little consequence; and after these trivial exploits, the two kings began already to hold conferences for an accommodation. Philip insisted, that, if a general partition of the barons on each side should, for the future, be prohibited from carrying on private war against each other: but Richard replied, that this was a right claimed by his vassals, and he could not debar them from it. After this fruitless negotiation, there ensued an action between the French and English cavalry at Fretteval, in which the former were routed, and the King of France's cartulary and records, which commonly at that time attended his person, were taken. But this victory leading to no important advantages, a truce for a year was at last, from mutual weakness, concluded between the two monarchs.

During this war, Prince John deserted from Philip, this prince's uncle, and joined the son of his royal predecessor, for his offences, and by the intercession of Queen Eleanor was received into favour. I forgive him, said the king, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries, as he will my part.

A.D. 1196. The king also made advances for Richard's ransom and amity: the conduct of John, as well as that of the emperor and Duke of Austria, had been so base, and was exposed to such general odium and reproach, that the king deemed himself sufficiently avenged for those injuries; and he seemed never to have entertained any project of vengeance against any of them. The Duke of Austria, about this time, having crushed his leg by the full of his horse at a tournament, was thrown into a fever; and being struck, on the approach of death, with remorse for his injustice to Richard, he ordered by will all the English hostages in his hands to be set at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted: his son, the bishop, was about to make complaint of this, was constrained by his ecclesiastics to execute it. The emperor also made advances for Richard's friendship, and offered to give him a discharge of all debts he had yet paid to him, provided he would enter into an open alliance with him, the king of France; a proposal which was very acceptable to Richard, and was greedily embraced by him. The treaty with the emperor took no effect; but it served to rekindle the war between France and England before the expiration of the truce. This war was not distinguished by any more remarkable incidents than the foregoing. After mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a few insignificant castles, the two kings concluded a peace at Louviers, and made an exchange of some territories with each other. Their inability to wage war occasioned the peace: their mutual apathy engaged them again in it; and the two months expired, Richard imagined, that he had now found an opportunity of gaining great advantages over his rival, by forming an alliance with the Counts of Flanders, Toulouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and Normandy. But the sooner he engaged, the sooner he was engaged. The Marshal of Champagne, the Duke of Beaufort, a martial prate, who was of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French king's. Richard, who hated that Bishop, threw him into prison, and loaded him with iron; and when the Pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the king sent to his Holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood: and he replied to him, in the terms employed by Jacob., Tell him, that if he had not brought him the head of the prelate, nor whether it be thy son's coat or not. This new war between England and France, though carried on with such animosity that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners, and all men before them were furnished by a brush of five years; and immediately after signing this treaty, the kings were ready, on some new offence, to break out again into hostilities; when the mediation of the Cardinal of St Mary, the Pope's legate, accommodated the difference. This peace even engaged the prince for a time to govern for a more durable peace; but the death of Richard put an end to the negotiation.

Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the king's, had found a treasure, of which he sent part to that prince as a present. Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole; and, at the head of some Brabancon, besieged the viscount in the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, that since he had taken the pains to come thither and besiege the person in person, he would take by force, and would hang every one of them. This same day, Richard and the Duke of Marende, leader of his Brabancon, approached the castle in order to survey it; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. However, he gave orders for the assault, and the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, who had wounded him, and whom he reserved for a more deliberate and more cruel execution.

The wound was not in itself dangerous; but the unskillfulness of the surgeon made it mortal: be so rankled Richard's shoulder in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene ensued; and that prince was now sensible that his life was drawing to a close. He was engaged with much remorse for his injustice to Richard, he ordered by will all the English hostages in his hands to be set at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted: his son, the bishop, was about to make complaint of this, was constrained by his ecclesiastics to execute it. The emperor also made advances for Richard's friendship, and offered to give him a discharge of all debts he had yet paid to him, provided he would enter into an open alliance with him, the king of France; a proposal which was very acceptable to Richard, and was greedily embraced by him. The treaty with the emperor took no effect; but it served to rekindle the war between France and England before the expiration of the truce. This war was not distinguished by any more remarkable incidents than the foregoing. After mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a few insignificant castles, the two kings concluded a peace at Louviers, and made an exchange of some territories with each other. Their inability to wage war occasioned the peace: their mutual apathy engaged them again in it; and the two months expired, Richard imagined, that he had now found an opportunity of gaining great advantages over his rival, by forming an alliance with the Counts of Flanders, Toulouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and Normandy. But the sooner he engaged, the sooner he was engaged. The Marshal of Champagne, the Duke of Beaufort, a martial prate, who was of the
sound and well-regulated policy. As military talents make great impression on the people, he seems to have been much beloved by his English subjects; and he is remarked to have been the first prince of the Norman line that bore any sincere regard to them. He passed however only four months of his reign in that kingdom: the Crusade employed him near three years; he was detained about another year in Italy, the rest of his reign was spent either in war, or preparations for war, against France; and he was so pleased with the fame which he had acquired in the East, that he determined, notwithstanding his past misfortunes, to have further exhausted the resources of his kingdom, and have exposed himself and all at least to new hazards, by conducting another expedition against the infidels.

Though the English pleased themselves with the glory which the king's martial genius procured them, his reign was very oppressive and somewhat arbitrary, by the high taxes which he levied on them, and often without consent of the states or great council. In the ninth year of his reign, he levied five shillings on each hyde of land; and because the clergy refused to contribute their share, he put them out of the protection of law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no sentence for any debts which they might charge and rece in his reign he ordered all his charters to be sealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal. It is said that Hubert, his justiciary, sent him over to France, in the space of two years, no less a sum than 1,000,000 of silver ducats, besides bonds of the value of the public credit in that kingdom. But this accretion is quite incredible, unless we suppose that Richard made a thorough dilapidation of the demesnes of the crown, which it is not likely he could do with any advantage after his former resources. A king, who possessed such a revenue, could never have endured fourteen months' captivity, for not paying 150,000 marks to the emperor, and be obliged at last to leave hostages for a third of the sum. The resources in this latter period, as he had also a certain proof that no such enormous sum could be levied on the people. A hyde of land, or about a hundred and twenty acres, was commonly let at twenty shillings a year, money of that time. As these were 243,000 these in England, it is easy to compute the amount of all the landed rents of the kingdom. The general and stated price of an ox was four shillings; of a labouring horse, the same; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep with fine wool, ten pence; with coarse wool, sixpence. These commodities seem not to have advanced in their prices since the conquest, and to have still been ten times cheaper than at present. But Richard was so eager the severe laws which transgressors in his forests, whom he punished by castration and putting out their eyes, as in the reign of his great-grandfather. He established by law one weight and measure throughout his kingdom: a useful institution, which the mercantile necessities of his successor engaged him to dispense with for money.

The disorders in London, derived from its bad policy, had risen to a great height during this reign; and in the year 1196, there seemed to be formed to regular a conspiracy among the numerous malefactors, as threatened the city with destruction. There was one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called Longbeard, a lawyer, who had rendered himself extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens; and, by defending them on all occasions, had acquired the appellation of the advocate or saviour of the poor. He exerted his authority, by injuring and insulting the rich and opulent citizens, with whom he lived in a state of hostility, and who were very much exposed to the most outrageous violence from him and his licentious emissaries. Murders were daily committed in the streets; houses were broken open and pillaged in day-light; and it is pretended that no less than fifty-few persons had entered into an association, by which they bound themselves to obey all the orders of this dangerous ruffian. Archbishop Hubert, who was then chief justice, summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct; but he came so well attended, that no one dared accuse him, or give evidence against him; and the privy council, finding the importune of law, contented himself with exacting from the citizens hostages for their good behaviour. He kept, however, a watchful eye on Fitz-Osbert; and seizing a favourable opportunity, attempted to commit him to custody; but the criminal, murdering one of the public officers, escaped with his companion to the church of St. Mary-le-Ward, where he defended himself by force of arms. He was there taken, condemned, and executed, amidst the regrets of the populace, who were so devoted to his memory, that they stole his gibbet, paid the same veneration to it as to the cross, and were equally zealous in propagating and attesting reports of the miracles wrought by it. But though the sectaries of this superstition were punished by the justiciary, it received so little encouragement from the established clergy, whose property was endangered by such seditious practices, that it suddenly sunk and vanished.

It was during the Crusades, that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights, cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity, and families, who were proud of the pious and virtuous, or the distinguished ancestors of their houses. King Richard was a passionate lover of poetry; there even remain some poetical works of his composition: and he bears a rank among the Provengal poets or Troubadours, who were the first of the modern Europeans that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature.

**CHAP. XI.**

**JOHN.**

Arrhenius of the king—His marriage—War with France—Murder of Arthur, Duke of Brittany—The king expelled the French princes—the king's quarrel with the court of Rome—A solemn league appointed Archbishop of Canterbury—Inhabitants of the kingdom—Incontinent of the king—The king's submission to the Pope—Deposition of the barons—Incorruption of the barons—Massa Charta—Removal of the civil wars—The king's licence called over—Dissolution of the king.

The noble and free genius of the ancients, which made the government of a single absolute prince on the person be always regarded as a species of tyranny and usurpation, and kept them from forming any conception of a legal and regular monarchy, had rendered them entirely ignorant both of the rights of primogeniture and a representation in succession; inventions so necessary for preserving order in the lines of princes, for obviating the evils of civil discord and of usurpation, and for begetting moderation in that species of government, by giving security to the ruling sovereign. These innovations arose from the feudal law; which, first introducing the right of primogeniture, made such a distinction between the families of the elder and younger brothers, that the son of the former was thought entitled to succeed to his grandfather, preferably to his uncles, though nearer allied to the deceased monarch. But though this progress of things was natural, it was gradual. In the age of which we treat, the practice of representation was indeed introduced, but not thoroughly established; and the minds of men fluctuated between opposite principles. Richard, when he entered on the Holy War, desired peace; and Arthur, Duke of Brittany, his successor; and by a formal deed, he set aside, in his

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1 Prym's Censic. Vivid. tom. i. p. 1113.  
2 Historia, &c. 
3 udin, in his Etanmica, cap. 14, tells us, that in the 20th of December, 1190, Richard committed eighty pounds sterling, many of that age: 200 sheep, twenty-two pounds ten shillings, or, at the rate of 4l. 2s. 4d. per sheep; 200 pigs, four pounds three shillings, fifteen breeding mares, two pounds twelve shillings and one penny, and twenty two logs, one pound two shillings. Cen-
favour, the title of his brother John, who was younger than Geoffrey, the father of that prince. But John so late acquiesced in that destination, that, when he gained the ascendancy in the English ministry, by expelling Longchamp, the chancellor and great justiciary, he engaged all the English barons to swear, that they would maintain his right of succession; and Richard, on his return, took no steps towards restoring him to it. He was even careful, by his last will, to declare his brother John heir to all his dominions; 3 whether, that he now thought Arthur, who was only twelve years of age, incapable of asserting his claim against John, and to the future succession. But his mother, who hated Constantin, the mother of the young duke, and who dreaded the credit which that princess would naturally acquire if her son should mount the throne. The authority of a testament was great in that age, even where the succession of a kingdom was concerned; and John had reason to hope, that this title, joined to his plausible right in other respects, would insure him the succession. But the idea of representation seems to have made, at this time, greater progress in France than in England: the barons of the transmarine provinces, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, immediately declared in favour of Arthur, who had not been consumed by the French monarch as their superior lord. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and dismember his dominions, embraced the cause of the young Duke of Brittany, took him under his protection, and sent him to Rome, to have him consecrated king of France. In this emergency, John hastened to establish his authority in the chief members of the monarchy; and after sending Eleanor to Pontois and Guinevere, where her right was uncontested, he readily acknowledged, he married to Rouen, and having secured the duchy of Normandy, he passed over, without loss of time, to England. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciary, the three most favoured ministers of the late king, were already engaged on his side; 4 and the submission or acquiescence of all the other barons put him, without opposition, in possession of the throne.

The king soon returned to France, in order to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew, Arthur. The alliances which Richard had formed with the Earl of Pembroke, and other powerful French princes, though they had not been very effectual, still subsisted, and enabled John to defend himself against all the efforts of his enemy. In an action between the French and English ships in the Cambray, was taken prisoner by the former; and when the Cardinal of Capua claimed his liberty, Philip, instead of complying, reproached him with the weak efforts which he had made to support the house of Jesus, who was in a like condition. The legate, to show his impartiality, laid, at the same time, the kingdom of France and the duchy of Normandy under an interdict; and the two kings found themselves obliged to make an exchange of these military prelatures.

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John, now secure, as he imagined, on the side of France, indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymer Tuffley, Count of Angouleme, a lady with whom he had become much enamoured. His queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still alive; Isabella was married to the Count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman; though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had been concluded before she could overlook all these obstacles: he persuaded the Count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; and, having, on some pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella; The king's marriage was the result of his having been induced to marry a princess, who claimed on the contrary, and who was compelled against these illegal proceedings, and of the resentment of the injured count, who soon found means of punishing his powerful and insolent rival.

John had not the art of attaching himself to barons either by affection or by fear. The Count de la Marche, and his brother, the Count d'Eau, taking advantage of the general discontent against him, excited commotions at the court of the King of Navarre, and obliged the king to have recourse to arms, in order to suppress the insurrection of his vassals. He summoned together the barons of England, and required them to pass the sea under his standard, and to quell the rebels; he found that he possessed as little authority in that kingdom as in his transmarine provinces. The English barons unanimously replied, that they would not attend him on this expedition, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges; 5 the first symptom of a regular association and plan of liberty among those noblemen! But affairs were not yet fully ripe for the revolution projected. John, by menacing the barons, broke the concert; and both engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the rest, who staid behind, to pay him a sumptuous of two marks on each knight's fee, as the price of their exemption from the service.

The force which John had collected with him, and that which joined him in Normandy, rendered him much superior to his malcontent barons; and so much the more as Philip did not publicly give them any countenance, and seemed as yet determined to persevere steadily in the alliance which he had contracted with England. But the king, elated with his superiority, advanced chims which gave a universal alarm to his vassals, and dispersed still wider the general discontent. As the jurisdic-
The king had here a conference with his nephew; represented to him the folly of his pretensions; and required him to renounce the French alliance, which had encouraged him to live in a state of enmity with all his subjects; but the brave though imprudent youth, rendered more haughty from misfortunes, maintained the justice of his cause; asserted his claim, not only to the French provinces, but to the duchy of Aquitaine; and in his turn, required the king to restore the son of his elder brother to the possession of his inheritance. John, sensible, from these symptoms of spirit, that the young prince, though now a prisoner, might hereafter prove a dangerous enemy, determined to betray his pet future heir, and, obliterating his nephew; and Arthur was never more heard of. The circumstances which attended this deed of Murther of Arthur Duke of Brittany, were so exasperating to the Bretons, as to cause, by historians; but the most probable account is as follows: The king, it is said, first proposed to William de la Bray, one of his servants, to despatch Arthur; but William replied, that he was a gentleman, not a hangman; and he positively refused compliance. Another instrument of murder was found, and was despatched with proper orders to Falaise; but Hubert de Bourc, chamberlain, who was sent by the king to secure the young prince, signs that he himself would execute the king's mandate, set back the assassin, spread the report that the young prince was dead, and publicly performed all the ceremonies of his interment; but finding that the Bretons vowed revenge upon the murderer, and that all the rid of his duchy, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by an union with Philip and the malevolent barons. He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the King of England: he was received with great marks of distinction by Philip; was knighted by him; espoused his daughter Mary; and was invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Every attempt succeeded with the allies. Tillieres and Bouvattant were taken by Philip, after the taking a few days' resistance; and Lyon fell into his hands almost without resistance. That prince next invested Gournay; and opening the sluices of a lake which lay in the neighbourhood, poured such a torrent of water into the place, that the garrison deserted it, and the French marched in, without stirring a blow, made himself master of that important fortress. The progress of the French army was rapid, and promised more considerable success than usually in that age attended military enterprises: yet, it was of no avail to every advance of the king; the king marched towards peace. Philip still insisted, that he should resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, and rest contented with the kingdom of England; when an event happened, which seemed to turn the scales in favor of John, and to give him a decisive superiority over his enemies. Young Arthur, fond of military renown, had broken into Poictou at the head of a small army; and passing near Mirebeau, he heard that his grandmother, Queen Eleanor, who had always opposed his interests, was lodged in that place, and was protected by a weak garrison and ruinous fortifications. He immediately determined to lay siege to the fortress, and make himself master of that person: but John, roused from his indolence by so pressing an occasion, collected an army of English and Breton forces, and advanced from Normandy with hasty marches to the relief of the queen-mother. He fell on Arthur's camp before that prince was aware of the danger; dispersed his army; took him prisoner, together with the Count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Lusignan, and the most considerable of the other barons. The young prince, lying before Arques in that duchy, raised the siege and retired, upon his approach. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England; but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise.

1. Philipp. lib. vi. 
3. Trivet, p. 127. 
so many considerable fiefs, which, during several ages, had been dissaniered from it. Many of the other great vasals, whose jealousy might have interposed, and have obstructed the execution of this project, were not at present in a situation to oppose it; and the rest either looked on with indifference, or gave their assistance to this dangerous aggrandizement of their superior lord. The Earl of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the holy war; the Count of Flanders, by his command, their vassals; and Philip, the duchy of Brittany, enraged at the murder of his princes, vigorously promoted all his measures; and the general deflection of John's vassals made every interference unnecessary against him. Philip, after taking several castles and fortresses beyond the Loire, which he either garrisoned or dismantled, received the submissions of the Count of Alençon, who deserted John, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French: upon which Philip broke up his camp, in order to give the troops some repose after the fatigues of the campaign. John, suddenly collecting some forces, laid siege to Alençon; and Philip, whose dispersed army could not be brought together in time to succour it, saw himself exposed to the disgrace of suffering the oppression of his friend and confederate. But his active and fertile genius found an expeditious against this evil. There was held at that very time a parliament of the barons of all the chief nobility of France and the adjoining countries, had resolved, in order to signalize their prowess and address. Philip presented himself before them; craved their assistance in the enterprise, and having broken out the gates of Alençon as the most honourable field in which they could display their generosity and martial spirit. Those valorous knights vowed, that they would take vengeance on the base traitors, the stain of arms and of chivalry; and putting themselves in the command of Philip, instantly marched to raise the siege of Alençon. John, hearing of their approach, fled from before the place; and, in the hurry, abandoned all his tents, machines, and baggage.

This feeble effort was the last exploit of that slothful and cowardly prince for the defence of his dominions. He thenceforth remained in total inactivity at Rouen; passing all his time, with his young wife, in pastime and amusements, as if his state had been in the most profound tranquillity, or his affairs in the most prosperous condition. If he ever mentioned war, it was only to give himself vaunting airs; which, in the eyes of some, considered him still more despicable and ridiculous. Let the French go on, said he; I will retake in a day what it has cost them years to acquire. His stupidity and indecision appeared so extraordinary, that the people endeavoured to account for the inactivity of him, at Montfort, his brother, and his brother-in-law, who, instead of marching into this leaguer by some magic or witchcraft. The English barons, finding that their time was wasted to no purpose, and that they must suffer the disgrace of seeing, without resistance, the progress of the French arms, withdrew from their colours, and secretly returned to their own country. No one thought of defending a man, who seemed to have deserted himself; and his subjects regarded his fate with the same indifférence, to which, in this pressing exigency, they saw him totally abandoned.

John, while he neglected all domestic resources, had the means to betake himself to a foreign power, whose protection he applied to the Pope, Innocent III., and entreated him to impose his authority upon him and the French monarch. Innocent, pleased with an occasion of exerting his superiority, sent Philip to stop the progress of his arms, and to make peace with the King of England. But the French barons received the message with indignation; declared the temporal authority assumed by the pontiff; and, vowed, that they would, to the utmost, assist their prince against all his enemies, and to this end, instead of obeying the Pope's envoys, they laid siege to Chateaudun, the most considerable fortress which remained to guard the frontiers of Normandy.

Chateaudun was situated partly on an island in the Seine river, partly on a rock opposite to it; and was secured by every advantage which either art or nature could bestow upon it. The late king, having cast his eye on this favourable situation, had spared no labour or expense in fortifying it; and it was defended by Roger de Laci, constable of Chester, a determined officer, at the head of a numerous garrison. Philip, who despaired of taking the place by force, purposed to reduce it by famine; and that he might cut off its communication to it, he threw his army across the Seine, while he himself, with his army, blockaded it by land. The Earl of Pembroke, the man of greatest vigour and capacity in the English court, formed a plan for breaking through the French lines and throwing relief into the place. He carried with him an army of 4000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, and suddenly attacked, with great success, Philip's camp in the night-time, having left orders, that a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed vessels should sail up the Seine, and fall at the same instant on the bridge. But the wind and the current of the river, by retarding the vessels, disconcerted this plan of operations; and it was morning before the fleet appeared; when Pembroke, though successful in the beginning of the action, was already repulsed with considerable loss, and the King of France had leisure to defend himself against these new assailants, who also met with a repulse. After this mishap, Philip, in further efforts for the relief of Chateaudun, sent the Earl of Pembroke, the Constable, and Philip, and had all the leisure requisite for conducting and finishing the siege. Roger de Laci defended himself for a twelvemonth with great obstinacy; and in the end compelled him to yield. Thus, after all the hardships of famine, he was at last overpowered by a sudden assault in the night-time, and made prisoner of war, with his garrison. Philip, who knew how to respect valour even in an enemy, treated him with civility, and gave him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement.

When this bulwark of Normandy was once subdued, all the province lay open to the inroads of Philip; and the King of England despaired of being any longer able to defend it. He secretly prepared vessels for a scandalous flight, and that the Normans might no longer doubt of his resolution to abandon them, he ordered the fortifications of Pont de l'Arche, Mollevaux, and Jonville l'Amaury, to be demolished. Not daring to refuse confidence in any of his barons, whom he believed to be universally engaged in a conspiracy against him, he intrusted the government of the province to Archain Martin and Lucpeaux the, century Harbonçois, whom he had retained in his service. Philip, now secure of his prev, pushed his conquests with vigour and success against the dismayed Normans. Falaise was first besieged, and Lucpeaux, who commanded in this siege, was long in retaking it, after the English had enlisted himself with his troops in the service of Philip, and carried on hostilities against his ancient master. Caen, Coutances, Sees, Ernux, Basieux, soon fell into the hands of the French monarch, and all the lower Normandy was reduced under his dominion. To forward his enterprises on the other division of the province, Gui de Thouars, at the head of the Bretons, broke into the territories, and took Mount St. Michael, Arranches, and all the other fortresses in that neighbourhood. The Normans, who abhorred the French yoke, and who would have defended themselves to the last extremity, if their prince had appeared to conduct them, found no resource but in submission; and every city opened its gates as soon as Philip appeared before it. Rouen alone, Arques, and Verneuil, determined to maintain their liberties; and A. D. 1204. formed a confederacy for mutual defence.

Philip began with the siege of Rouen: the inhabitants were so intrenched with hatred to France, that on the appearance of his army, they fell on all the natives of that country, whom they found within their walls, and put them to death. With the French, he threw his forces with success, and had taken some of their outworks, the citizens, seeing no resource, offered to capitulate; and demanded only thirty days to advertise their disbanding their forces against the enemy. Upon the expira-
tion of the term, as no supply had arrived, they opened their gates to Philip; and the whole province soon after imitated the example, and submitted to the victor. This was the most important territory re-unitied to the crown of France about three centuries after the cession of it by Charles the Simple to Rolle, the first duke; and the Normans, sensible that this conquest was probably final, demanded the submission of their great : who, on the refusal of Philip, making a few alterations on the ancient Norman customs, readily granted them. But the French monarch had too much ambition and genius to stop in his present career of success. He carried his victorious arms into the provinces lately disunited, Savoy, Tournion, and part of Picardy; and in this manner, the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

John, on his arrival in England, that he might cover the disgrace of his own conduct, exclaimed loudly against his barons, who, he pretended, had deserted his standard in Normandy; and he arbitrarily extorted from them a seventh of all their moveables, as a punishment for the offence. Soon after he forced them to grant him a scatage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee for an expedition into Normandy; but he did not attempt to execute the service for which he pretended to exact it. Next year he summoned all the barons of his realm to attend him on this foreign expedition, and collected troops from all the seven-ports; but meeting with opposition from some of his ministers, and abandoning his design, he dismissed both fleet and army, and then renewed his excommunications against the barons for deserting him. He next put to sea with a small escort of his subjects. Believing himself enabled to expose himself to the utmost hazard for the defence and recovery of his dominions: but they were surprised, after a few days, to see him return again into harbour, without attempting any thing. In the subsequent season, he had the courage to carry his hostile measures a step further. Gui de Thouars, who governed Brittany, jealous of the rapid progress made by his ally, the French King, prevailed to join the King of England, with all his forces; and John ventured abroad with a considerable army, and landed at Rochelle. He marched to Angers; which he took and reduced to ashes. But the approach of Philip with an army threw him into a panic; and he immediately made proposals for peace, and fixed a place of interview with his enemy; but instead of keeping this engagement, he stole off with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned, loaded with new shame and disgrace. The murder of the Pope enraged him at last a truce for two years with the French monarch; almost all the transmarine provinces were ravished from him; and his English barons, though harried with arbitrary taxes and fruitless expeditions, saw themselves and their country baffled and affronted in every enterprise.

In an age when personal valour was regarded as the chief accomplishment, such conduct as that of John, always disgraceful, must be exposed to peculiar contempt; and he must thenceforth have expected to rule his turbulent vassals with a very doubtful authority. But the government exercised by the Norman princes had wound up the royal power to so high a pitch, and so much beyond the usual tenour of the feudal constitutions, that it still behoved him to be debased by new affronts and disgraces, ere his barons could entertain the view of complying with him, in order to reconquer his principalties. The church, which, at that time, declined not a contest with the most powerful and most vigorous monarchs, took first advantage of John's imbecility; and, with the most aggravating circumstances of insolence and scorn, fixed her yoke upon him.

A. D. 1207.

The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who, having attained that dignity at the age of forty-seven years, and being endued with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more than any of his predecessors, to con-vert that superiority which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them. The hierarchy, protected by the Roman pontiff, had already carried to an enormous height its usurpations upon the civil power; but in order to extend them further, and render the French crown a mere appendage, it was necessary to reduce the ecclesiastics themselves under an absolute monarchy, and to make them entirely dependent on their spiritual leader. For this purpose, Innocent first attempted to place those taxes at pleasure upon the clergy; and in the first year of this century, taking advantage of the popular frenzy for Crusades, he sent collectors over all Europe, who levied, by his authority, the fourth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of the Holy Land, and received the voluntary contributions of the clergy in like amount. The same year Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted another innovation, favourable to ecclesiastical and papal power: in the king's absence, he summoned, by his legateary authority, a synod of all the English clergy, contrary to the inhibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the chief justiciary; and no proper censure was ever passed on this encroachment, the first of its kind, upon the royal power, which continued to subvert the law, and soon after happened, which enabled so aspiring a pontiff as Innocent to extend still further his usurpations on so contemptible a prince as John.

Hubert was excommunicated A. D. 1205; and as the monks or canons of Christ-church, Canterbury, possessed a right of voting in the election of their archbishop, some of the juniors of the order, who lay in wait for that event, met clandestinely the very night of Hubert's death; and without any concern for his dignity or his desires, he was reelected instead of his successor; installed him in the archiepiscopal throne before midnight; and, having enjoined him the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome, in order that the choice of the pope might be known. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence; and he no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he revealed to every one the purpose of his journey, which was immediately known in England. That event was resented at the novel and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent: the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, who were accustomed to concur in the choice of their own bishop, were so much displeased at the exclusion given them in this election: the senior monks of Christ-church were injured by the irregular proceedings of their juniors; the juniors themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted with the levity of Reginald, who ruled the See of Canterbury, and the Pope were willing to set aside his election; and all men concurred in the design of remedying the false measures which had been taken. But as John knew that this affair would be canvassed before the same tribunal, where the interpo- sition of royal authority in bestowing ecclesiastical benefices was very invidious; where even the cause of suffra- gan bishops was not so favourable as that of monks; he determined to make the new election entirely unexception- able: he submitted the affair wholly to the canons of Christ-church, and departing from the right claimed by his predecessors, ventured no further than to inform them privately, that they would do him an acceptable service, if they chose John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, for their primate.

The election of that prelate was accordingly made without a contradictory vote; and the king, to oblige all content, endeavoured to persuade the suffragan bishops not to insist on their claim of competing in the election: but those prelates, persevering in their pretensions, sent an agent to maintain their cause before Innocent; while the king, and the convent of Christ-church, despaired of the two monks of that order to supply the place of the pope, and the same tribunal, the election of the Bishop of Norwich, Thus there lay three different claims before the Pope, whom all parties allowed to be the supreme arbiter in the consequences of this question. There being an un- site to the usual maxims of the Papal court, was soon act

JOHN.

aside: the election of Reginald was so obviously fraudulent and irregular, that there was no possibility of defend- ing it: but Innocent maintained, that, though this election was null and invalid, it ought previously to have been declared such by the sovereign pontiff, before the monks could proceed to a new election; and that the choice of the next from them was a barbarous act of violence, without that of his competitor.1 Advantage was, therefore, taken of this subtlety for introducing a precedent, by which the see of Canterbury, the most important dignity in the church, might ever after be at the disposal of the court of Rome.

While the Pope maintained so many fierce contests, in order to wrest from princes the right of granting investi- tures, and to exclude laymen from all authority in con- cerning the disposal and properties of souls and bodies, the person on whom he bestowed preferment. The canons which regulated elections were purposely rendered intricate and involved; frequent disputes arose among candidates: appeals were every day carried to Rome: the apostolic see, by pretending pecuniary advantages from these contests, often exercised the power of setting aside both the litigants, and on pretence of appealing faction, nominated a third person, who might be more acceptable to the intending parties.

The present controversy about the election to the see of Canterbury afforded Innocent an opportunity of claiming this right; and he failed not to perceive and avail himself of the advantage. All benefit was bestowed by the convert to maintain the cause of the Bishop of Norwich; and commanded them, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their pri- mate, Cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connect- ed, by his interest and attachments, with the see of Rome. In vain did the monks represent, that they had received from their convert no authority for this step, and that they would put out nothing which was a mark of the King, would be deemed highly irregular; and that they were merely agents for another person, whose right they had no power or pretence to abandon. None of these reasons were ever deemed sufficient, except one, Elias de Brantheld: all the rest, over come by the menaces and authority of the Pope, complied with his orders, and made the election required of them.

Innocent, sensible that this first usurpation would be highly resented by the court of England, wrote John a mollifying letter; sent him four golden rings set with precious stones; and endeavoured to enhance the value of the present, by informing him of the many mysteries im- planted in it. He desired him to consider seriously the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form, he said, being round, shadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and he ought thence to learn his duty of aspiring from earthly objects to heavenly, from things temporal to things eternal. The number four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be subverted either by adversity or pros- perity, but to be inviolable in all circumstances. Gold, which is the matter, being the most precious of metals, signified wisdom, which is the most valuable of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all external attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; and the splendour of the topaz, Good Wishes. By these attributes, Innocent endeavoured to repay John for one of the most important prerogatives of his crown, which he had ravished from him; conceals probably admired by Innoc- cent himself; for it is easily possible for a man, especially endowed with the arts of a statesman, to make one of his competing for business with an absurd taste for literature and the arts.

John was inflamed with the utmost rage, when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome; and he immedi- ately vented his indignation on the monks, whom he from whom he claimed the sawdromes, commanded the prior and the monks to depart the kingdom, and me- naced them, that in case of disobedience, they would instantly burn them with the convent.1 Innocent prog- nosticating, from the violence and imprudence of these measures, that John would finally sink in the contest, persevered the more vigorously in his pretensions, and exhorted the king not to oppose God and the church any longer, nor to persecute that cause for which the holy mar- tY, St. Thomas, had sacrificed his life, and which had exalted him equal to the highest saints in heaven: a clear proof that by the example of this famous saint, he did not remember the prejudices and established principles of his subjects, who bore a profound veneration to that martyr, and regarded his merits as the subject of their chief glory and exultation.

Innocent, finding that John was not sufficiently tamed to submission, sent three prelates, the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to intimate, that if he persevered in his disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict, and the other prelates throw themselves on their knees before him, and entreated him, with tears in their eyes, to prevent the scandal of this sentence, by making a speedy submission to his spiritual head, by receiving from his hands the new-elected primate, and by restoring the monks of Christ- church to all their rights and possessions. He burst out into the most indelicate invectives against the prelates; swore by God's teeth, (his usual oath,) that if the Pope presumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and would con-fiscate all their estates; and threatened, that, if henceforth he caught any Romans in his dominions, he would cause them to be strangled; and that he would set a mark upon them which might distinguish them from all other nations.1 Amidst all this idle violence, John stood on such bad terms with his nobility, that he could hardly draw up his forces, and, in so just a cause, would probably have adhered to any other monarch, and have defended with vigour the liberties of the nation against these palpable usurpations of the court of Rome. Innocent, therefore, per- mitted the covering the king's weakness, fulminated at last the sentence of interdict, which he had for some time held suspended over him.2

The sentence of interdict was at that time the great in- strument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the lightest offences; and made the guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the最容易 minds of the people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of power; the courts were deserted; the townsmen and the countrymen, the crosses, the relics, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely

ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steepleps, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The daily partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was considered as an unlawful act, and every action in life might bear the marks of this deplorable situation. The people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments; and were forbidden even to salute each other; so much so that, below their being shut and gave any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance earned symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation.

The king, that he might oppose his temporal to their spiritual terror, immediately, from his own authority, confiscated the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; fnished the prelats, confined the monks in their convents; and gave them only such a small allowance from their own estates as would suffice to provide them with food and raiment. He treated with the utmost rigor such archbishops and bishops as knew that they would proceed to any disposition to obey the commands of Rome: and in order to distress the clergy in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines, and required high fines as the price of their liberty.  

After the canons which established the celibacy of the clergy were, by the zealous endeavours of Archbishop Anselm, more rigorously executed in England, the ecclesiastical penalties were universally, and without any discretion, in the use of conclavages; and the court of Rome, which had no interest in prohibiting this practice, made very slight opposition to it. The custom was become so prevalent, that the common view of the clergy was to take an oath, to observe the Reformations, the laws not only permitted, but, to avoid scandal, enjoined, the use of concubines to the younger clergy; and it was usual every where for priests to apply to the ordinary, and obtain from him a formal liberty for this indulgence. The bishop commonly took care to prevent the practice from degenerating into licentiousness: he confined the priest to the use of one woman, required him to the consecration of his bed, obliged him to provide for her subsistence and that of his children; and though the offseason was, in the eye of the law, deemed illegitimate, this commerce was really a kind of inferior marriage, such as is still practised in Germany among the nobles; and the clergy, through the candid and easy appeal from the tyranny of civil and ecclesiastical institutions, to the more virtuous and more unerring laws of nature.

The quarrel between the king and the see of Rome continued for some years; and though many of the clergy, from the fear of punishment, obeyed the orders of John, and celebrated divine service, they complied with the utmost reluctance, and were regarded, both by themselves and the people, as men who betrayed their principles, and sacrificed their conscience to temporal regards and interests. During this violent situation, the king, in order to give a lustre to his government, attempted military expeditions against Scotland, against Ireland, against the Welsh; and he commonly was the more from the weakness of his enemies, than from his own vigour or abilities. Meanwhile, the danger to which his government stood continually exposed from the discordants of the ecclesiastics, increased, his natural propensity to tyranny; and he seems to have even wantonly disregarded all orders of men, especially his nobles, from whom alone he could reasonably expect support and assistance. He distributed the regiments by lot, left to his own caprice the persons he thought proper to seize him, to throw him into prison, to cover his head with a great leaden cope; and, by this and other severe usage he soon put an end to his life. He was buried in the church of St. Mary de Becket, to exalt him to an equal station in heaven with that great and celebrated martyr. Hugh de Wells, the

\[ 110 \] HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [A.D. 1207—CHAP. XI. occupation and amusement; he ordered all the hedges and fences near his forests to be levelled, that his deer might have more ready access into the fields for couse; and he continually loaded the nation with arbitrary impositions. Conscious of the general hatred A.D. 1208. which he had incurred, he required his nobles to prevent the brief hasty interdictions; and they were obliged to put into his hands their sons, nephews, or near relations. When his messengers came with like orders to the castle of William de Braose, a baron of great note, the lady of that nobleman replied, 'That she held not her son as one who had murdered his own nephew while in his custody. Her husband reproved her for the severity of this speech; but, sensible of his danger, he immediately fled with his children, and concealed himself; and the king discovered the unhappy family in their retreat; seized the wife and son, whom he starved to death in prison; and the baron himself narrowly escaped by flying into France.

The court of Rome had artfully contrived a gradation of sentences, by which it kept offenders in awe; still affording them an opportunity of preventing the most heinous proceedings; and, in case of their obstinacy, was able to refresh the horror of the people against them, by new denunciations of the wrath and vengeance of Heaven. As the sentence of interdict had not produced the desired effect on John, and as his vassals, though extremely disaffected, had hitherto been restrained from rising in open rebellion against him, he was soon to look for the sentence of excommunication; and he had reason to apprehend, that, notwithstanding his late submission, the consequences might ensue from it. He was witness of the other scenes which, at that very time, were acting in Europe, and which displayed the unbounded and unconscious power of the crowned gentleman, and his desire of gain, his contempt for oath and law, his incapacity for the governance of nations, his incapacity for the service and defence of his kingdom. He was witness of the other scenes which, at that very time, were acting in Europe, and which displayed the unbounded and unconscious power of the crowned gentleman, and his desire of gain, his contempt for oath and law, his incapacity for the governance of nations, his incapacity for the service and defence of his kingdom.
chancellor, being elected by the king's appointment, Bishop of Lincoln, upon a vacancy in that see, desired leave to go abroad, in order to receive consecration from the Archbishop of Rouen; but he had no sooner obtained leave from the king, than he hastened to Pontegny, where Langton then resided, and paid submission to him as his primate. The bishops, finding themselves exposed either to the jealousy of the king, or hatred of the council, left the kingdom, and, at last, there remained only three prelates to perform the functions of the episcopal office. Many of the nobility, terrified by John's tyranny, and obnoxious to his suspicion, either submitted to the church, or went into exile; but most of the bishops; and of those who remained, were, with reason, suspected of having secretly entered into a con-

federacy against him. John was alarmed at his dangerous situation; a situation which precluded, vigour, and popularity, might formerly have prevented, but which no virtues or abilities were now sufficient to retrieve. He desired a conference with Langton at Dover; offered to acknowledge him as primate to submit to the Pope, to restore the exiled clerics, even to pay them a limited sum as a compensation for the rents of their confiscated estates. But Langton, perceiving his advantage, was not satisfied with these concessions; he demanded that full restitution and indemnity be made to all the clerics; a condition so exorbitant, that the king, who probably had not the power of fulfilling it, and who foresaw that this estimation of damages might amount to an immense sum, finally broke off the conference.

The next gradation of papal sentences was to absorb John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance, and to declare every one excommunicated. He had already taken military, and even civil, authority in private; at his table, in his council, or even in private conversation: and this sentence was accordingly, with all imaginable solemnity, pronounced against him. But as John still persisted in all the crimes which he had committed before the example of the Papal Primate, it was not all that he had been guilty of. Indeed he was accused of sedition, of procuring the death of the four lords, who were, at that time, in the king's service, and who were, consequently, deprived of their posts. It was also alleged that, in order to procure these sentences, the king had not only employed means of a judicial nature, but had recourse to a violent and seductive art. He had been accused of having seduced the king, and the bishops, and many of the prelates and nobility; and of de-"
of which, however offensive to all the English, no one present, even the Archbishop of Dublin, dared to take any notice. But though Pandolf had brought the king to submit to these base conditions, he still refused to free him from the excommunication and interdict, till an estimation should be taken of the losses of the ecclesiastics, and full compensation made for them. Meanwhile, John, reduced to this abject situation under a foreign power, still showed the same disposition to tyranny over his subjects, which had been the chief cause of all his misfortunes. One Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold that the king, this very year, should lose his crown; and for that rash prophecy he had been thrown into prison in Corfe-castle. John now determined to bring him to punishment as an impostor; and though the man professed that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had lost the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was supposed to aggravate his guilt: he was therefore sentenced to imprisonment, of Watham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his son.1

When Pandolf, after receiving the homage of John, returned to France, he congratulated Philip on the success of his arms, and was about to return to Dublin, and thereby render it impossible for the terror of the French arms, had now come to a just sense of his guilt; had returned to obedience under the apostolic see, and even consented to do homage to the French crown; and had made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impossible for any Christian prince, without the most manifest and most flagrant impiety, to attack him.2 Philip would not admit such an interpretation of that having, at the Pope's instigations, undertaken an expedition, which had cost him above 60,000 pounds sterling, he was frustrated of his purpose, at the time when its success, which he had expected, was almost in the expense had fallen upon him; all the advantages had accrued to Innocent: he threatened to be no longer the dupe of those hypocritical pretexts: and, assembling his vassals, he laid before them the ill treatment which he had received from the Pope, expressed the interest and fraudulent conduct of the Pope, and required their assistance to execute his enterprise against England, in which he told them, that notwithstanding the prohibitions and menaces of the legate, he was determined to persevere. The French barons, in that age, little less ignorant and superstitious than the English: yet, so much does the influence of those religious principles depend on the present dispositions of men, even in the most enlightened, that the interest of Pandolf, and thereby rendered it impossible for him to proceed any further in his enterprise. John, exulting in his present security, insensible to his past disgrace, was so elated with this success, that he thought of no less than invading France in his turn, and revenging all those provinces which the prosperous arms of Philip had formerly ravished from him. He proposed this expedition to the barons, who were already assembled for the defence of the kingdom. But the English nobles both had they all resolved to follow their prince, and the king, of course, had no success to any enterprise conducted by such a leader; And pretending that their time of service was elapsed, and all their provisions exhausted, they refused to second his undertaking. The king, however, resolved in his purpose, embarked with a few followers, and sailed in Jersey, in the foolish expectation that the barons would last be ashamed to stay behind.3 But finding himself disappointed, he returned to England; and raising some troops, threatened to take vengeance on all his nobles for their desecration and disobedience. The Archbishop of Canterbury's charge to his clergy to maintain their independence here interposed; strictly inhibited the king from thinking of such an attempt; and threatened him with a renewal of the sentence of excommunication, if he pretended to levy war upon any of his subjects, before the kingdom were freed from the sentence of interdict.4

The church had recalled the several anathemas pronounced against John, by the same gradual progress with which he had at first refused them. By receiving his homage, and admitting him to the rank of a vassal, his deposition had been virtually annulled, and his subjects were again bound by their oaths of allegiance. The sentence of interdict, however, was still upheld against the kingdom. A new legate, Nicholas, Bishop of Fresnay, came into England in the room of Pandolf; and he declared it to be the Pope's intentions never to be lenient that sentence till full reparation was made to the clergy of England; every thing taken from them, and ample reparation for all damages which they had sustained. He only permitted mass to be said with a low voice in the churches, till those losses and damages could be estimated to the satisfaction of the parties. Certain barons were appointed to take an account of the claims; and John was assomated at the greatness of the sums to which the clergy made their losses to amount, and he was at thirty thousand marks for a full acquittal. The clergy rejected the offer with disdain; but the Pope, willing to favour his new vassal, whom he found zealous in his declarations of fealty, and reward the zeal of that prince, which had occasioned his deposition, accepted his legate to accept of forty thousand. The issue of the whole was, that the bishops and considerable abbots got reparation beyond what they had any title to demand: the inferior clergy were obliged to sit down contented with their losses; and the king, after the interdict was taken off, renewed, in the most solemn manner, and by a new charter, sealed with gold, his professions of homage and obedience to the see of Rome. When this vexatious affair was at last brought to a conclusion, the king, as if he had nothing further to attend to but triumphs and victories, went over to Poitou, which still acknowledged his authority5 and he carried war into Philip's dominions. He besieged a castle near Angiers; but the approach of Prince Lewis, Philip's son, obliged him to raise the siege with such precipitation, that he left his standards, machines, and baggage behind him; and he returned to England with his troops in a great disgrace. About the same time, he heard of the great and decisive victory gained by the King of France at Bornes over the Emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of 150,000 Germans; a victory which established

3 M. Paris, 167, 168.
5 M. Paris, p. 164.
6 Queen Eleanor died in 1203 or 1204.
for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. John could therefore think henceforth of nothing further, than of ruling peaceably his own kingdom; and his close connexions with the Pope, whose enmity was determined at any price to maintain, insured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that object. But the last and most grievous scene of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him; and he was destined to pass through the most of his misfortunes undiminished, than had ever yet fallen to the lot of any other monarch.

Documents of the appointment of the new king. England by William the Conqueror had much infringed the terms of the charter, given by the Anglo-Saxons in their ancient government, and had reduced the whole people to a state of vassalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a state of real slavery. The necessity also of mistrusting great power in the hands of a prince, who was to maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more severe and absolute prerogative, than that to which men of their rank, in other feudal governments, were commonly subjected. The power of the crown, once raised to a high pitch, was not easily reduced; and the nation, during the course of a hundred and fifty years, was governed by an authority unkempt by any restraint, excepting those given by the northern conquerors. Henry I. that he might allure the people to give an exclusion to his elder brother Robert, had granted them a charter, favourable to many particulars to which they appeared to be attached. Heed had then H. 11. had confirmed it: but the concessions of all these princes had still remained without effect; and the same unmitigated, at least irregular, authority continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The only happiness, that arms were never yet ravished from the hands of the barons and people. The nation, by a great confidence, might still vindicate its liberties; and nothing was more likely, than the character, conduct, and fortunes of the younger prince, to produce a greater union and combination against him. Equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, he affronted the barons by his insolence, dis honoured their families by his gallantries, enraged them by his tyranny, and gave discontent to all ranks of men by his endless exactions and impositions. The effect of these lawless practices had already appeared in the general demand made by the barons of a restoration of all their privileges; and after he had reconciled himself to the Pope, by abandoning the independence of the kingdom, he appeared to all his subjects in so mean a light, that they universally thought they might with safety and hope recover their ancient rights.

But nothing forwarded this confidence so much as the concurrence of Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury; a man whose memory, though he was o.bstructed on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. This prelate, whether he was moved by the generosity of his nature and his affection to public good; or had entertained an animosity against John on account of the long opposition made by that prince to his election; or thought that an acquisition of liberty to the people would serve to increase and secure the privileges of the church; had formed the plan of reforming the government, and had prepared the way for the great revolution, by inserting those singular clauses above mentioned in the oath by which he administered to the king, before he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. Soon after, in a private meeting of some of the barons at Lambeth, he shewed them a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which he said he had happily found at a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it. The barons swore, that they would sooner have it ruptured than part from a promise already made. The confidence began now to spread wider, and to comprehend almost all the barons in England; and a new and more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton at St. Edmundsbury, under colour of devotion. He again pro-

duced to the assembly the old charter of Henry; renewed his exhortations of unanimity and vigour in the prosecution of their purpose; and represented to the strongest colours the tyranny of the young prince, the defects in his government, and the manner in which he treated all that were near and distant; and from which he now beheld them to free themselves and their posterity. The barons, inflamed by his eloquence, incited by the sense of their own wrongs, and encouraged by the appearance of their power and numbers, solemnly took an oath, before the bishop, to adhere to each other, to insist on their demands, and to make endless war on the king, till he should submit to grant them. They agreed, that after the festival of Christmas, they would perfect the bodily coercion of their king; and in the mean time, they separated, after mutually engaging, that they would put themselves in a posture of defence, would enlist men and purchase arms, and would supply their castles with the necessary provisions.

The barons appeared in London on the day appointed; and demanded of the king, that, in consequence of his own oath before the primate, as well as in deference to their just rights, he should grant them a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. The king, alarmed with their zeal and unanimity, as well as with their power, required a delay; promised that, at the festival of Easter, he would give them a promise, on their promise, to summon them to the barons, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and the Earl of Pembroke, the marshal, as sureties for his fulfilling this engagement. The barons accepted of the terms, and promised to return to their castles.

During this interval, John, in order to break or subdue the league of his barons, endeavoured to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power, of whose influence he had, from his own recent misfortunes, had such fatal experience. He granted to the clergy a charter, re- finishing for ever that important prerogative, for which his father and all his ancestors had zeulously contended; yielding to them the free election on all great occasions, reserving only the power to issue a congé d'elire, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election; and declaring that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed just and valid. He made a vow to lead an army into Palestine against the infidels, and he took on him the cross, in hopes that he should receive from the church that protection which she tendered to every one that had entered into this sacred and meritorious engagement. And he sent to Rome his agent, William de Macclure, to order to appeal to the Pope against the violence of his barons, and procure him a favourable sentence from that powerful tribunal. The barons also were not negligent on their part in endeavouring to procure the deposal of the king. They despatched Eustace de Vescie to Rome; laid their case before Innocent as their feudal lord; and petitioned him to interpose his authority with the king, and oblige him to restore and confirm their charters and ancient rights.

Innocent beheld with regret the disturbances which had arisen in England, and was much inclined to favour John in his pretensions. He had no hopes of retaining and extending his newly acquired superiority over that kingdom, but by supporting so base and degenerate a prince, who was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present safety. And he foresaw, that if the administration should fall into the hands of those gallant and high spirited barons, they would vindicate the honour, liberty, and independence of the nation, with the same ardour which they now exerted in defence of their own. He wrote letters therefore to the prelates, to the nobility, and to the bishops, inciting them to engage in good offices in conciliating peace between the contending parties, and putting an end to civil discord: to the second, he expressed his dissappproval of their conduct in employing force to procure the submission of a sovereign: the last he advised to treat his oaths with grace and indulgence, and to grant them such of their demands as should appear just and reasonable.

The barons easily saw, from the tenor of these letters, that they must reckon on having the Pope, as well as the
king, for their adversary; but they had already advanced too far to recede from their pretensions, and their passions were inflamed, when they observed, that even the power of superstition itself any longer to control them. They also foresaw, that the thunders of Rome, when not seconded by the efforts of the English ecclesiastics, would be of small consequence in the world; and they, the most considerable of the prelates, as well as all the inferior clergy, professed the highest approbation of their cause. Besides that these men were seized with the national passion for laws and liberty; blessings of which they themselves experienced, and that they had no reason to fear a cause to lessen their devoted attachment to the apostolic see. It appeared, from the late usurpations of the Roman pontiff, that he pretended to reap alone all the advantages accruing from that victory, which, under his banners, though at their own peril, they had every where obtained over the civil magistrate. The Pope assumed a despotic power over all the churches: their particular customs, privileges, and immunities, were treated with disdain: even the canons of general councils were set aside by his dispensing power: the whole administration of the church was centred in the court of Rome: all pretensions ran of course to the same channel: and the provincial clergy saw at least, that there was necessity for limiting these pretensions. The legate, Nicholas, in filling those numerous vacancies which had fallen in England during an interdict of six years, had proceeded in the most arbitrary manner; and had paid no regard to dignities, to personal merit, to rank, to the inclination of the electors, or to the customs of the country. The English church was universally disgusted; and Langton himself, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the Roman see, was no sooner established in his high office, than he became jealous of the privileges annexed to it, and formed attachments with the country subjected to his jurisdiction. These causes, though they opened slowly the eyes of men, failed not to produce their effect: they set bounds to the usurpations of the papacy: the tides first stopped, and then turned against the sovereign pontiff: and it is otherwise inconceivable how that age, so prone to superstition, and so sunk in ignorance, or rather so devoted to a spurious erudition, could have escaped falling into an absolute and total slavery under the court of Rome.

Arrived in England, the malcontent barons on the approach of the festival of Easter, when they were to expect the king's answer to their petition, met by agreement at Stamford; and they assembled a force, consisting of above 2000 knights, besides their retainers and inferior persons, armed with the best of their power, the earl's, advanced in a body to Bracley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the place where the court then resided: and they there received a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Earl of Pembroke, desiring to know what those liberties were which they so zealously challenged from their sovereign. They delivered to these messengers a schedule containing the chief articles of their demands; which was no sooner shown to the king, than he be become into a furious passion, and asked, why the barons did not also demand of him his kingdom? swearing that he would never grant them such liberties as must reduce himself to slavery.

No sooner were the confederated nobles informed of John's reply, than they chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, whom they called the Marshal of the army of God and of Holy Church; and they proceeded without further ceremony to levy war upon the king. They besieged the castle of Northampton during fifteen days, though without success: the gates of Bedford castle were willingly opened to them by William Beauchamp, its owner: they advanced to Ware in their way to London, where they held a correspondence with the principal citizens: they were received without opposition into that capital great city; and with the aid of their force, they issued proclamations, requiring the other barons to join them; and menacing them, in case of refusal or delay, with committing devastation on their houses and estates. In order to show what might be the consequences of a refusal, they forthwith carried incursions from London, and laid waste the king's parks and palaces; and all the barons, who had hitherto carried the semblance of supporting the royal party, were glad of the present occasion of averting from them the resentment which they had secretly favoured. The king was left at Odham in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights, and after trying several expedients to elude the blow, after offering to refer all differences to the Pope alone, or to eight bishops, which were very powerful counsellors, and made confederates, he found himself at last obliged to submit at discretion.

A conference between the king and the Magna Charta barons was appointed at Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines; a place which has ever since been extremely celebrated, on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies; and after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter which was required of him. This famous deed, commonly called the Great Charter, either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in his kingdom; to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people.

The freedom of elections was secured to the clergy: the former charter of the king was confirmed, by which the necessary provisions were made, in consideration of their privileges which had been superseded; all check upon appeals to Rome was removed, by the allowance granted every man to depart the kingdom at pleasure: and the fees to be imposed on the clergy for any offence, were ordained to be proportioned to their lay estates, not to their ecclesiastical benefices.

The privileges granted to the barons were either abates in the reign of the feudal law, or determinations in points which had been left by that law, or had become, by practice, arbitrary and ambiguous. The privileges of peers succeeding to a military fee were ascertained; an earl's and baron's at a hundred marks, a knight's at a hundred shillings. It was ordained by the charter, that, if the heir be a minor, he shall, immediately upon his majority, enter upon his estate, without paying any relief: the king shall not sell his wardship: he shall levy only reasonable profits upon the estate, without committing waste, or hurting the property: he shall uphold the castles, houses, inns, parks, and ponds: and if he commit the guardianship of the estate to the sheriff or any other, he shall previously oblige them to find surety to the same purpose. During the minority of his heir, his lands not in wardship, and not in his own possession, whether by descent or purchase, the debt which he owes to the Jews shall bear any interest. Heirs shall be married without disbarment; and before the marriage be contract, the nearest relations of the person shall be informed of it. In this manner, the king afterwards, by the Earl of Pembroke, for some sums paid him, put a veto upon her blower, the third part of her husband's rents: she shall not be compelled to marry, so long as she chooses to continue single; she shall only give security never to marry without her lord's consent. The king shall not claim the wardship of any minor who holds lands by military tenure of a baron, on pretence that he also holds lands of the crown, by socage or any other tenure. Scutages shall be estimated at the same rate as in Henry I., and without any scutage or aid, except in the three general feudal cases, the king's captivity, the knight of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter, shall be imposed but by the great council of the kingdom; the prelates, earls, and great barons, shall be called to this great council, each by a particular writ; the lesser barons by a general summons of the sheriff. The king shall not seize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron possessed as many as twenty knights and esquires as are sufficient to discharge the debt. No man shall be obliged to perform more service for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure. No governor or constable of a castle shall oblige any knight to pay any sum, unless he is willing to perform the service in person, or by another able-bodied man; and if the knight be in the field him-
self, by the king's command, lie shall be exempted from all other service of this nature. No vassal shall be allow-
ed to sell so much of his land as to incapacitate himself
from performing his service to his lord.

These were the principal articles, calculated for the
interest of the barons; and had the charter contained
nothing further, national happiness and liberty had been
very little promoted by it, as it would only have tended
to increase the power and independence of an order of
men whose authority and wealth the king, if he might
have become more heavy on the people than that of
an absolute monarch. But the barons, who alone
drew and imposed on the prince this memorable charter,
were necessitated to add to it many other articles, of
extensive and more beneficent nature: they could not
expect the concurrence of the people, without comprehen-
sing, together with their own, the interests of inferior
ranks of men; and all provisions which the barons, for
their own sake, were obliged to make, in order to insure
the free and equitable administration of justice, tended
directly to the benefit of the whole community. The fol-
lowing were the principal clauses of this nature.

It was ordained, that all the privileges and immunities
above mentioned, granted to the barons against the king,
should be extended by the barons to their inferior vassals.

The king, from the abolition of this system of
owning a baron to levy aids from his vassals, except in the
three feudal cases. One weight and one measure shall
be established throughout the kingdom. Merchants shall
be allowed to transport all business, without being exposed
to any fine or penalty. The king and his ministers, the
freemen shall be allowed to go out of the kingdom and re-
turn to it at pleasure: London, and all cities and
burghs, shall preserve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free
customs, as it is a part of their tenure. These
articles shall be open to every one; and justice shall no longer be sold,
refused, or delayed by them. Courts shall be regularly
held every year: the inferior tribunals of justice, the
courts, court, sheriff's court, and court-leet, shall meet at
their appointed time and place: the sheriffs shall be
incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown; and shall not
put any person upon his trial, from rumour or suspicion
alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witnesses. No
freeman shall be compelled, for his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished,
or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment
of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who suf-
fered otherwise, in this or in any other reign, shall be
restored to their rights and possessions. Every Freeman
shall be fined in proportion to his fault; and no fine shall
be levied on him to his utter ruin: even a villain or
rustic shall not, by any fine, be bereaved of his carts,
thoughts, and implements of husbandry. This was the
only article calculated for the interests of this body of
men, probably at that time the most numerous in the
kingdom.

It must be confessed, that the former articles of
the Great Charter contain such mitigations and explanations
of the feudal law as are reasonable and equitable; and
that the latter involve all the chief outlines of a legal
government, and provide for the equal distribution of jus-
tice and free enjoyment of property; the great objects for
which political society was at first founded by men, which
the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to
receive, without which they are not capable of
existence; and no positive institution, ought to derange
them from keeping ever uppermost in their thoughts and
attention. Though the provisions made by this charter might, conformably
to the genius of the age, be esteemed too concise, and
too bare of circumstances, to maintain the execution of
its articles, in opposition to the chicanery of lawyers, sup-
ported by the violence of power; time gradually ascer-
tained the sense of all the ambiguous expressions; and
the generous barons, who first extorted this concession,
still held their swords in their hands, and could turn
them against those who dared, on any pretence, to depart
from the original spirit and meaning of the grant. We
may now, from the tenor of this charter, conjecture what
those laws were which Edward, when king of England, sup-
ported, during so many generations, still desired, with such
an obstinate perseverance, to have recalled and estab-
lished. They were chiefly these latter articles of 

these men, were, by this con-
cept, really involved within the sphere of the greatest
dom : they were rendered co-ordinate with the king, or
rather superior to him, in the exercise of the executive
power; and as there was no circumstance of government
which, either directly or indirectly, might not bear a rela-
tions could have given to in the Lords; a list of grievances, without so
tion to the security or observance of the Great Charter, there could scarcely occur any incident, in which they might not lawfully interpose their authority.

John seemed to submit passively to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty: he sent writs to all the sheriffs, ordering them to constrain every one to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; he dismissed all his foreign aenterprise, and, in his own person, undertook the defense of the realm thenceforth in a new tenor, and be more indulgent to the liberty and independence of his people. But he only assembled, till he should find a favourable opportunity of defending all his rights and dignities which he had formerly suffered from the Pope and the King of France, as they came from equals or superiors, seemed to make but small impression on him: but the sense of this perpetual and total subjection under his own rebellious vassals, sunk deep in his mind, and he was determined, at all hazards, to throw off so ignominious a slavery. He grew sullen, silent, and reserved: he shunned the society of his courtiers and nobles; he retired into the Isle of Wight, as if desirous of hiding his shame and confusion; but in this retreat he meditated the most fatal vengeance against all his enemies. He secretly sent abroad his emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and made overtures of alliance to Brabant, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and resping the fortunes of so many opulent barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion by rising in arms against him. He discharged a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the Pope the Great Charter, which he had been compelled to sign, and to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, and owner of the barons, who, though they pretended to appeal to his authority, had dared, without waiting for his consent, to impose such terms on a prince, who, by resigning to the Roman pontiff his crown and independence, had placed himself immediately under the papal protection. He issued, therefore, a bull, in which, from the plentitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and destroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow, he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see. He prohibited the barons from further submission of it: he even prohibited the king himself from paying any regard to it: he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take to that purpose: and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to its terms, or maintain such treasonable and inquisitorial pretensions. The king, as his foreign forces arrived on the spot, along with this bull, now ventured to take off the measure, and under sanction of the Pope's decree, recalled all the liberties which he had granted to his subjects, and which he had solemnly sworn to observe. But the spiritual weapon was found, upon trial, to carry less force with it than he had reason from his own experience to apprehend. The priorate refused to obey the Pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons; and though he was cited to Rome, that he might attend a general council there assembled, and pronounced, on account of his disobedience to the Pope, and his secret correspondence with the king's enemies; though a new and particular sentence of excommunication was pronounced by name against the principal barons; though John still found, that his nobility and people, and even his clergy, adhered to the defence of their liberties, and to their combination against him: the sword of his foreign aenterprise, which he had as yet to trust to for restoring his authority was, however, the first, mainstay of the field; and immediately

laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William de Albiney, at the head of a hundred and forty knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine. John, irritated with the

Nov. 30. Captivity of William de Albiney, the best officer among the contrary barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause; and not least to embarrass the progress of the royal arms. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, meted by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages and castles reduced to ashes, the consternation and misery of the inhabitants, tortures exercised by the soldiery to make them reveal their concealed treasures, and reprisals no less barbarous committed by the barons and their partisans on the royal domains, and on the estates of such as still adhered to the crown. The King, marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Winchester, laid the princes who were in the vicinity of him; and considered every state, which was not his immediate property, as entirely hostile, and the object of military execution. The nobility of the North, in particular, which had been incited by promises of their liberties, and who, acting in a separate body, had expressed their discontent even at the concessions made by the Great Charter, as they could expect no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families, and purchased the friendship of Alexander the young King of Scots, by doing homage to him.

The barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the total loss of their lives, employed a remedy no less desperate; and making applications to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would avenge them protection from the violence of their enraged prince. Though the sense of the common rights of mankind, the only rights that are entirely inde- feasible, might have justified them in the disposition of their king; they declined insisting, before Philip, on a pretension, which is commonly so disagreeable to sovereigns, and which sounds harshly in their royal ears. They affirmed, that John was incapable of succeeding to the crown, by reason of the attainder upon him of his brother, which had been reversed, and Richard had even, by his last will, declared him his successor. They pretended, that he was already legally deposed by sentence of the peers of the kingdom, and the Pope's sentence had declared all his acts of his reign to be null and void of all authority; though that sentence could not possibly regard any thing but his transmarine dominions, which alone he held in vassalage to that crown. On more plausible grounds they affirmed, that he had already deposed himself by doing homage to the Pope, changing the nature of his sovereignty, and resigning an independent crown for a fee under a foreign power. And as Blanche of Castile, the wife of Henry, was descended from the house of Stephen, from the house of Henry II. they maintained, though many other princes stood before her in the order of succession, that they had not shaken off the royal family, in choosing her husband for their sovereign.

Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize which was offered to him. Thelegate menaced him with interdicts and excommunications, if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince, who was under the immediate protection of the holy father. But Philip was assured of the obedience of his own vassals, his principles were changed with the times, and he now undervalued as much all papal censures, as he formerly pretended to observe them. His character was now in this respect with regard to the fidelity which he might expect from the


English barons in their new engagements, and the danger of estranging his son and heir into the hands of men, who might, on any caprice or necessity, make the prince a dupe, by sacrificing a pledge of so much value. He therefore exacted from the barons twenty-five hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this security, he sent over first a small army to the relief of the contending forces, which arrived with Lewis himself at their head.

The first effect of the young prince's appearance in England was the desertion of John's foreign troops, who, but for the presence of the flourishing provinces in France, refused to serve again at the heir of their monarchy. The Gascons and Poitevins alone, who were still John's subjects, adhered to his cause; but they were too weak to maintain that superiority in the field which they had hitherto supported against the confederated barons. Many considerable noblemen deserted John's party, the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, Warwick, Oxford, Albany, and William Marshal, the younger; his castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy; Dover was the only place which, from the valour and fidelity of Hubert de Burgh, the governor, made resistance to the progress of Lewis: and the barons had the melancholy prospect of finally succeeding in their designs, by occupying the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation a foreign yoke. But this union was of short duration between the French and English nobles: and the imprudence of Lewis, in sacrificing a preference so valuable to the former, increased that jealousy which it was so natural for the latter to entertain in their present situation. The vassalage of Melun, too, is said, of one of his counsellors, fell back at London, and finding the approaches of death, he set for some of his friends among the English barons, and warning them of their danger, revealed Lewis's secret intentions of exterminating them and their families. To this conclusion, the families of several of the barons, and many of the foreign princes, were incensed by the prospect of losing their estates and dignities on their native subjects, in whose fidelity he could more reasonably place confidence than in the story, whether true or false, was universally reported and believed; and concurring with other circumstances which rendered it credible, did great prejudice to the cause of Lewis. The earl of Salisbury, and other noblemen, deserted again to John's party; and as men easily change sides in a civil war, especially where their power is founded on an hereditary and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people, the French prince had reason to dread a sudden reverse of fortune. The king was assembling a considerable army, with the intention of fighting one last battle for his crown; but passing from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high water; and not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and baggage. The affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then laboured; and though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, without effect, and hisDistemper soon after put an end to his life, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign; and freed the nation from the dangers, to which it was equally exposed by his success or by his misfortunes.

The character of this prince is nothing but a compilation of vices, equally mean and odious: ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. Corrupt, indeed, by folly, levity, licence, and licentiousness, did, obscure, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty; all these qualities appear too evidently in the several incidents of his life, to give us room to suspect that the disagreeable picture has been exaggerated in his nobility. His folly and treachery to the ancient historians. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects, was most culpable; or whether his crimes, in these respects, were not equal. His levy exceeded in his transactions with the King of France, the Pope, and the barons. His European dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than have ever, since his time, been ruled by an English monarch: but by his imprudence, he so totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in prison, or seeking shelter, as a fugitive, from the pursuit of his enemies.

The prejudices against this prince were so violent, that he had been believed to have sent an embassy to the Miramont, or Emperor of Morocco, and to have offered to change his religion and become Mahometan, in order to purchase the protection of that monarch. But, though this story is told us, on plausible authority, by Matthew Paris, it is in itself utterly improbable; except that there is nothing so incredible but may be believed to proceed from the folly and weakness of John.

The monks throw great reproaches on this prince for his impetity and even effeminacy; and as an instance of it, they tell us, that, having one day caught a very fat stag, he exclaimed, How plump and well fed is this animal! and set, I dare venture, he never heard musl.* This sally of wit upon the usual corpulency of the priests, more than all his enormous crimes and iniquities, made him pass with them for an atheist.

John left two legitimate sons behind him, Henry, born on the first of October, 1207, and now nine years of age; and Richard, born on the sixth of January, 1209; and three daughters, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander King of Scots; Agnes, which was still a virgin, married to the younger son, and Isabella, married to the emperor Frederic II. All these children were born to him by Isabella of Albini, his second wife. His illegitimate children were numerous; but none of them were anywise distinguished.

It was this king who, in the ninth year of his reign, first gave by charter, to the city of London, the right of electing, annually, a mayor out of its own body, an office which was till now held for life. He gave the city also power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common-councilmen annually. London-bridge was finished in this reign. The former bridge was of wood. Maud, the empress, was the first that built a stone bridge in England.

CHAP. XII.

HENRY II.

Settlement of the government—General pacification—Death of the Protector—Some accounts—Hubert de Burgh appointed—The bishop of Winchester proctor—King's partiality to foreigners—Great ecclesiastical powers—Earl of Cornwall killed by the Romans—Defeat of the barons—Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester—Punishments of Oxford—Dissipation of the barons—Prince Edward, and wars of the Barons—Reference to the King of France—Renewal of the civil war—Battle of Lewes—House of Lancaster—Battle of Blenheim and death of Lewes—Settlement of the government—Death—and character of the King—Miscellaneous transactions of this reign.

Most sciences, in proportion as they increase and improve, invent methods by which they facilitate their inquiries: and, employing general theorems, are enabled to comprehend, in a few propositions, a great number of inferences and conclusions. History also, being a collection of facts which are multiplying without end, is obliged to adopt such arts of abridgment, to retain the more material events, and to drop all the minute circumstances, which are only interesting during the time, or to the persons engaged in the transactions. This truth is no where more evident than with regard to the reign upon which we are going to enter. What mortal could have the patience to write or read a
long detail of such frivolous events as those with which it is filled, or attend to a tedious narrative which would follow, through a series of fifty-six years, the caprices and weaknesses of so mean a prince as Henry I. The chief reason why protestant writers have been so anxious to suppress out the incidents of this reign is, in order to expose the rapacity, ambition, and artifices of the court of Rome; and to prove that the great dignitaries of the catholic church, while they pretended to have nothing in view but the salvation of souls, had bent all their attention to the acquisition of riches, and were restrained by no sense of justice or of honour in the pursuit of that great object. But this conclusion would readily be allowed them, though ill-founded, if not entirely an exception to a detail of interesting incidents; and follows, indeed, by an evident necessity, from the very situation in which that church was placed with regard to the rest of Europe. For, besides the ecclesiastical power, as it can always cover its operations under a cloak of sanctity, and attack men on the side where they dare not employ their reason, lies less under control than civil government; besides this general cause, I say, the Pope and his courtiers were foreigners to most of the churches which they governed; they could not possibly have any other object than to pillage the provinces for present gain; and as they lived at a distance, they would be little awed by shame or remorse, in employing every execrable expedient which was suggested to them. England being one of the most remote provinces attached to the Romish hierarchy, as well as the most prone to superstition, felt severely, during this reign, what鉴 was not felt fully the influence of these causes; and we shall often have occasion to touch cursorily upon such incidents. But we shall not attempt to comprehend every transaction transmitted to us; and, till the end of the reign, when the events become more important, we shall not always observe an exact chronological order in our narration.

The Earl of Pembroke, who, at the time the government of John's death, was Mareschal of England, was, by his office, at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government; and it happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, that the power could not bevey intrusted into more able and more faithful hands. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty unshaken to John, during the lowest fortune of that monarch, determined to support the authority of the infant Henry in the difficulties of this time, and the utmost violence of his enemies. Sensible that Henry, agreeable to the prejudices of the times, would not be deemed a sovereign, till crowned and anointed by a churchman, he immediately carried the young prince to the court of Canterbury, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, in the presence of Guado, the legate, and of a few noblemen, by the Bishops of Winchester and Bath. As the concurrence of the papal authority was requisite to support the tottering throne, Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the Pope, and renewed that homage to which his father had already subjected the kingdom; and in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and to give him a more regular and legal title to it, a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm.

Settlement of the government. The Earl of Pembroke, who at the time of John's death, was Mareschal of England, being, by his office, at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government; and it happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, that the power could not be intrusted into more able and more faithful hands. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty unshaken to John, during the lowest fortune of that monarch, determined to support the authority of the infant Henry in the difficulties of this time, and the utmost violence of his enemies. Sensible that Henry, agreeable to the prejudices of the times, would not be deemed a sovereign, till crowned and anointed by a churchman, he immediately carried the young prince to the court of Canterbury, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, in the presence of Guado, the legate, and of a few noblemen, by the Bishops of Winchester and Bath. As the concurrence of the papal authority was requisite to support the tottering throne, Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the Pope, and renewed that homage to which his father had already subjected the kingdom; and in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and to give him a more regular and legal title to it, a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm.

Pembroke persuaded the young men to the government of his pupil, made him grant a new charter of liberties, which, though mostly copied from the former concessions extorted from John, contains some alterations, which may be deemed remarkable. The full privilege of elections in the city, granted by the late king, was not confirmed, nor the liberty of going out of the kingdom, without the royal consent: whence we may conclude, that Pembroke and the barons, jealous of the ecclesiastical power, were desirous of bringing the king to issue a congé d'éloire and the monks and chapters, and thought it requisite to put some check to the frequent appeals to Rome. But what may chiefly surprise us in this, is, that the obligation to which John had subjected himself,
and opposite, might mutually support and sustain each other.6

These considerations, enforced by the character of honour and constancy, which Pembroke had ever maintained, had a mighty influence on the barons; and most of them began secretly to negotiate with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. The diffidence which Lewis discovered of their fidelity, forwarded this general proposition towards the king; and when the French prince refused the government of the castle of Hertford to Robert Fitz-Walter, who had been so active against the late king, and who claimed that fortress as his property, the king at length gave Pembroke command of it, and placed the trust, and that foreigners had engrossed all the confidence and affection of their new sovereign. The communication, too, denounced by the legate against all the adherents of Lewis, failed not, in the turn which men's dispositions had taken, to produce a mighty effect upon them; and they were easily persuaded to consider a cause as impious, for which they had already entertained an unaccountable averting. Though Lewis made a journey to France, and brought over succours from that kingdom, as he had found, on his return, that his party was still more weakened by the desertion of his English confederates, and that the death of John had, contrary to his expectations, given an irremovable wound to his cause. The Earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrene, together with William Mareschal, eldest son of the protector, had embraced Henry's party, and every English nobleman was plainly on his guard. Pembroke was so much strengthened by these accessions, that he ventured to invest Mount- sorel; though, upon the approach of the Count of Perce with the French army, he desisted from his enterprise, and made his terms.7 The court, elated with this success, marched to Lincoln; and, being admitted into the town, he began to attack the castle, which he soon reduced to extremity. The protector summoned all his forces from every quarter, in order to relieve a place of such importance; and he appeared so much superior to the French, that they shut themselves up within the city, and resolved to act upon the defensive.8 But the garrison of the castle, having received a strong reinforcement, made a vigorous sally upon the besiegers; while the English army, by concert, assaulted them in the same instant from without, mounted the walls by escalade, and bearing down all resistance, entered the city sword in hand. Lincoln was indeed over to be pillaged; the French army was totally routed; the Count de Perce, with only two persons more, was killed; but many of the chief commanders, and about 400 of the prisoners, were released by the English.9 So little blood was shed in this important action, that one hundred witnesses declared the fate of one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe; and such few wretched soldiers were those ancient barons, who yet were unacquainted with every thing but arms 1

Prince Lewis was informed of this fatal event while employed on the siege of Dover, which was still valiantly defended against him by Hubert de Burg. He immediately retreated to London, the centre and life of his party; and he there received intelligence of a new disaster, which put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, bringing over a strong reinforcement, had appeared on the coast of Kent, with which were attacked by the English under the command of Philip d‘Albinay, and were routed with considerable loss. D‘Alhinay employed a stratagem against them, which is said to have contributed to the victory: having gained the wind of the French, he came down upon them with violence; and throwing in their faces a great quantity of quick lime, which he purposely carried on board, he so blinded them, that they were disabled from defending themselves.2

And as the resources of the French, the English barons hastened every where to make peace with the protector, and, by an early submission, to prevent those adherents to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion. Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad, on any honourable conditions, to make his escape from a country, where he found every thing was now become hostile to him. He concluded a peace with Pembroke, promised to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a restitution of their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties which had been granted to the rest of the nation. Thus General peace was happily established by the admission of the king to be founded on the most incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

The precautions which the King of France used in the conduct of this whole affair are remarkable. He pretended that his son had accepted of the offer from the English barons, without his advice, and contrary to his inclination: the armies sent to England were levied in Lewis's name: when that prince came over to France for aid, his father publicly refused to grant him any assistance, and would not so much as admit him to his presence: even after Henry's party acquired the ascendant, and Lewis was in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, he was Blanche of Castile, his wife, not the king, his father, who misled armies and equipped fleets for his succour. All these artifices were employed, not to satisfy the Pope; for he had too much penetration to be imposed on: nor yet to deceive the people; for they were too gross even for that purpose; they only served for a colouring to Philip's cause; and, in public affairs, men are often better pleased, that they unintellectually should be confused with a secret, than that they should be wrapped up under a decent cover, than if it were exposed, in open day-light, to the eyes of all the world.

After the expulsion of the French, the prudence and equity of the protector's subsequent conduct contributed to cure entirely those wounds, which had been made by intestine discord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; observed strictly the terms of peace which he had granted them; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all past animosities in perpetual oblivion. The clergy alone, who had adhered to Lewis, were sufferers in this revolution. As they had rebelled against their spiritual sovereign, by disregarding the interdict and excommunication, it was not in Pembroke's power to make any stipulations in their favour; and Guino, the legate, prepared to take vengeance on them for their disobedience. Many of them were deposed; many suspended; some banished; and all who were punished for their connexion with the rebellion, by paying large sums to the legate, who amassed an immense treasure by this expedient.

The Earl of Pembroke did not long survive the precipice, which had been cleanly precipitated against him by his own wisdom and valour 3 and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The councils of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the licentious Some commented of the reign of Henry III. as the period of the two great houses of Anjou, the reins of subjection to their prince, and had obtained, by violence, an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority; and the people, no less than the king, reduced their outrages and disorders. They retained by force the royal castles, which they had seized during the past conquests, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector; they usurped the king's demesnes 4 they oppressed the barons, and obliged them to pay theAnthropology and the伦理论文图像。
their reissue, and to live upon their hands: and they gave them protection in all their robberies and extortions.

This infamous force was more violent and illegal practices than the Earl of Albemarle; who, though he had early returned to his duty, and had been serviceable in expelling the French, augmented to the utmost the general disorders, and committed outrages in all the counties of the North. In order to reduce him to obedience Hubert seized an opportunity of getting possession of Rockingham castle, which Albemarle had garnishted with his licentious reissue. But this nobleman, instead of submitting to this secret complicity, as he was accused and out of the castle; but he inserted a remarkable clause in the writ, that those, who paid not the fifteenth, should not for the future be entitled to the benefit of those liberties. The king was so convinced, in which the crown was fallen, made it requisite for the abbot to be a member of the royal prerogatives, as well as to the security of public liberty. Hubert applied to the Pope, who had always great authority in the kingdom, and was now considered as a trusted minister, to issue an bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty. In consequence of this declaration, the justiciary resigned into Henry's hands the two important fortresses of the Tower and Dover castle, which had been intrusted to his custody; and he required the other barons to imitate his example. They refused compliance. The Earls of Chester and Albemarle, John Constable of Chester, John de Lacy, Hugh de l'Isle, and William de Cantel, with some others, even formed a conspiracy to surprise London, and met in arms at Waltham with that intention. But finding the king prepared for defence, they desisted from their enterprise. When summoned to the court, in order to appear for the cause which they scrawled not to appear, and to confess the design. But they told the king, that they had no bad intentions against his person, but only against Hubert de Burgh, whom they had found, by justiciary, to be an instigator. They appeared too formidable to be chasht; and they were so little discouraged by the failure of their first enterprise, that they again met in arms at Leicester, in order to seize the king, who then resided at Northampton. But Henry, informed of their purpose, took care to be so well armed and attended, that the barons found it dangerous to make the attempt; and they sat down and kept Christmas in his neighbourhood. The archbishop and the prelates, finding danger of civil war, resolved, in order to preserve their church, to procure the king's reconciliation with their authority, and threatened the barons with the sentence of excommunication, if they persisted in detaining the king's castles. This menace at last prevailed; and most of the castles were surrendered; though the barons complained, that Hubert's castles were soon after restored to him, while the king still kept theirs in his own custody. There are said to have been 1115 castles at that time in England.

It must be acknowledged, that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men, who, by the sects, which were forced to appear, of the former attachment of the citizens to the French interest. The populace, in the tumult, made use of the cry of war commonly employed by the French troops. The Convention, Great and Small, was called the Levies. The justiciary made inquiry into the disorder; and finding one Constantine Fitz-Arnulf to have been the ringleader, an insolent man, who justified his crime in Hubert's presence, he proceeded against him by military law, and ordered him immediately to be hanged, without trial or form of process. He also cut off the feet of some of Constantine's accomplices. This act of power was composed of as an infringement of the Great Charter. Yet the justiciary, in a parliament summoned at Oxford, (for the great councils about this time began to receive that appellation,) made no scruple to give in the king's name a renewal and confirmation of that charter. When the assembly made application to the crown for this favour, as a law in those times seemed to lose its validity if not frequently renewed, William de Bereuwre, one of the council of regency, was so bold as to say openly, that those liberties were extorted by force, and ought not to be observed; but he was reprimanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was not countenanced by the king or his chief ministers. A new confirmation was demanded and granted two years after; and

an aid, amounting to a fifteenth of all movables, was given by the parliament, in return for this indulgence. The king issued a new charter, as a mark of the recognition of the charter; but he inserted a remarkable clause in the writ, that those, who paid not the fifteenth, should not for the future be entitled to the benefit of those liberties. The king was so convinced, in which the crown was fallen, made it requisite for the abbot to be a member of the royal prerogatives, as well as to the security of public liberty. Hubert applied to the Pope, who had always great authority in the kingdom, and was now considered as a trusted minister, to issue a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty. In consequence of this declaration, the justiciary resigned into Henry's hands the two important fortresses of the Tower and Dover castle, which had been intrusted to his custody; and he required the other barons to imitate his example. They refused compliance. The Earls of Chester and Albemarle, John Constable of Chester, John de Lacy, Hugh de l'Isle, and William de Cantel, with some others, even formed a conspiracy to surprise London, and met in arms at Waltham with that intention. But finding the king prepared for defence, they desisted from their enterprise. When summoned to the court, in order to appear for the cause which they scrawled not to appear, and to confess the design. But they told the king, that they had no bad intentions against his person, but only against Hubert de Burgh, whom they had found, by justiciary, to be an instigator. They appeared too formidable to be chasht; and they were so little discouraged by the failure of their first enterprise, that they again met in arms at Leicester, in order to seize the king, who then resided at Northampton. But Henry, informed of their purpose, took care to be so well armed and attended, that the barons found it dangerous to make the attempt; and they sat down and kept Christmas in his neighbourhood. The archbishop and the prelates, finding danger of civil war, resolved, in order to preserve their church, to procure the king's reconciliation with their authority, and threatened the barons with the sentence of excommunication, if they persisted in detaining the king's castles. This menace at last prevailed; and most of the castles were surrendered; though the barons complained, that Hubert's castles were soon after restored to him, while the king still kept theirs in his own custody. There are said to have been 1115 castles at that time in England.

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action of any moment was performed on either side. The Earl of Cornwall, after two years' stay in Guenne, returned to England.

A.D. 1227. This prince was nowise turbulent or factious in his disposition: his ruling passion was to amass money, in which he succeeded so well as to become the richest subject in Christendom: yet his attention to gain threw him sometimes into acts of violence, and thus to do injury to some persons, on private disagreement. He also professed a great contempt for the manor, which had formerly belonged to the eirdom of Cornwall, but had been granted to Waleran de Ties, before Richard had been invested with that dignity, and while the king remained in the crown. But the claim was received, and expelled the proprietor by force: Waleran complained: the king ordered his brother to do justice to the man, and restore him to his rights: the earl said, that he would not submit to these orders, till the cause should be decided against him by the judgment of his peers: Henry replied, that it was first necessary to reinstate Waleran in possession, before the cause could be heard; and he reiterated his orders to the earl. We may judge of the state of the government, when this affair had nearly produced a civil war. The Earl of Cornwall finding Henry peremptory in his commands, associated himself with the young Earl of Pembroke, who had married the king's sister, and who concerned himself in the king's requiring him to deliver up some royal castles which were in his custody. These two malcontents took into the confederacy the Earls of Chester, Warwick, Gloucester, and Hereford. Henry, disdaining to make war, was wholly disgusted on a like account. They assembled an army, which the king had not the power or courage to resist; and he was obliged to give his brother satisfaction, by grants of much greater importance than the manor which had been the first ground of the quarrel.

The character of the king, as he grew to man's estate, became every day better known; and he was found in every respect qualified for maintaining a proper sway among the turbulent barons, whom the feudal constitution subjected to his authority. Gentle, humane, and merciful even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in no other circumstance of his character; but to have received every impression from those who surrounded him, and whom he loved, for the time, with the most imprudent and most unreserved affection. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war: without policy or art, he was ill fitted to maintain peace: his remittances, though haughty and violent, were not dreadful, while he was found to drop them with such facility; his friendships were little valued, because they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with constancy. A proper pageant of a family in a noble house, had he been one who could have conducted all his affairs in his name and by his authority; but too feeble in those disorderly times to sway a sceptre, whose weight depended entirely on the firmness and dexterity of the land which held it.

The ablest and most virtuous minister displaced, that Henry ever possessed, was Hubert de Burgh; a man who had been steady to the crown in the most difficult and dangerous times, and who yet showed no disposition, in the height of his power, to enslave or oppress the people. The only exceptionable part of his conduct is that which is mentioned by Matthew Paris, if the fact be really so, and proceeded from Hubert's advice, namely, the recall publicly and the annulling of the charter of forests, a concession so reasonable in itself, and so passionately claimed both by the nobility and people: but it must be confessed, that this measure is so unlikely, both from the circumstances of the times and character of the minister, that there is reason to doubt of its reality, especially as it is mentioned by no other historian. Hubert, while he enjoyed his authority, had an eye to promote the interests of his family, and was bestowd with the highest honours and favours beyond any other subject. Besides acquiring the property of many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the King of Scots, was created Earl of Kent, and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justice of England for life; yet A.D. 1231. Henry, in a sudden caprice, threw off this faithful minister, accused him to his own detriment, and persecutions of his enemies. Among other frivolous crimes objected to him, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantment, and of profaning, from the royal treasury, a gem, which had the virtue to render the wearer invulnerable, and to give complete confidence to the King of Wales. The nobility, who hated Hubert on account of his zeal in resuming the rights and possessions of the crown, no sooner saw the opportunity favourable, than they inflamed the king's animosity against him, and pushed him to seek the total ruin of his minister. Hubert took sanctuary in a church: the king ordered him to be dragged from thence: he recolllected those orders: he afterwards demanded them: he was obliged by the clergy to restore him to the sanctuary: he constrained him soon after to surrender himself prisoner, and he confined him in the castle of Devizes. Hubert made his escape, was expelled the kingdom, was again received into favour, recovered a great share of the king's confidence, but never showed any inclination to reinstate himself in power and authority.

The man who succeeded him in the see of Winchester, and in the service of the crown, was Peter, Bishop of Winchester by birth, who had been raised by the late king, and who was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct than by his advancement; but whose name had been left by King John justiciary and regent of the kingdom during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was one chief cause of the commotion among the barons, which finally exterior from the crown the quarter of the county of Kent, and laid the foundations of the English constitution. Henry, though incapable, from his character, of pursuing the same violent maxims which had governed his father, had imbibed those principles by his mother's instructions; and the execution of Peter's advice, he invited over a great number of Pocteves, and other foreigners, who, he believed, could more safely be trusted than the English, and who seemed useful to counterbalance the great and independent power of the nobility. Every office and command was bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown, already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people, and their insolence, still more provoking than their power, drew on them the hatred and envy of all orders of men in the kingdom.

The barons formed a combination against A.D. 1235. the violeous ministry, and withdrew from parliament, on pretence of the danger to which they were exposed from the machinations of the Pocteves. When again summoned to attend, they gave for answer, that the king should dismiss his foreigners, otherwise they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on another head more worthy to wear it: such was the style they used to their sovereign! They at last came to parliament, but so well attended, that they seemed in a condition to prescribe laws to the king and ministry. Peter des Roches, however, had in the interval found means of sowing dissension among them, and of bringing over to his party the Earl of Cornwall, as well as the Earls of Leicester and Chester. The confederates were disconcerted in their measures: Richard, Earl Mareschal, who had succeeded to that dignity on the death of his brother William, was chased into Wales; he thence withdrew into Ireland, where he was treacherously murdered by the conviction of the Bishop of Winchester.

The estates of the more obnoxious barons were confiscated, without legal sentence or trial by their peers, and were bestowed on those who had declared against the king and ministry; Peter even carried his insolence so far as to declare publicly, that the barons of England must not pretend to put themselves on the same footing with those of
France, or assume the same liberties and privileges: the monarch in the former country had a more absolute power than in the latter. It had been more justifiable for him to make war upon his subjects, when the exercise of the authority of laws, could with worse grace claim any shelter or protection from them.

When the king at any time was checked in his illegal practices, and when the authority of the Great Charter was objected to him, he was wont to reply: "Why should I observe this charter, which is neglected by all my predecessors, both prelates and nobility?" It was very reasonably said to him; "You ought, Sir, to set them the example."

So violent a ministry as that of the Bishop of Winchester could not be of long duration; but its fall proceeded at last from the influence of the church, not from the efforts of the nobles. Edmond, the prior, came to court, attended by many of the other prelates, and represented to the king the pernicious measures embraced by Peter des Roches, the discontent of his people, the ruin of his affairs; and, after requiring the dismissal of the minister and his associates, threatened him with communication in case of his refusal. Henry, who knew that an excommunication so resolutive to the sense of the people, could not fail of producing the most dangerous effects, as he himself was troubled, had the natives restored to their place in council: the prior, who was a man of prudence, and who took care to execute the laws, and observe the charter of liberties, bore the chief of the mispraisers.

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The Bishop of London, in his latter days, was observed to say, that the English people were not better governed than other nations. But the truth is, that they were, perhaps, from the number of strangers in their country, more subject to the tyrant. Young ladies were invited over from Provence, and married to the chief noblemen in England, who were the king's wards. And as the source of Henry's bounty began to fail in his Savoyard ministry, and applied to Rome, and obtained a bull, permitting him to resume all past grants; absolv-

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The king's partiality and profuse bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more intolerable to the English, had anything been done meanwhile for the honour of the nation; or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with any success or glory to himself or to the public; at least, such military talents in the kingdom as might have been, to keep his barons in awe, and have given weight and authority to his government. But though he declared war against Lewis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Gascony, and had wasted the rich provinces of the Count de la Marche, who promised to join him with among them those favours, which the king ought in policy to have conferred on the English nobility, by whom his government could have been supported and defended. His mother, Isabella, who had been him four times a wife, the late king from the Count de la Marche, to whom she was betrothed, was no sooner mistress of herself by the death of her husband, than she married that noble-

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all his forces; he was unsuccessful in his attempts against that great monarch, was worsted at Taillebourg, was de-
serted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poictou, and was obliged to return, with loss of honour, into
England.2 The Guiseon nobility were attached to the English
government; because the distance of their sovereignty
allowed them to remain in a state of almost total inde-
pendence; and they claimed, some time
after, Henry's protection against an invasion,
which the King of France made upon that territory.
Henry returned into Guenne, and was more successful
in this expedition; but he thereby involved himself and
his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increased their
disorders and exposed him to greater danger from their
enemies.3
Want of economy, and an ill-judged liberality, were
Henry's great defects; and his debts, even before this ex-
pedition, had become so troublesome, that he sold all his
plate and jewels in order to discharge them. When
this expedition was first proposed to him, he asked, where he
should find purchasers? It was replied, the citizens of
London. On my word, said he, if the treasury of Augus-
tus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the pur-
bchasers; these clowns, who assume to themselves the name of
barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to ne-
cessary expences. On this he set out forward and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.4

Ecclesiastical
But the grievances, which the English
People suffered from, during this reign had reason to complain of it.
said the King of France made upon that territory
the Pope, at his desire, annulled it 5; and immediately
appointed Richard, Chancellor of Lincoln, for Archbishop
without waiting for a new election. On the death of
Henry, his son found to announce the consecration
of Newal, Bishop of Chichester; and though Henry was much
pleased with the election, the Pope, who thought that pre-
tate too much attached to the crown, assumed the power
of making this election. He rejected two clergyman
more, whom the monks had successively chosen; and he
at last told them, that, if they would elect Edmond,
treasurer of the church of Salisbury, he would confirm
their choice; and his nomination was complied with.

The Pope had the prudence to appoint both times very
worthy primates; but men could not forbear observing
the intention of thus drawing gradually to himself the right of
choice of all important dignities.
The avance, however, more than the ambition, of the see of Rome, seems to have been in this age the ground of
general complaint. The papal ministers finding a vast
stock of power amassed by their predecessors, were
disposed of turning it to immediate profit, which they en-
joyed at home, rather than of enlarging their authority in
distant countries, where they never intended to reside.
Every thing was become venal in the Romish tribunals;
aimony was openly practised; no favours, and even no
justice, could be obtained without a bribe, the highest
bidder was sure to have the preference, without regard
either to the merits of the person or of the cause; and be-
sides the unavailing pretensions of right in the decision
of controversies, the Pope openly assumed an absolute and
uncontrolled authority of setting aside, by the plentitude
of his apostolic power, all particular rules, and all privi-
leges of persons, who were not, and. could not, of the use of
remedying these abuses, Pope Honorius, in 1226, com-
plaining of the poverty of his see as the source of all griev-
ances, demanded from every cathedral two of the best
parishes, and from every canonry two of the ablest
nuns; moreover, the abbots were attached to the English
to be set apart as a perpetual and settled revenue of the
papal crown: but all men being sensible that the revenue
would continue for ever, the abuses immediately return,
his demand was unanimously rejected. About three
years after, the Pope demanded and obtained the tenth of
all ecclesiastical revenues, which he levied in a very op-
pressive manner; requiring payment before the clergy had
drawn their rents or tithes, and sending about usurers,
who advanced them the money at exorbitant interest. In
the year 1210, Otto, the legate, having in vain attempted
the clergy in the duties of their functions, was received with
hostilities and menaces, large sums from the episcopal
territory, and on his departure is said to have carried more money
out of the kingdom than he left in it. This experiment
was renewed four years after with success by Martin the
nuncio, who brought from Rome the powers of suspending
and excommunicating all clergymen that refused to com-
ply with his demands. The King, who relied on the Pope
for the support of his tottering authority, never failed
to countenance those exactions.

Meanwhile, all the chief benefices of the kingdom
were conferred on Italians; great numbers of that nation
were sent over at one time to be provided for; non-residence
and pluralities were carried to an enormous height: among
these, the most important, and however the Pope, the chaplains,
is computed to have held at
once seven hundred ecclesiastical livings; and the abuses
became so evident as to be palpable to the blind and
the nescient itself. The people, enticed by the hope of
rose against the Italian clergy, pillaged their bars;
insulted the persons of such of them as they found in the kingdom; and when the justices
made inquiry into this intrigue, the church of Rome,
whose guilt was found to involve so many, and those of so high
rank, that it passed unpunished. At last, when Innocent
IV. in 1245, called a general council at Lyons, in order
to excommunicate the Emperor Frederic, the king and
nobility sent over agents to prevent the election
of the papacy of the Romish Church. They represented,
among many other grievances, that the benefits of
the Italian clergy in England had been estimated, and were
found to amount to twenty thousand pounds a year,
which exceeded the annual revenue of the crown itself.7
They obtained only an evasive answer from the Pope; but as
mention had been made before the council, of the feudal
subjection of England to the see of Rome, the English
agents, whose head was Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk,
claimed against the pretensions, and insisted, that King
John had no right, without the consent of his barons,
to subject the kingdom to a foreigner's service. The
Pope, indeed, afraid of carrying matters too far against
England, seem theretofore to have little insisted on that
pretension.

This check, received at the council of Lyons, was not
able to stop the court of Rome in its rapacity; Innocent
exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twenti-
eth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception; the
third of such as exceeded a hundred marks a year, and the
half of such as were possessed by non-residents.8 He
claimed the goods of all instate clergymen; he pre-
tended a title to inherit all money gotten by usury; he
levied benefactions upon the people; and when the king,
contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions,
he threatened to pronounce against him the same censures,
which he had emitted against the Emperor Frederic.9

But the most oppressive expedient em-
ployed by the Pope, was the embarking of
Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily
on this side the Fure, as it was called: an enterprise,
which threw much dishonour on the king, and involved
him, during several years, in expense and care. The
Romish church, taking advantage of favourable inci-
dents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state
of feudal vassalage which she pretended to extend over
England, and the more important power of the high
spirit of this latter kingdom, she was not able to
maintain. After the death of the Emperor, Frederic II.

2 M. Paris, p. 451. The customs were part of Henry's revenue, and amounted to 600 pounds a year; they were at first small sums paid by
the merchants for the use of the king's warehouses, marts, weights, etc.
4 M. Paris, l. c. 542.
5 M. Paris, l. c. 514.
6 M. Paris, l. c. 353. 7 M. Paris, l. c. 979. 8 M. Paris, l. c. 553. 9 M. Paris, l. c. 553.
10 Innocent's bull in Hist. mer. i. p. 217, says only 20,000 marks a year.
the succession of Sicily devoted to Conradine, grandson of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed a scheme of establishing his own authority. Pope Innocent, who had incurred on violent war against the Emperor Frederic, and had endeavoured to dispossess him of his Italian dominions, still continued hostilities against his grandson; but being disappointed in all his schemes by the abilities and arts of Innocent and of Mau-

froy, he found that his own force alone was not sufficient to bring to a happy issue so great an enterprise. He pre-
tended to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior form his own choice, and by a remission of the taxes levied in Sicily; they were immense, they produced an immense, and they were engaged; the bishop and abbots, whom he acquainted with the pleasure of the Pope and of the king. Great were the surprise and indignation of the assembly; the Bishop of Worcester exclaimed, that they should be enfeoffed by the Pope to a stranger, and that the Pope could not, in plain terms, that all ecclesiastical benefices were property of the Pope, and he might dispose of them, either in whole or in part, as he saw proper. In the end, the bishops and abbots, being threatened with excommunication, which made all their revenues fall into the king's hands, were obliged to submit to the exaction: and the only mitigation which the legate allowed them was, that the tenth, already granted, should be accepted as a partial payment of the bills. But the money was insufficient for the Pope's purpose; the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever: the demands which came from Rome were endless: Pope Alexander became so urgent a creditor, that the Pope and the king entered into an agreement, and of resigning into the Pope's hands that crown, which it was not intended by Alexander that he or his family should ever enjoy.

The King of Sicily, by his last year's revenue, of which he valued himself on his foresight, in refusing to advance the

HISTORY.

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Henry. In the king's situation, either great abilities and vigour were requisite to outrace the barons, or great caution and reserve to give them. A prince less constant; and it must be confessed, that this prince was possessed of neither of these talents. He had not prudence to choose right measures; he wanted even that constancy, which sometimes gives weight to wrong ones; he was entirely despised by the barons; and at last, they ravished on them without discretion his diminished revenue, and finding that his barons indulged their disposition towards tyranny, and observed not to their own vantage, the same rules which they had imposed on the crown, he was apt, in his administration, to neglect all the salutary articles of the Great Charter; which he remarked to be so little regarded by his nobility. This conduct had extremely lessened his authority in the kingdom; he had multiplied complaints against him; and he had frequently exposed him to affronts, and even to dangerous attempts upon his prerogative. In the year 1244, when he desired a supply from parliament, the barons, complying of the frequent breaches of the Great Charter, of the many fruitless applications which they had formerly made for the redress of this and other grievances, demanded, in return, that he should give them the nomination of the next king of England, to have you elected: my subjects, and chiefly the administration of justice was committed; and, if we may credit the historian, they had formed the plan of other limitations, as well as of associations to maintain their own interests; and he proceeded to an absolute cypher, and have held the crown in perpetual populace and dependence. The king, to satisfy them, would agree to nothing but a renewal of the charter, and a general permission to communicate all the violators of it: and he received no supply, except a scatage of twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the King of Scotland; a burden which was expressly annexed to their feudal tenures.

In Henry's own declaration, when Henry demanded a new supply, he was openly reproached with a breach of his word, and the frequent violations of the charter. He was asked, whether he did not blush to desire any aid from his people, whom he professedly hated and despised, to whom on all occasions he preferred aliens and foreigners, and who groaned under the oppressions which he either permitted or exercised over them. He was told that, besides exposing his nobility by forcing them to contract unequal and mean marriages with strangers, no rank of men was so low as to escape vexations from him or his ministers; that even the victuals consumed in his household, the clothes which himself and his servants wore, were marked by which they used to supply their exorbitant expenses, and that the commerce with all nations was thus cut off by these acts of violence; that loss was added to less, and injury to injury, while the merchants, who had been despoiled of their goods, were also obliged to carry them at their own charge to whatever place the king was pleased to appoint them; that even the poor fishermen on the coast could not escape his oppressions and those of his counsellors. And though they had not full liberty to dispose of their commodities in the English market, were frequently constrained to carry them to foreign ports, and to hazard all the perils of the ocean, rather than those which awaited them from his oppressive emissaries; and that his very religion was a ground of complaint to his subjects, while they observed, that the waxen tapers and splendid silk, employed in so many useless processions, were the spoils which he had forcibly ravished from the true worshippers. And finding, in these complaints, derived from an abuse of the ancient right of purveyance, may be supposed to be somewhat exaggerated, there appears a strange mixture of real tyranny in the practices which gave rise to it, and of aristocratical liberty, or rather licentiousness, in the expressions employed by the parliament. But a mixture of this kind is observable in all the ancient constitutions; and both of them proved equally hurtful to the people.

As the king, in answer to their remonstrance, gave the parliament only good words and fair promises, attended with some humble submissions, which they had often found decent, to the barons, it appears, that in the year 1253, when he found himself again under the necessity of applying to parliament, he had provided a new petition, which he deemed ineligible, and making the voice of the barons his appeasement in that pious enterprise. The parliament, however, for some time hesitated to comply; and the ecclesiastical order sent a deputation, consisting of four prelates, the prince, and the bishop of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, in order to remonstrate with him on his frequent violations of their privileges, the oppressions with which he had loaded them and all his subjects, and the unnatural and forced elections which were made to vacant dignities. "It is true," replied the king, "I have been somewhat faulty in this particular: I offended you, my lord of Canterbury, upon your see: I was obliged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my lord of Winchester, was elected: my proceedings, I confess, were irregular, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities: I am determined henceforth to correct these defects, and I also beseech you, as a great people, to make a thorough reformation, to resign your present benefits; and to try to enter again in a more regular and canonical manner." The bishops, surprised at these unexpected sorceries, replied, that the question was not at present how to correct past errors, but to avoid them for the future. The king promised redress both of ecclesiastical and civil grievances; and the parliament in return agreed to grant him a supply, a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefits, and a scatage of three pence on each knight's fee: but as they had experienced his frequent breach of promise, they required, that he should ratify the Great Charter in a manner still more authentic and more solemn than any which he had hitherto employed. All the prelates and abbots were assembled: they held burning tapers in their hands: the Great Charter was read before them: they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should henceforth violate that fundamental law: they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, *May the soul of every one, who incurs this sentence, to stock and corrupt in hell!" The king bore a part in this ceremony; and even *So be it,* he said. He gave all these articles of his volant, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crowned and anointed." Yet was the tremendous ceremony no sooner finished, than his favourites, abusing his weakness, made him return to the same habits, and entrusted the administration both of the twenty-eight opressions, and even of the Evangelical administration; and the reasonable expectations of his people were thus perpetually eluded and disappointed.

All these imprudent and illegal measures afforded a pretext to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, to attempt an innovation of parliament, in the government, and to wrest the sceptre from the feehle and irresolute hand which held it. This nobleman was a younger son of that Simon de Montfort, who had conducted, with such valour and renown, the crusade against the Albigensians, and who, though he tarnished his famous exploits by cruelty and ambition, had left a name very precious to all the bigotry of that age, particularly to the ecclesiastics. A large inheritance in England fell by succession to this family; but as the elder brother enjoyed still more opulent possessions in France, and could not perform fealty to two masters, he transferred his right to Simon, his younger brother, who came over to England, did homage for his lands, and was raised to the dignity of Earl of Leicester. In the year 1238, he espoused Eleanor, dowager of William Earl of Pembroke, and sister to the king; but the marriage of this princess with a
subject and a foreigner, though contracted with Henry's consent, was loudly complained of by the Earl of Cornwall and all the barons of England; and Leicester was supported against their violence, by the king's favour and authority alone. But he had no sooner established himself in his possessions and dignities, than he acquired, by interruption and address, a strong interest with the nation, and by his acts of mercy and the affability of all classes of men. Yet, however, the friendship of Henry from the usual levity and fickleness of that prince; he was banished from court; he was recalled; he was intrusted with the command of Guisnes; he did good service, and obtained honours; he was again disgraced by the king, and his banishment from court seemed now final and irrevocable. Henry called him traitor to his face; Leicester gave him the lie, and told him, that, if he were not his sovereign, he would soon make him repent of that insult. Yet was this quarrel accommodated, either from the good nature or timidity of the king; and Leicester was again admitted into some degree of favour and authority. But as this nobleman was become too great to preserve an entire complaisance to Henry's humours, and to act in subserviency to his other minions; he found more advantage in cultivating his interest with the public, and in inflaming the general discontent which prevailed against the administration. He filled every place with complaints against the infringement of the Great Charter, the acts of violence committed on the people, the combination between the Pope and the king to ruin his subjects, and his neglect to ender his native subjects and barons; and though himself a foreigner, he was more loud than many in representing the indignity of submitting to the dominion of foreigners. By his hypocritical pretensions to devotion, he gained the favour of the church and clergy; for public good, he acquired the affections of the public; and besides the private friendships which he had cultivated with the barons, his animosity against the favourites created a union of interests between him and that powerful order.

A recent quarrel, which broke out between Leicester and William de Valence, Henry's half-brother, and chief favourite, brought matters to extremity; and determined the former to give full scope to his bold and unbounded ambition, which the laws and the king's authority had hitherto with difficulty restrained. He secretly called a meeting of the most considerable barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and the Earls of Warwick and Gloucester; men who by their family and possessions stood in the first rank of the English nobility. He represented to them the necessity of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than those which had hitherto appeared, from repeated experience, so unfit for the charge with which they were intrusted. He suggested the convention against the lower orders of the state, the violations of the barons' privileges, the continued deprivations made on the clergy; and in order to aggravate the enormity of this conduct, he appealed to the Great Charter, which Henry had so often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent for ever the return of those intolerable grievances. He magnified the generosity of their ancestors, who, at a great expense of blood, had extorted that famous concession from the crown; but lavished their own degeneracy, who allowed so important an advantage, once obtained, to be wrested from them by a weak prince and by insolent strangers. And he insisted, that the king's word, after so many admissions and fruitless promises on his part, could no longer be relied on; and that nothing but his absolute inability to violate national privileges could henceforth secure the regular observance of those.

These topics, which were founded in truth, and suited so well the sentiments of the company, had the desired effect; and the barons embraced a resolution of redressing these injuries, by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a parliament, in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall, clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their side: the king on his erected, struck the unusual appearance, and asked them what was their purpose, and whether they pretended to make him their prisoner; Roger Bigod replied in the name of the rest, that he was not their prisoner, but their king; and that they even intended to grant him large supplies, in order to fix his son on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected some return for this expense and service; and that, as he had frequently made the most absurd promises, his parliament had acknowledged his past errors, and had still allowed himself to be carried into the same path, which gave them such just reason of complaint, he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances. Henry was thereby allured by the hopes of supply, partly intimidated by the union and mutual appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand, and promised to summon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government, and to elect the persons who were to be intrusted with the chief authority.

This parliament, which the reigns, and was even the problem, from experience of the preceding session, at Oxford. The fusions that attended its measures, afterwards denominated the mad parliament, met on the day appointed; and as all the barons brought along with them their ministers, and their royal privateers, Henry would not, the king, who had taken no precautions against them, was in reality a prisoner in their hands, and was obliged to submit to all the terms they were pleased to impose upon him. Twelve barons were selected from among those who were sitting in the preceding parliament; to these twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted to reform the state; and the king himself took an oath, that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should make, and that the law was the proper source. Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his secret influence and direction. Their first step bore a spectacular appearance and seemed well calculated for the end which they proffered to be the object of all these innovations; they ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county; that they should make inquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament, in order to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties; a nearer approach to our present constitution than ever belonged to the nation of King John, when the knights were only appointed to meet in their several counties, and there to draw up a detail of their grievances. Meanwhile the twenty-four barons proceeded to carry some regulations, as a redress of such grievances as were supposed to be sufficiently notorious. They ordered, that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that the sheriffs should have no power of fining the barons who did not attend their courts, or the circuits of the justices; that no body should be convicted of the worship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm. Such were the regulations which the twenty-four barons established at Oxford, for the redress of public grievances. But the Earl of Leicester and his associates, having advanced so far to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in this popular course, or proceeding on the supply which they had promised him, immediately provided for the extension and continuance of their own authority. They roused anew the popular clamour, which had long prevailed against the king's half-brothers, with the ýsult to their own hands into the administration of government. Henry having summoned
to be the authors of all national grievances, and whom Henry had no longer any power to protect. The four brothers, sensible of their danger, took to flight, with an intention of making their escape out of the kingdom; they were eagerly pursued by the barons; Aymer, one of the brothers, who had been elected to the see of Winchester, took shelter in his episcopal palace, and carried the war against his brother into that place, and threatened to be dragged out by force, and to be punished for their crimes and misdemeanours; and the king, pleading the sacredness of an ecclesiastical sanction, was anxious to extricate them from this danger by banishing them the kingdom. In this act of violence, as well as in the former usurpations of the barons, the queen and her uncles were thought to have secretly concurred; being jealous of the credit acquired by the brothers, which, they found, had eclipsed and annihilated their own.

But the subsequent proceedings of the barons.

twenty-four were sufficient to open the eyes of the nation, and to prove their intention of reducing, for ever, both the king and the people under the arbitrary power of a very narrow anarchy, which must at last have terminated either in anarchy, or in a violent usurpation and tyranny. They pretended that they had not acted without directions, and the king had expressly required the reformation of the state and for the redress of grievances; and they must still retain their power, till that great purpose were thoroughly effecte...
and greater independence on the civil power, was therefore less acceptable to the court of Rome. About the same time that the barons at Oxford had instigated the new complaints of the monarchy, the clergy met in a synod at Merton, and passed several ordinances, which were not calculated to promote their own grandeur at the expense of the temporal power of the prince. They attempted to try ecclesiastics by secular judges; that the clergy were not to regard any prohibitions from civil courts; that lay patrons had no right to confer spiritual benefices; that the magistrature was obliged, without further inquiry, to imprison all excommunicated persons; that the king's father, or any other person, without any particular grant or charter, was a sufficient authority for any clerical possessions or privileges.

About a century before, these claims would have been supported by the court of Rome beyond the most fundamental articles of faith: they were the chief points maintained by the great martyr, Becket; and his resolution in defending them had exalted him to the high station which he held in the catalogue of Illustrious saints. But principles were changed with the times: the Pope became somewhat jealous of the great independence of the English clergy, which made them stand less in need of his protection, and even emboldened them to repel his authority, and to complain of the preference given to the Latin church, whose interests, it is natural to imagine, were the chief object of his concern. The Pope was, therefore, on the king's application, to annul these new constitutions of the church of England, and on the king's assurance that he had absolved the king, and all his subjects, from the oath which they had taken to observe the provisions of Oxford.

Prince Edward, whose liberal mind, though in such early youth, had taught him the great prejudice which his father had incurred, by his levity, insubordination, and frequent breach of promise, refused for a long time to take advantage of this absolution; and declared, that the provisions of Oxford, however unreasonable in themselves, and however the barons, ought still to be adhered to by those who had sworn to observe them: he himself had been constrained by violence to take that oath; yet was determined to keep it. By this scrupulous fidelity, the prince acquired the confidence of all parties, and was afterwards enabled to recover fully the royal authority, and to perform such great actions, both during his own reign and that of his father.

But the situation of Henry soon after wore A.D. 1297. a more favourable aspect. The twenty-four barons had now enjoyed the sovereign power near three years, and having completely established it, for the aggrandizement of themselves and of their families. The breach of trust was apparent to the whole world: every order of men felt it, and murmured against it: the dissensions among the barons themselves, which increased the evil, made also the remedy more obvious and easy; and the secret desertion, in particular, of the Earl of Gloucester to the crown, seemed to promise Henry certain success in any attempt to resume his authority. Yet doubt must be taken that step, so reconcilable both to justice and policy, without making a previous application to Rome, and desiring an absolution from his oaths and engagements.

The Pope's absolution from his oath, accompanied with menaces of excommunication against all opponents, trusting to the countenance of the church, to the support and the aid of the military retainers placed at his disposal, to the returning favour of the people, immediately took off the mask. After justifying his conduct by a proclamation, in which he set forth the private interest, and the breach of trust, conspicuous in Leicester and his associates, he declared that he had renounced the government,
and was determined thenceforth to exert the royal authority for the protection of his subjects. He removed Hugh Le Despenser and Nicholas de Ely, the justiciary and chancellor appointed by the barons; and put Philip Basset and Walter de Merton in their place. He substituted new sheriffs in all the counties, men of character and honour: he placed new governors in the strongholds of the realm; and put Philip Basset and Walter de Merton in their place. He substituted new sheriffs in all the counties, men of character and honour: he placed new governors in the strongholds of the realm; and put Philip Basset and Walter de Merton in their place.

On the 23d April, he met in council, and then, professing the constable, the Chancellor, with the Great Seal in his hand, gave him a sealed letter, in which he bade him understand that the King was come to their assistance, and that he was to take care of himself; and he further commanded him that he should undertake nothing without the King's consent and authority.

The King, after the death of the justiciary, returned to the castle of Winchester, and there resided, as he always did, in that city, and caused the town to be fortified, to prevent all attempts of his subjects against his person and kingdom. He was now placed upon the throne of England, with all the power and authority of that kingdom, and was the master of all the officers of the household; he summoned a parliament, in which the resumption of his authority was ratified, with only five dissenting voices: and the barons, after making every possible effort to take the king by surprise at Winchester, were obliged to acquiesce in those new regulations.

The king, in order to cut off every objection to his conduct, offered to refer all the differences between him and the Earl of Leicester, to Margaret, Queen of Scots. The celebrated integrity of Lewis gave a mighty influence to any decision which issued from his court; and Henry, probably hoped, that the gallantry, on which all barons, as true knights, valued themselves, would make them ashamed to not submit to the award of that monarch. Lewis met the confidence reposed in him. By an admirable conduct, probably as political as just, he continually intercepted the projects and operations of both Mortimer and the barons of the English: he forwarded all healing measures, which might give security to both parties: and he still endeavoured, though in vain, to soothe, by persuasion, the fierce ambition of Henry, Earl of Leicester, and to convince him how much it was his duty to submit peaceably to the authority of his sovereign.

A.D. 1265.

That bold and artful conspirator was now wisely discouraged by the bad success of his past enterprises. He endeavoured, however, secretly from his prison in the castle of Gloucester, who was his chief rival in power, and who, before his decease, had joined the royal party, seemed to open a new field to his violence, and to expose the throne to fresh attempts. He endeavoured, and formed designs designed to make forward all healing measures, which might give security to both parties: and he still endeavoured, though in vain, to soothe, by persuasion, the fierce ambition of Henry, Earl of Leicester, and to convince him how much it was his duty to submit peaceably to the authority of his sovereign.

The prince of Wales, notwithstanding the great power of the monarchs, both of the Saxen and Norman line, still preserved authority in their own country. Though they had often been constrained to pay tribute to the crown of England, they were with difficulty retained in subordination, or even in peace: and almost through every reign since the Conquest, they had infested the English frontiers with such incursions and sudden irreconcilable, as seldom merit to have place in a general history. The English, still content with repelling their invasions, and chasing them back into their mountains, had never pursued the advantages obtained over them, nor been able, even under their greatest and most active princes, to fix a total, or so much as a feudal, sujection on the country. This advantage was reserved to the present king, the weakest of his house, and the most incapable of giving the Prince of Wales, declining in years and broken with infirmities, but still more harassed with the rebellion and undutiful behaviour of his youngest son, Griffin, had refused to prevent the attempts, and had brought to a conclusion the war. He had taken the prince, and all his adherents, to his own house, and had ordered them to be kept subject his principality, which had so long maintained, or soon recovered, its independence, to vassalage under the crown of England, had purchased security and tranquility on these dishonourable terms. His eldest son and heir, David, renewed the homage to England; and having taken his brother prisoner, delivered him into Henry's hands, who committed him to custody in the Tower. That prince, endeavouring to make his escape, lost his life in the attempt; and the Prince of Wales, freed from the apprehensions of so dangerous a rival, gave more regard to the English monarch, and even renewed those incursions, by which the Welch, during so many ages, had been accustomed to infest the English borders. Lewelyn, however, the son of Griffin, who succeeded to his uncle, had been forced to renew the homage he had so long declared to the English crown, as an established right; but he was well pleased to inflame those civil discord, on which he rested his present security, and founded his hopes of future independence. He entered into a confederacy with the Earl of Leicester, and collecting all the force of his principality, invaded England with an army of 30,000 men. He ravaged the lands of Roger de Mortimer, and of all the barons who adhered to the crown? he marched into Cheshire, and committed like depredations on Prince Edward's territories; every place, where his disorderly troops appeared, was laid waste with fire and sword; and the barons, by mutual consent, made such resistance, it was found necessary that the prince himself should head the army against this invader. Edward repulsed Prince Lewelwyn, and obliged him to take shelter in the mountains of North Wales: but he was prevented from making further progress against the Welshmen by the disorders which soon after broke out in England. The Welch invasion was the appointed signal for the malcontent barons to rise in arms, and Leicester, coming with a considerable force, collected at the castle of Gloucester, and commenced an open rebellion. He seized the person of the Bishop of Hereford; a prelate obnoxious to all the inferior clergy, on account of his devoted attachment to the crown. He imprisoned Simon, Bishop of Ely, and John Mansel, because they had published the Pope's bull, absolving the king and kingdom from their oaths to observe the provisions of Oxford, were made prisoners, and exposed to the rage of the mob. The king's chief messengers were ravaged with unbounded fury; and as it was Leicester's interest to allure to his side, by the hopes of plunder, all the disorderly ruffians in England, he gave them a general licence to pillage the barons of the opposite party, and even all neutral persons. But one of the principal resources of his faction was the populace of the cities, particularly of London; and as he had, by his hypocritical pretensions to sanctity, and his zeal against the Romans, gained the banks and lower orders of the town as to his dominion over the inferior ranks of men became uncontrollable. Thomas Fitz-Richard, Mayor of London, a furious and licentious man, gave the countenance of the town to the proceedings of the violent party, which declared war against the substantial citizens, he loosen all the bands of government, by which that turbulent city was commonly but ill restrained. On the approach of Easter, the zeal of superstition, the appetite for plunder, or what is often as prevalent with the populace, as either of these motives, the pleasure of committing havoc and destruction, prompted them to attack the unhappy Jews, who were first pillaged without resistance, then massacred to the number of five hundred persons. The London bankers were next exposed to the rage of the people; and though, by taking sanctuary in the churches, they escaped with their lives, all their money and goods became a prey to the licentious multitude. Even the houses of the rich citizens, though English, were attacked by night; and was made by sword and fire to the pillage of their goods, and often to the destruction of their persons. The adherence, which so often dis-ordered the barons in the capital; and having declared war against the substantial citizens, he loosen all the bands of government, by which that turbulent city was commonly but ill restrained. On the approach of Easter, the zeal of superstition, the appetite for plunder, or what is often as prevalent with the populace, as either of these motives, the pleasure of committing havoc and destruction, prompted them to attack the unhappy Jews, who were first pillaged without resistance, then massacred to the number of five hundred persons. The London bankers were next exposed to the rage of the people; and though, by taking sanctuary in the churches, they escaped with their lives, all their money and goods became a prey to the licentious multitude. Even the houses of the rich citizens, though English, were attacked by night; and was made by sword and fire to the pillage of their goods, and often to the destruction of their persons. The adherence, which so often dis-
to sink her barge, when she should attempt to shoot the bridge; and she was so frightened, that she returned to the Tower.4

The remonstrance and fury of Leicester's faction had risen to such a height in all parts of England, that the king, unable to resist their power, was obliged to set on foot a treaty of peace; and to make an accommodation with the barons and the city of London. The king secured Hugh le Despenser to the office of chief justiciary; they appointed their own creatures sheriffs in every county of England; they took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses; they even named in the place of the bishops and abbots; and they summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order to settle more fully their plan of government. They here produced a new list of twenty-four barons, to whom they proposed that the administration of the kingdom should be committed to them, and that they should be assisted by a council chosen by themselves into which the king had not a voice; and they insisted that the authority of this junto should continue, not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of Prince Edward.

On this occasion, as at all others, the council of the royal party, had unhappily, before the king's accommodation with the barons, been taken prisoner by Leicester in a parley at Windsor; and that misfortune, more than any other incident, strengthened the barons and confirmed the unanimous resolutions imposed upon him. But Edward, having recovered his liberty by the treaty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family; and he gained a great degree of authority thereon, when he adhered to the cause of the barons. His cousin Henry d'Almaine, Roger Bigod, Earl Marshal, Earl Warrenne, Humphrey Bolun, Earl of Hereford, John Lord Basset, Ralph Basset, the Constable, Roger Percy, Robert de Brus, Roger de Leybourne, with almost all the Lords Marchers, as they were called, on the borders of Wales and of Scotland, the most warlike parts of the kingdom, declared in favour of the barons, and their acquiescence, which were scarcely well composed, were again renewed in every part of England. But the near neighbour of the parties, joined to the universal clamour of the people, obliged the king and barons to open anew the negotiations of peace; and it was agreed, by both sides, to submit their differences to the arbitration of the King of France.

Reference to the Treaty of Troyes. This virtuous prince, the only man who, in like circumstances, could safely have been intrusted with the business of authorizing the barons, had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions; and had even, during the short interval of peace, invited over to Paris both the king and the Earl of Leicester, to accommodate the differences between them; but found, that the fears and animosities on both sides, as well as the ambition of Leicester, were so violent, as to render all his endeavours ineffectual. But when this solemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgment, he was not discouraged from pursuing his honourable purpose; he summoned the states of France at Amiens; and there, in the presence of that assembly, as well as in that of the King of England, and Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial and examination. It appeared to him, that the privileges of Oxford, even had they not been extended by force, had they not been so exorbitant in their nature, and subservient of the ancient constitution, were expressly established as a temporary expedient, and could not without breach of trust, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He declared, that he was bound both by law and conscience to re-settle the king the possession of his castles, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foregoers he pleased in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of trust and dignity; and in a word, re-established the royal power in the same con-
the principal citizens, who were all secretly inclined to the royal cause. Reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and having summoned his partisans from all quarters, he thought himself strong enough to hazard a general battle with the royalists, and to determine the fate of the nation in one great engagement; which, if it proved successful, must be decisive against the king, who had no retreat for his broken troops in those parts; while Leicester himself, in case of a reverse, and to save himself, might seek shelter in the city. To give the better colouring to his cause, he previously sent a message with conditions of peace to Henry, submissive in the language, but exorbitant in the demands; and when the messenger returned with the letter and defiance from the court of Rome, the king, favoured by the Romans, he sent a new message, renouncing, in the name of himself and of the associated barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. He then marched out of the city, with his army, divided into four bodies: the first commanded by two of his sons, Henry and Guy de Montfort, together with Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had deserted to the barons; the second led by the Earl of Gloucester, with William de Montacute and John deJoin; the third, composed of Londoners, under the command of Nicholas de Segrave; the fourth headed by himself in person. The Bishop of Chichester gave a general absolution to the army accompanying with assurances, that any of them fell in the ensuing action, they should infalli-

ably be received into heaven, as the reward of their suffering in so meritorious a cause.

Battle of Lewes. Leicester, who possessed great talents for conduct, commuted this march with such skill and secrecy, that he had well nigh surprised the royalists in their quarters at Lewes in Sussex: but the vigilance and activity of Prince Edward soon repaired this negligence; and he led out the king's army to the field in three bodies. He himself conducted the van, attended by Earl Warrenne and William de Valence: the main body was commanded by the King of the Romans and his son Huntingdon, who was at the head of his principal nobility. Prince Edward rushed upon the Londoners, who had demanded the post of honour in leading the rebel army, but who, from their ignorance of discipline and want of experience, were ill fitted to resist the genius and military men, of whom the prince's body was composed. They were broken in an instant; were chased off the field; and Edward, trans- planted by his martial ardour, and eager to revenge the indignities and injuries offered to his father, and thrown to the sword for the length of four miles, without giving them any quarter, and without reflecting on the fate which in the mean time attended the rest of the army. The Earl of Warwick, with great dexterity, excited their eagerness in the pursuit, led on his remaining troops against the bodies commanded by the two royal brothers: he defeated, with great slaughter, the forces headed by the King of the Romans, and that prince was obliged to yield himself prisoner to the Earl of Gloucester: he penetrated to the body where the king himself was placed, threw it into disorder, pursued his advantage, chased it into the town of Lewes, and obliged Henry to surrender himself prisoner.1

Prince Edward, returning to the field of battle from his precipitate pursuit of the Londoners, was astonished to find it covered with the dead bodies of his friends, and still more to hear, that his father and uncle were defeated and taken against his mother.2 He took these prisoners, Hamond L'Catrane, Roger L'yeborne, and many considerable barons of his party, were in the hands of the victorious army. Earl Warrenne, Hugh Bigod, and W. de Join, his brother, were killed in the present disaster; and when the victory was acquired, they immediately took to flight, hurried to Pevseyne, and made their escape beyond sea:3 but the prince, intrepid amidst the greatest disasters, exhorted his troops to revenge the defeats of their friends, to take the Earl of Arundel, and snatch an easy conquest from an enemy disordered by their own victory.4 He found his followers intimidated by their situation; while Leicester, afraid of a sudden and

In answer to the complaints which arose on this occasion, Leicester replied, that the kingdom could well enough subsist within itself, and needed no intercourse with foreigners. And it was found that he even combined with the pretenses of the cinque ports, and received as his share the third of their rents.¹

No further mention was made of the reference in the King of France, so essential an article in the agreement of Lewes; and Leicester summoned a parliament, composed altogether of his own subjects, by which authority, that power which he had acquired by so much violence, and which he used with so much tyranny and injustice. An ordinance was there passed, to which the king's consent had been previously extorted, and which he did not resist. It was enacted, that every quarter of the royal power should be exercised by a council of nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by the majority of three, Leicester himself, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Chichester.² By this intricate plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands; as he had the entire direction of the Bishop of Chichester, and thereby commanded all the resolutions of the council of three, who could appoint or rescind at pleasure every member of the supreme council.

But it was impossible that things could long remain in this strange situation. It behoved Leicester either to desert the war into the hands of a sovereign, or to make a stand up to his energy, and his ambition, unrestrained either by fear or by principle, gave too much reason to suspect him of the latter intention. Moreover, his deletions exposed to many an injury, and he felt that the smallest incident was capable of overturning that immense and ill-cemented fabric which he had reared. The queen, whom her husband had left abroad, had collected in foreign parts an army of desperate adventurers, and had assembled a great number of ships, with a view of invading the kingdom, and of bringing relief to her unfortunate family. Lewis, detecting Leicester's usurpations and pretensions, and disgusted at the English barons, who had collected in foreign parts an army of desperate adventurers, and who were all her enterprises, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the same purpose. An English army, by the pretended authority of the captive king, was assembled on the same coast, to oppose this projected invasion; but Leicester owed his safety more to cross winds, which long detained and at last dispersed and ruined the queen's fleet, than to any resistance which, in their present situation, could have been expected from the English or dissent at pleasure every member of the supreme council.

Leicester found himself better able to resist the spiritual thunders which were levelled against him. The Pope, still adhering to the king's cause against the barons, despised his refusal to accept Guido as his legate, and ordered him to order orders to communicate by name, the three ears, Leicester, Gloucester, and Norfolk, and all others in general, who concurred in the oppression and captivity of their sovereign, and deposed the legate of England, who was at a foot within the kingdom; but Guido, meeting in France the Bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester, who had been sent thither on a negociation, commanded them, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, to carry his bull into England, and to publish it against the barons. When the prelates arrived off the coast, they were boarded by the piratical mariners of the Cinque Ports, to whom probably they gave a hint of danger which they brought along with them: the bull was torn and thrown into the sea, which furnished the affable prelates with a plausible excuse for not obeying the orders of the legate. Leicester appealed from Guido to the Pope in person; but before the ambassador appointed to defend his cause could reach Rome, the Pope was dead; and they found the legate himself, from whom they had appealed, seated on the papal throne, by the name of Urban IV. That daring leader was not a little deterred from this incurred task, and as he found that a great part of his popularity in England was founded on his opposition to the court of Rome, which was now become odious, he persisted with the more obstinacy in the prosecution of his measures.

¹ From T. Wakley, p. 93.
² From T. Wakley, p. 701, 708. There are two conflicts: 1) the reference to the French king in the treaty of Lewes, and 2) the formation of a parliament by Leicester.}

That he might both increase and turn to advantage his popularity, Leicester summoned a new parliament in London, where he knew his power was uncontrollable; and he fixed this assembly on a more democritical basis, than any which had ever been summoned since the foundation of the monarchy. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each county, and what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men, which, in former ages, had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This period is commonly esteemed the epoch of the House of Commons in England; but it is certainly the first time that historians speak of any representatives sent to parliament by the boroughs. In all the general accounts given in preceding times of these assemblies, the prelates and barons only are mentioned as the constituent members; and even in the most particular narratives delivered of parliamentary transactions, as in the trial of Thomas a Becket, where the events of each day, and almost of each hour, are carefully described or discussed, there is not, throughout the whole, the least appearance of a House of Commons. But though that House derived its existence from so precarious, and even so small a foundation, it was soon proved, when summoned by the legal princes, one of the most useful, and, in process of time, one of the most powerful, members of the national constitution; and gradually increased in authority, till it gained the upper hand from royal tyranny. But Leicester's policy, if we must ascribe to him so great a blessing, only forwarded by some years an institution, for which the general state of things had already prepared the nation; and it is otherwise inconceivable, that a plant set by so auspicious a hand, could have attained to so vigorous a growth, and have flourished in the midst of such tempests and convulsions. The feudal system, with which the liberty, much more the monarchy, of England was connected, was gradually to decline; and both the king and the commonality, who felt its inconvenience, contributed to favour this new power, which was more subservient than the barons to the regular authority of the crown, and at the same time afforded protection to the inferior orders of the state. Leicester, having thus assembled a parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals amongst the powerful barons. Robert de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, was accused in the king's name, seized and committed to custody, without being brought to any legal trial. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was summoned to London, and took shelter in the borders of Wales. Even the Earl of Gloucester, whose power and influence had so much contributed to the success of the barons, but who of late had ceased to be attached to his father-in-law, was found, with suspicion of his ancient confederacy; and he retired from parliament. This known dissension gave courage to all Leicester's enemies, and to the king's friends, who were now sure of protection from so potent a leader. Though Roger Mortimer, Hamond L'Estrange, and other powerful marchers of Wales, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, their authority still remained over the territories subjected to their jurisdiction, and there were totally inconsiderable measures disposed to give disturbance to the new government. The amnesties, inseparable from the feudal aristocracy, broke out with fresh violence, and threatened the kingdom with a new commotion, a disorder which Leicester, by his conduct, found himself in danger from the prevailing authority of his ancient confederacy; and he retired from parliament.
difficultly oppose the contumacious wishes of the nation, associated with the prince, that, in return, he should order his adherents to deliver up to the barons all their castles, particularly those on the borders of Wales; and should swear neither to depait the kingdom during three years, nor to proceed without a charter, on pain of an oath to the same effect, and he also passed a charter, in which he confirmed the a greement or Mise of Lewes, and even permitted his subjects to rise in arms against him, if he should refuse to make it. As Gloucester, on his rupture with the barons, had retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales, Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford, continued still to menace and negociate, and finally raised the siege, on the condition of his coming both the king and prince along with him. The Earl of Gloucester here concertcd with young Edward the manner of that prince's escape. He found means to convey to him a horse of extraordinary swiftness; and appointed Roger Mortimer, who had returned into the kingdom, to be ready at hand with a small party to receive the prince, and to guard him to a place of safety. Edward pretended to take the air with some of Lancaster's retinue, who were his guards; and making matches between their horses, after he thought he had tired and blown them sufficiently, he suddenly mounted Gloucester's horse, and called to his attendants, that he had long enough enjoyed the pleasure of their company, and now bid them adieu. They followed him for some time, without being able to overtake him; and the appearance of Mortimer with his company put an end to their pursuit.

The barons, secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the oppressions under which the nation laboured, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the contempt raised against the prelates, had raised an army which Leicester was utterly unable to withstand. This nobleman found himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom; surrounded by his enemies; barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whose bridges Edward had broken down; and obliged to fight the cause of his party under these multiplied disadvantages. In this extremity he wrote to his son, Simon de Montfort, to hasten from London with an army for his relief; and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view, where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed against his father, he lay secure and unguarded. But the prince, making a sudden and forced march, surprised him in his camp, dispersed his army, and took the Earl of Oxford and many other noblemen prisoners, almost without resistance. Leicester, ignorant of his son's fate, passed the Severn in boats during Edward's absence, and lay at Evesham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London; when the prince, who availed himself of every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. Edward made a body of his troops advance from the road which led to Kenilworth, and ordered them to carry the banners taken from Simon's army; while he himself, making a circuit with the rest of his forces, purposed to attack the enemy on the other quarter. Leicester very long deceived by this stratagem, and took one division of Edward's army for his friends; but at last, perceiving his mistake, and ob-

1 Ann. Wavell, p. 616.
last in the prince’s favour, who wounded his antagonist, threw him from his horse, and took him prisoner. He not only gave him his life, but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, restored his estates, received him into favour, and was ever after faithfully served by him.1

A total victory of the sovereign over so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution of government, and strengthens, as well as enlarges, for some time, the pretensions of the victor; yet no sacrifices of treason or liberty were made on this occasion; the Great Charter remained still inviolate; and the king, sensible that his own barons, by whose assistance alone he had prevailed, were as likely to desert his government as the other party, seems then forthwith to have more carefully abstained from all those exertions of power which had afforded so plausible a pretence to the rebels. The elementy of this victory is also remarkable; no blood was shed on the scaffold; no attainders, except of the Montfort family, were carried into execution; and though a parliament, assembled at Winchester, attainted all those who had borne arms against the king, easy compositions were made with them for their lands;2 and the highest sums levied on the most obnoxious offenders exceeded not five years’ rent of their estate. Even the Earl of Derby, who again rebelled, after having been pardoned and restored to his forfeited estates, to pay only two years’ rent of them, was a second time restored. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state, disjoined by so long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

The city of London, which had carried farthest the rage and animosity against the king, and which seemed determined to stand upon its defence after almost all the kingdom had submitted, was, after some interval, restored to most of its liberties and privileges; and Fitz-Richard, the mayor, who had been guilty of so much illegal violence, was only punished by fine and imprisonment. The Cowes of Leicester, the king’s sister, who had been extremely forward in all attacks on the royal family, was dismissed the kingdom, with her two sons, Simon and Guy, who proved very ungrateful for this lenity. Five years afterwards, they assassinated, at Viterbo in Italy, their cousin Henry d’Allmaine, who, at that time, was endeavouring to make their peace with the king; and by taking sanctuary in the church of the Franciscans, they escaped the punishment due to so great an enormity.3

A.D. 1267. The death of the Earl of Gloucester, after he was returned to his allegiance, had been so great in restoring the prince to his liberty, and assisting him in his victories against the rebellious barons, that it was not only due to content the king with his demeans and his youth and temperance, as well as his great power, tempted him, on some new disgust, to raise again the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. The mutinous populace of London, at his instigation, took arms; and the prince was obliged to levy an army of 30,000 men, in order to suppress them. Even this second rebellion did not provoke the king to any act of cruelty; and the Earl of Gloucester himself escaped with total impunity. He was only obliged to enter into a bond of 20,000 marks that he should never again be guilty of rebellion: a strange method of enforcing the laws, and a proof of the dangerous independence of the barons in those ages! These potent nobles were, from the danger of the precedent, averse to the execution of the laws of forfeiture and felony against any of their fellows; though they could not, with a good grace, refuse to concur in obliging them to fulfil any voluntary contract and engagement into which they had entered.

A.D. 1270. The prince finding the state of the kingdom tolerably composed, was seduced, by his avidity for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earnest solicitude of the French king, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land; and he endeavoured previously to settle the state in such a manner as to dread no bad effects from his absence. As the formidable power and turbulent disposition of the Earl of Gloucester gave him apprehensions, he insisted on carrying him along with him, in consequence of the ducal rank of a very ancient and celebrated nobleman. On the same voyage: in the mean time, he obliged him to resign some of his castles, and to enter into a new bond not to disturb the peace of the kingdom.4 He sailed from England with the Earl of Gloucester and Philip of France, who had hitherto resided in Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the intemperance of the climate and the fatigues of his enterprise. The great, if not only, weakness of his government, was the imprudent passion for Crusades; but it was this zeal chiefly that procured him from the clergy the title of St. Lewis, by which he is known in the French history; and if that appellation had not been so extremely prostituted, as to become rather a term of reproach, he seems by his uniform probity and goodness, as well as his piety, to have fully merited the title.

He was succeeded by his son, Philip, denominated the Hardy; a prince of some merit, though much inferior to that of his father. Prince Edward, not discouraged by this event, continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself by acts of valour: re- moved the king of Jerusalem from his throne, and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt.5 Meanwhile, his absence from England was attended with many of those pernicious consequences which had been dreaded from it. The laws were not executed; the barons oppressed the common people with impunity; they gave shelter on their estates to bands of robbers, whom they employed in committing ravages on the estates of their enemies; the populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness; and the old king, unequal to the burden of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant son to return,6 and to assist him in overpowering his enemies, which was ready to drop from his feeble and irresolute hands. At last, overcome by the cares of government and the infirmities of age, was visibly declining, and he expired at St. Edmundsbury, in the 64th year of his age, and 56th of his reign; the longest reign that is to be met with in the English annals. His brother, the King of the Romans, (for he never attained the title of emperor,) died about seven months before him.

The name by which the son of Henry’s character is his incapacity for government, the king, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his own ministers and favourites, and as little at his own disposal, as he was in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people. Hence too were derived his profession to favourites, his attachment to strangers, the variablems of his conduct, his hasty ressentiments, and his sudden forgiveness and return of affections. Instead of reducing the dangerous power of his nobles, by obliging them to observe the laws towards their inferiors, and setting them the salutary example in his own government; he was seduced to imitate their conduct, and to make his arbitrary will, or rather that of his ministers, the rule of his actions. Instead of accommodating himself, by a strict frugality, to the embarrassed situation in which his revenue had been left, by the military expeditions of his uncle, the dissipations of his father, and the usurpations of the barons, he was tempted to levy money by irregular exactions; which, without enriching himself, impoverished, at least disgraced, his people. Of all men, nature seemed least to have fitted him for being a tyrant; yet there are instances of excess in his reign, which, though derived from the presents

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left him by his predecessors, had been carefully guarded against by the Great Charter, and are inconsistent with all rules of good government. And on the whole we may say, that greater abilities, with his good dispositions, would have prevented him from falling into his faults; or, with worse dispositions, would have enabled him to maintain and defend them.

This prince was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance at public worship, more than any other of his on that behalf, much celebrated by ancient writers. He was engaged in a dispute with Lewis IX. of France, concerning the preference between sermons and masses: he maintained the superiority of the latter, and affirmed therein would have been written in the same manner as this, to a friend, than twenty the most elaborate discourses pronounced in his praise.

Henry left two sons, Edward his successor, and Edward, Earl of Lancaster; and two daughters, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Beatrice, Duchess of Brittany. He had five other children, who died in their infancy.

The following are the most remarkable transactions of laws enacted during this reign. There had been great disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts concerning bastardy. The common law had deemed all those to be bastards who were born before the marriage of King John; contrary to statute, and when any dispute of inheritance arose, it had formerly been usual for the civil courts to issue writs to the spiritual, directing them to inquire into the legitimacy of the person. The bishop always returned an answer agreeable to the civil law, though contrary to the municipal law of the kingdom. For this reason the civil courts had changed the terms of their writ; and instead of requiring the spiritual courts to make inquisition concerning the legitimacy of the person, it was decreed that they should be put to an examination of fact, whether he were born before or after wedlock.

The prelates complained of this practice to the parliament assembled at Merton in the twentieth of this king, and desired that the statute which had been passed should be reparable to the canon; but received from all the nobility the memorable reply, Notus ans leges Angliae naturæ, We will not change the laws of England.

After the civil wars, the parliament, summoned at Marlbridge, gave their approbation to most of the ordinances which had been established by the reforming barons, and which, though advantageous to the security of the people, had not received the sanction of a legal statute. Among these, it was the ancient, but all appeals from the courts of inferior lords should be carried directly to the king's courts, without passing through the courts of the lords immediately superior. This was one among other statutes that bear witness, more distinguished perhaps than any other, to the incapacity of the minority of the debtor. This law was reasonable, as the estates of minors were always in the hands of their lords, and the debtors could not pay interest where they had no revenue. The charter of King John had granted this indulgence: it was omitted in that of Henry III. for what reason is not known; but it was renewed by the statute of Marlbridge. Most of the other articles of this statute are calculated to restrain the oppressions of sheriffs, and the violence and iniquities committed in distraining cattle and other goods. Cattle and the instruments of husbandry formed at that time the chief riches of the people.

In the thirty-fifth year of this king an assize was made of bread, which was fixed for the different prices of corn, from one shilling a quarter to seven shillings and sixpence, money of that age. These great variations are alone a proof of bad tillage: yet did the prices often rise much higher than any tender notice of by the statute. The Chronicle of Dunstable tells us, that in this reign, wheat was once sold for a mark, nay, for a pound, a quarter; that is, three pounds of our present money. But the statute was altered in 1216, when they were the little communication between the parts of the kingdom, from the very different prices which the same commodity bore at the same time. A brewer, says the statute, may sell two gallons of ale for a penny in cities, and three or four gallons for the same price in the country. At present, such commodities, by the great consumption of the people, and the great stocks of the brewers, are rather cheapest in cities. The Chronicle above mentioned observes, that wheat one year was sold in many places for eight shillings a quarter, but never rose in Dunstable above a crown.

Though commerce was still very low, it seems rather to have increased since the Conquest; at least if we may judge of the increase of money by the price of corn. The medium between the highest and lowest prices of wheat, assigned by the statute, is four shillings and three-pence a quarter, that is, twelve shillings and nine-pence of our present money. This is near half of the middling price in our time. Yet the middling price of cattle, so late as the reign of King Richard, we find to be above eight, near ten times lower than the present. Is not this the true inference, from comparing these facts, that, in all uncivilized nations, cattle, which propagate of themselves, bear always a lower price than corn, which requires more art and stock to render it plentiful than those nations are possessed of? It is to be remarked that Henry's assize of corn was copied from a preceding assize established by the great charter of these princes. Now compared with corn and cattle may be looked on as contemporaries; and they were, not from one particular year, but from an estimation of the middling prices for a series of years. It is true, the prices assigned by the statute of Richard were more agreed upon standard than those of sheriffs and escheators; and as considerable profits were allowed to these ministers, we may naturally suppose, that the common value of cattle was somewhat higher with them. Yet still the great difference between the price of corn and cattle as that of four to one, compared to the present rates, affords important reflections concerning the very different state of industry and tillage in the two periods.

Interest lads, the money that was lent at one rate of money, should rise as interest; and when the whole increased by the addition of that which was lent at another rate, would be multiplied the whole proportion of the interest by the number of years. This was the reasoning of Richard di Santeri, who, in his book of commerce, has shown with what little advantage of the interest the king could have maintained his crown. The king was not possessed of any money, that could have enabled him to pay a great debt; and the money was again extorted; and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was obliged to pay above 4000 marks. In 1250, Henry renewed his oppressions; and the same Aaron was condemned to pay him 30,000 marks upon an accusation of forgery: the high penalty imposed upon him, and which, it seems, he was thought able to pay, is rather a presumption of his innocence than of his guilt. In 1255, the king demanded 8000 marks from the Jews, and threatened to condemn them if they did not pay. They now lost all patience, and desired leave to retire with their effects out of the kingdom. But the king replied: How can I remedy the oppressions you complain of? I am myself a debtor, and I am strapped of all my revenues; I owe above 200,000 marks; and if I had said 300,000, I should not exceed the truth: I am obliged to pay my son, Prince Edward, 15,000 marks a year. They have not the farthing; and I must have money, from any hand, from any quarter, or by any means." He then delivered over the Jews to the Earl of
Cornwall, that those whom the one brother had flayed, the other might embowel, to make use of the words of the historian. King John, his father, once demanded 10,000 marks from a Jew of Bristol; and on his refusal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he should comply. The Jew lost seven teeth; and then paid the sum required of him. One villain laid upon the Jews of Bristol, and burnt a mark in the high street, a sum equal to the whole yearly revenue of the crown.

To give a better pretext for extortion, the improbable and absurd accusation, which has been at different times advanced against that nation, was revived in England, that they had crucified a child in derision of the sufferings of Christ. Eighteen of them were hanged at once for this crime; though it is nowise credible, that even the antipathy borne them by the Christians, and the oppressions under which they laboured, would ever have pushed them to be guilty of that dangerous enormity.

But it is natural to imagine, that a race, exposed to such insults and indignities, both from king and people, and who had no uncertain an enjoyment of their riches, would carry usury to the utmost extremity, and by their great profits make themselves some compensation for their continual perils.

Commerce must be in a wretched condition, where interest was so high, and where the sole proprietors of money employed it in usury only, and were exposed to such extortion and injustice. But the bad policy of the country was another obstacle to improvements: and rendered all communication dangerous, and all property precarious. The Chronicle of Dunstable says, that men were never secure in their houses, and that whole villages were burnt down, and all its goods consumed, without exception, to the king, or his superior lord. These plunderers were careful, lest the profits, accruing from their dominion over that unhappy race, should be discovered by the monks.

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Another expedition, devised by the church of Rome, in this period, for securing her power, was the institution of new religious orders, chiefly the Dominicans and Franciscans, who proceeded with all the zeal and success that attend novelties; were better qualified to gain the populace than the old orders, now become rich and indolent; maintained a perpetual rivalry with each other in promoting their gainful superstitions; and acquired a great dominion over the minds, and consequently over the purses, of men, by pretending a desire of poverty and a contempt for riches. The quarrels which arose between these orders, lying still under the control of the sovereign pontiff, never disturbed the peace of the church, and served only as a spur to their industry in promoting the common cause; and though the Dominicans lost some popularity by their denial of the immaculate conception, a point in which they unwarily engaged too far to be able to recede with honour, they counterbalanced this disadvantage, and this error, by acquiring the confidence of kings and princes, and by exercising the jurisdiction assigned them, of ultimate judges and punishers of heresy. Thus, the several orders of monks became a kind of regular troops or garrisons of the Roman church; and though the temporal interests of society, still more the cause of true piety, were hurt, by their various devices to captivate the populace, they proved the chief supports of that mighty fabric of superstition, and, till the revival of true learning, secured it from any dangerous invasion.

The trial by ordeal was abolished in this reign by order of council: a faint mark of improvement in the age.7

Henry granted a charter to the town of Newcastle, in which he gave the inhabitants a licence to dig coal. This is the first mention of coal in England.

We learn from Madox, that this king gave, at one time, 10,000 marks gold to rob for the maintenance.9 Knights and Esquires, says the Dictum of Kenilworth, who were robbers, if they have no landlord, shall pay the half of their goods, and find sufficient security to keep the peace of the kingdom. Such were the manners of the times.

One can see the rise, during the prevalence of such manners, at the frauds and forgeries of the clergy; as it gives less disturbance to society, to take men's money from them with their own consent, though by deceit said lies, than to ravish it by open force and violence. During this reign the papal power was at its summit, and was even beginning insensibly to decline, by reason of the immeasurable avarice and extortion of the court of Rome, which disgraced the clergy as well as laity, in every kingdom of Christendom. The French, who lived in the deepest abyss of ignorance and superstition, had seriously entertained thoughts of shaking off the papal yoke; 10 and the Roman pontiff was obliged to think of new expedients for rivetting it upon the Christian world. For this purpose, Gregory IX. published his decretals, which are a collection of forgeries, favourable to the court of Rome, and consist of the supposed decrees of popes in the first centuries. But these forgeries are so gross, and confounded so palpably all language, history, chronology, and antiquities; matters more stubborn than any speculative truths whatsoever; that even that church, which is not startled at the most monstrous contradictions and absurdities, has been obliged to abandon them to the critics.

In the dark period of the thirteenth century they passed for undisputed and authentic; and men, entangled in the meshes of this false literature, joined to the philosophy, the sects, and superstitions of the time, it was not within their power to defend themselves, but some small remains of common sense, which passed for profanity and impiety, and the indelible regard to self-interest, which, as it was the sole motive of the sole monarch, was of consequence to the people, who served also, in some degree, to protect the laity against them.

7 M. Paris, p. 400.
8 Dictum.

FEDERALISM.
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for hastened to proclaim Edward, to swear allegiance to him, and to summon the states of the kingdom, in order to provide for the public peace in this important conjuncture. A. D. 1277. Walter Giffard, Arch Bishop of York, the Earl of Cornwall, 

Edward proceeded homeward; but as he soon learned the quiet settlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent near a year in France, before he made his appearance in England. In his passage by Chalons in Burgundy, he was challenged by the prince of the country to a tourney, which he was preparing; and as Edward excelled in those martial and dangerous exercises, the true image of war, he declined not the opportunity of acquiring honour in that great assembly of the neighboring nobles. But the image of war was here, unfortunately, turned into the thing itself. Edward, and his retinue, were so successful in the jousts, that the French knights, provoked at their superiority, made a serious attack upon them, which was repulsed, and much blood was shed in the quarrel. This encounter received the name of the petty battle of Chalons.

Edward went from Chalons to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in France. A. D. 1274. He then proceeded to that province, where, at some confusion. He made his journey to London through France; in his

Edward I.

Civil administration of the kingdom—Conquest of Wales—Affairs of Scotland—Death of Henry—Acquisition of Holland—Edward's Hospital in Scotland—Birth of Edward—Honour to Scotland—Awards of Edward to favour of England—War with France—Conquest of Poitou—Death of Henry—War with France—Distinction of the crown—Complaints and insolences of his father had introduced into every part of government. The plan of his policy was equally generous and prudent. He considered the great haunts both as the immediate trials of the crown, and of the safety and prosperity of the people, and provided for the exaction of justice, and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and to diminish the arbitrary power of the great, on which their dangerous authority was chiefly founded. Making it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except on extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to them by the Great Charter, he acquired a right to insist upon their observance of the same charter towards their vassals and inferiors; and he made the crown be regarded by all the gentry and commonalty of the kingdom, as the fountain of justice, and the general assu-

The Golden Treasury of the English Nation

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unhappy people. Two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once for this crime in London alone, besides those who suffered in other parts of the kingdom. The houses and lands, (for the Jews had of late ventured to enter into the trade of banking,) as theproduce of great multitudes, were sold and confiscated; and the king, lest it should be suspected that the riches of the sufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered a majority of the money raised by these confiscations to be set apart and bestowed upon such as were willing to be converted to Christianity. But resentment was more prevalent with them than any temptation from their poverty; and they refused to be induced, by interest, to embrace the religion of their persecutors. The miseries of this people did not here terminate. Though the arbitrary tajillages and exactions, levied upon them, had yielded a constant and considerable revenue to the crown, Edward, prompted by his zeal and his capacity, resolved some time after to purge the kingdom entirely of that hated race, and to scene to himself at once their whole property as the reward of his labour. He left them only money sufficient to bear their charges into foreign countries, where new persecutions and extortions awaited them; but the inhabitants of the cinque-ports, imitating the bigotry and aversity of their sovereign, despised most of their money, and every one of them, and every one into the sea: a crime, for which the king, who was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted a capital punishment upon them. No less than fifteen thousand were at this time whipped of their effects, and banished the kingdom. Very few of the kingdoms have since lived in England. And as it is impossible for a nation to subsist without lenders of money, and none will lend without a compensation, the practice of usury, as it was then called, was thereby enforced by the English themselves upon their fellow-citizens, or by Lombards and other foreigners. It is very much to be questioned, whether the dealings of these new usurers were more injurious to those who were engaged in the old. By a law of Richard it was enacted, that three copies should be made of every bond given to a Jew; one to be put into the hands of a public magistrate, another into the hands of another creditor, and a third to remain with the Jew himself. But as the canon law, seconded by the municipal, permitted no Christian to take interest, all transactions of this kind must, after the banishment of the Jews, have become more secret and clandestine; and the order of consequence, be, in the judgment of the king, impossible as a source of revenue. The king's revenues were at this time inconsiderable, and his personal income, and for the infamy and danger which he incurred by lending it. The great poverty of the crown, though no excuse, was probably the cause of this egregious tyranny exercised against the Jews; but Edward also practised other more honourable means of remedying that evil. He employed a strict frugality in the management and distribution of his revenue; he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifteenth of all movables; the Pope to grant him the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years; and the merchants to consent to a perpetual imposition of half a mark on every sack of wool exported, and a mark on three hundred skins. He also issued commissions to inquire into all encroachments on the royal demesne; into the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and into the means of reparing or improving every branch of the revenue; he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifth part of all movable property, and he ordered every person of his place to think of a perpetual and money-making establishment: a method of life which had hitherto been not against the nobility, and to question titles to estates which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. Earl Warren, who had been such eminent service in the late reign, being required to show his titles, drew his sword; and, supposing, that William, the Bastard, had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone: his ancestor was a joint adventurer in the enterprise; and he himself was determined to maintain what had from that period remained unquestioned in his family. The king, sensible of the danger, desisted from making further inquiries of this nature. But the active spirit of Edward could not long remain without employment. He soon undertook an enterprise more prudent for himself, and more advantageous to his people. Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, had frequently infringed the franchises of the Cinque ports; had entered into all their conspiracies against the crown; had frequently fought on their side; and till the battle of Evesham, so fatal to that party, had employed every expedient to relieve the royal cause, and to promote the success of the barons. In the general accommodation made with the vanquished, Lewellyn had also obtained his pardon; but as he was the most powerful and discipulous individual of the crown, he had reason to entertain anxiety about his situation, and to dread the future effects of resentment and jealousy in the English monarch. For this reason, he determined to provide for his security, by maintaining a secret correspondence with his former associates; and he even made his addresses to a daughter of the Earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from beyond seas, but being intercepted in her passage near the isles of Scilly, was detained in the court of England. This incident increasing the mutual jealousy between Edward and Lewellyn, the latter, when required to come to England, and do homage to the new king, scrupled to put himself in the hands of an enemy, desired an audience of the king; and after many of these interviews, the king's son and other noblemen delivered to him as hostages, and demanded that his consort should previously be set at liberty. The king, having now brought the state to a full settlement, was not displeased with this occasion of executing his father's law, and act of the principality of Wales. He refused all Lewellyn's demands, except that of a safe conduct; sent him repeated summons to perform the duty of a vassal; levied an army to reduce him to obedience; obtained a new kind of a fifteenth from parliament; and marched out with certain assurance of success against the enemy. The great disproportion of force between the two princes, and the circumstances of the two states were entirely reversed; and the same intestine dissensions which had formerly weakened England, now prevailed in Wales, and had even taken place in the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers to Lewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward, and they secured with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to enslave their native country. The king, anxious for the union of the two kingdoms, a situation which, through many ages, defended their forefathers against all attempts of the Saxons and Norman conquerors; he retired with his army, overpowered Lewellyn, and secured for himself to the last extremity. But Edward, equally vigorous and cautious, entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of the country; and having carefully explored every road before him, and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat. He here avoided the putting to trial the valour of a nation, proud of its ancient independence, and inflamed with animosity against its hereditary enemies; and he trusted to the slow but sure effects of famine, for reducing that people to submission. The rude and simple manners of the natives, as well as the mountainous situation of their country, had made them entirely neglect tillage, and trust to pastureage alone for their subsistence: a method of life which had hitherto secured them against the irregular attempts of the English, but exposed them to certain ruin, when the conquest of the country was speedily pursued, and prudently planned by Edward. Institute of magazines, concourses, and roads, which, as the nation, pursued, reduced all the resources of famine; and Lewellyn, without being able to strike a stroke for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and the terms imposed upon him by the victor. He bound himself to pay to Edward 50,000 pounds, as a reparation of damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to
The settlement of Wales appeared complete to Edward, that in less than two years, A.D. 1286, after he went abroad, in order to make peace between Alphonso, King of Aragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father Philip the Hardy on the throne of France. The difference between these two princes had arisen about the kingdom of Sicily, which the Pope, after his hopes from England failed him, had bestowed on Charles, brother to St. Lewis, and which was claimed, upon other titles, by Peter King of Aragon, father to Alphonso. Edward had powers from both princes to settle the terms of peace, and he succeeded in his endeavours; but as the controversy nowise regards England, we shall not enter into a detail of it. He stood abroad above three years; and on his return found many disorders to be prevailed, both from open violence, and from the corruption of justice.

Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of some note, had assembled several of his associates at Boston, in Lincolnshire, under pretence of holding a tournament, an exercise practised by the gentry only; but in reality with a view of plundering the rich fair of Boston, and robbing the merchants. To facilitate his purpose, he privately set fire to the town; and while the inhabitants were employed in quenching the flames, the conspirators broke into the booths, and carried off the goods. Chamberlain himself was accidentally wounded in the rush; but maintained the point of honour to his accomplishments, that he could not be prevailed on, by offers or promises, to discover any of them. Many other instances of robbery and violence broke out in all parts of England; though the singular circumstances attending this conspiracy have made it alone he particularly recorded by historians. But the corruption of the judges, by which the foundations of justice were undermined, A.D. 1289, seemed of still more dangerous consequence. Edward, in order to remedy this prevailing abuse, summoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial; where all of them, except two, who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity, and cashiered. The amount of the fines levied upon them is alone a sufficient proof of their guilt; being above one hundred thousand marks, an immense sum in those days, and sufficient to defray the charges of an expensive war between two great kingdoms. The king afterwards made all the new judges swear that they would take no bribes; but his expedient, of deposing and fining the old ones, was the more effectual remedy.

We now come to give an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, which gave rise to the most interesting transactions of this reign, and of some of the subsequent; though the intercourse of the two countries, whether in peace or war, had hitherto produced so few events of moment, that, to avoid tediousness, we have omitted many of them, and have been very concise in relating the rest. If the Scots had, before this period, any real history worthy of the name, except what they glean from scattered passages in the English historians, those events, however minute, yet being the only foreign transactions of the nation, might deserve a place in it.

Though the government of Scotland had Affairs of Scot been continually exposed to these factions and convulsions, which are incident to all barbarous and to many civilized nations; and though the successes of their kings, the bravery of their soldiers, and the generosity of their nobility, had often been disordered by irregularities and usurpations; the true heir of the royal family had still in the end prevailed, and Alexander III. who had espoused the daughter of Edward, probably succeeded him in the period of about eight hundred years, and through a succession of males, the supreme all the Scottish princes who had governed the nation since its first establishment on the island. This difference betwixt these two, in their young Edward's horse at Kinghorn, without leaving any male issue, and without any descendant, except Margaret, born of Eric, King of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of

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Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called the Maid of Norway, though a female, and an infant, and a foreigner, yet being the lawful heir of the kingdom, had, through the same host's care, been successively treated by the states of Scotland; and on Alexander's death, the dispositions which had been previously made against that event, appeared so just and prudent, that no disorders, as might naturally be expected, ensued in the kingdom. Margaret was acknowledged Queen of Scotland; five guardians, the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, Steward of Scotland, entered peacefully into the administration, and the infant princess, under the protection of Edward, her great uncle, and Eric, her father, who exerted themselves on this occasion, seemed happily seated on the throne of Scotland. The English monarch was naturally led to build mighty projects on this incident; and having lately, by force of arms, brought Wales under subjection, he attempted, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son Edward, to unite the whole island into one monarchy, and thereby to give security both against domestic convulsions and foreign invasions.

A. D. 1296.

The anxiety which had of late prevailed between the two nations, and which, even in former times, was usually occasioned by any violent wars or injuries, facilitated extremely the execution of this project, so favourable to the happiness and grandeur of both kingdoms; and the states of Scotland readily granted their consent. The English, however, agreed that their young sovereign should be educated in the court of Edward. Anxious, however, for the liberty and independence of their country, they took care to stipulate that in case of unexpected conditions, or that they intrusted themselves into the hands of so great and so ambitious a monarch. It was agreed that they should enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and customs; that in case of a daughter of Edward, the crown of Scotland should revert to the next heir, and should be inherited by him free and independent; that the military incursions of the crown should never be obliged to go out of Scotland, in order to do homage to the sovereign of the united kingdoms, nor the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual churches, in order to make elections; that the parliaments summoned for Scottish affairs should always be held within the bounds of that kingdom; and that Edward should bind himself under the penalty of 100,000 marks, payable to the Pope for the use of the Holy Wars, to observe all these articles.

It is not easy to conceive that two nations could have treated more on a footing of equality than Scotland and England maintained during the whole course of this transaction: and though Edward gave his assent to the article concerning the future independency of the Scotch liberties, yet by the preceding, as a mere right, he reserved no alarm to the nobility of Scotland, both because these rights, having hitherto been little heard of, had occasioned no disturbance, and because the Scots had so near a prospect of seeing them entirely absorbed in the rights of their sovereignty.

A. D. 1291.

But this project, so happily formed and so amicably conducted, failed of success, by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland, and left a very dismal prospect to the kingdom. Though disorders were for the present obviated by the next reign, yet so entirely was the succession of the crown vested, that the succession itself of the crown was now become an object of dispute; and the regents could not expect that a controversy, which is not usually decided by reason and argument alone, would be peaceably settled by them, or even by the states of the kingdom, amidst so many powerful pretenders. The posterity of William, King of Scotland, the prince taken prisoner by Henry II. of England, was extinct; the succession of Norway was disputed, by the right of the crown devolved on the issue of David, Earl of Huntington, brother to William, whose male line being also extinct, left the succession open to the present pretenders of that kingdom. The Earl of Huntington had three daughters; Margaret, married to Alan Lord of Galloway, Isabella, wife of Robert Brus or Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and Adam, who espoused Henry Lord Hastings, daughter, Deverghlda, married to John Baliol, by whom she had a son of the same name, one of the present competitors for the crown: Isabella, the second, bore a son, Robert Bruce, and another daughter, in proof of his claim, on his claim: Adam, the third, left a son, John Hastings, who pretended that the kingdom of Scotland, like many other inheritances, was divisible among the three daughters. In the first place, Edward, as a natural right of his mother, had a title to a third of it. Baliol and Bruce united against Hastings, in maintaining that the kingdom was indivisible; but each of them, supported by plausible arguments, espoused the particular title. Baliol was sprung from the elder branch: Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock; if the principle of representation was regarded, the former had the better claim: if propriety was considered, the latter was entitled to the preference; the sentiments of men were divided: all the nobility had taken part on one side or the other: the people followed implicitly their leaders: the two claimants themselves had great power and numerous subjects. The former, being a native among a rude people, more accustomed to arms than inured to laws, a controversy of this nature, which could not be decided by any former precedent among them, and which would be suggested to the minds of any legal and best established governments, should threaten the state with the most fatal convulsions.

Each century has its peculiar mode in conducting business; and men, guided more by custom than by reason, follow, without inquiry, the manners which are prevalent in their own time. The practice of that age, in controversies between states and princes, seems to have been to avoid a great number of excitements, as much as possible, by whom the question was decided, and whose sentence prevented those dismal confusions and disorders, insuperable at all times from war, but which were multiplied a hundredfold, and dispersed into every corner, by the nature of the feudal governments. It was thus that the English king and barons, in the preceding reign, had endeavoured to compose their dissensions by a reference to the King of France; and the celebrated integrity of that monarch had prevented all the bad effects which might naturally have been derived from so pernicious an expedient. It was thus that the kings of France and Aragon, and afterwards other princes, had submitted their controversies to Edward's judgment; and the remoteness of their states, the great power of the princes, and the little interest which he had on either side, had induced Edward to make less use of his influence in the decision of controversies. The parliament of Scotland, therefore, threatened with a furious civil war, and statured by the great reputation of the English monarch, as well as by the present amicable correspondence between the kingdoms, agreed in making a reference to Edward, as custumary. John Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews, with other b. Byram, vol. iv. p. 256. e Ibid. p. 462. c Heming, vol. i. p. 30. Trivulz. p. 295. d Heming, vol. i. p. 36. f Ibid. p. 36.
which he enjoyed south of the Tweed; in the same manner as the King of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch, for the tiffs which he inherited in France. And to such scandalous shifts was Edward reduced, that it must be allowed that a Scottish king had done homage to England; but he purposely omits the latter part of the sentence, which expresses that this prince did homage for the lands which he held in England.

When William, King of Scotland, was taken prisoner in the battle of Alnwick, he was obliged, for the recovery of his liberty, to swear fealty to his crown to the King of England, which was done by him. In pursuance of this great object, very advantageous to England, perhaps in the end no less beneficial to Scotland, but extremely unjust and iniquitous in itself, Edward basied himself in seeking for prospects of his pretended superiority; and instead of looking into his own archives, which, if his claim had been real, must have afforded him numerous records of the homages done by the Scottish princes, and could alone yield him any authentic testimony, he made all the monasteries a prey, and all the chronicles and histories written by Englishmen, and he collected all the passages which seemed anywise to favour his pretensions. Yet even in this method of proceeding, which was gratifying to the Scottish princes for the diminution of the claim, he was far from being fortunate. He began his proofs from the time of Edward the Elder, and continued them through all the subsequent Saxons and Norman times; but the documents are so distant in date in the judgment of his authorities during the Saxon period, when stripped of the boastful and inaccurate style of the monkish historians, is, that the Scots had sometimes been defeated by the English, and had received penalties disadvantageous to them, had made submissions to the English kings, and that had even perhaps fallen into some dependence on a power which was so much superior, and which they had not at that time sufficient force to resist. His authorities from the Norman times are lighted by quotations from the archives. The historians indeed make frequent mention of homage done by the northern potentates; but no one of them says that it was done for his kingdom, and several of them declare, in express terms, that it was that only to the skies

Edward I.
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duced) were but a feeble rampart against the power of the sword, Edward, carrying with him a great army, which was to enforce his proofs, advanced to the frontiers, and
invited the Scottish parliament, and all the competitors, to
attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on
the southern banks of the Tweed, in order to determine
that cause which had been referred to his arbitration.
But the King, far from pretending to grant a moment
arch, and was no more than what his father and the
English barons had, in similar circumstances, paid to
Lewis IX., the king, careful not to give umbrage, and de-
termined not to produce his claim of right. He did not fear
it, or did not think too much of it; a demand that was super-
orous if the fact was already known and avowed, and which
plainly betrays Edward's consciousness of his lame and
defective title. The Scottish parliament was astonished at
the suddenness of its fate, and answered them by their silence.
But the king, in order to maintain the appearance of free
and regular proceedings, desired them to remove into their
own country, to deliberate upon his claim, to examine his
proofs, and to advocate the cause of a nation which be
informed of their resolution: and he appointed a plain at Upset-
ton, on the northern banks of the Tweed, for that purpose.
When the Scottish barons assembled in this place, though
they had no intention of making any protestation against
his challenging him to a contest, or of submitting to his
expected claim, and at the fraud with which it had been
done, they found themselves betrayed into a situation,
in which it was impossible for them to make any defence
for the ancient liberties and independence of their country.
The King of England, a martial and politic prince, at
the head of a powerful army, lay at a very small distance, and
was only separated from them by a river fordable in many
places. Though by a sudden flight some of them might
make their escape, it was impossible for them to make their
entry into the country and thence to try their strength.
After a head, without union among themselves,
attached all of them to different competitors, whose
titles were all too slender to be the mere assumption of the
foreign usurper, and who were thereby reduced to an abso-
lute dependence upon him; they could only expect, by
resistance, to entail on themselves and their posterity a
more grievous and more destructive servitude. Yet, even
in this desperate state of their affairs, the Scottish barons,
as we learn from Walsingham, one of the best historians
of that period, had the courage to reply, that, till they had
a king, they could take no resolution on so momentous a
point: the journal of king Edward says, that they made
no answer at all; that is, perhaps, no particular answer
or objection to Edward's claim: and by this solution it is
possible to judge of the position of the Scottish barons.
When the king, therefore, interpreting their silence as consent,
addressed himself to the several competitors, and previously
to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledg-
ment of his superiority.
It is evident, like the genealogy of the royal family of
Scotland, that there could only be two questions about
the succession, that between Baliol and Bruce on the one
hand, and Lord Hastings on the other, concerning the
partition of the crown; and that both sides were
attached to themselves, concerning the preference of their respective
titles, supposing the kingdom indivisible: yet there appeared
on this occasion no less than nine claimants besides:
John Conyn or Cummin Lord of Bathurst, Florence
de Roche, Earl of Huntingdon, on the part of the English
barons; Robert de Vescy, Robert de Peykeyn, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick
Galtyher, Roger de Manderville, Robert de Ross; not to
mention the King of Norway, who claimed as heir to his
to the earl of March.
Seated therefore on these claims, Edward
scended from more remote branches of the royal family;
others were even sprung from illegitimate children; and
as none of them had the least pretense of right, it is natural
to conjecture, that Edward had secretly encouraged them
to appear in the list of claimants, that he might sow the
more division among the Scottish nobility, make the cause
appear the more intricate, and be able to choose among a
great number the most obnoxious candidate.
But he found them all equally obnoxious on this occa-
sion. Robert Bruce was the first that acknowledged
Edward's right of superiority over Scotland, and he had
so far foregone the pretensions, even that in his
petition, where he set forth his claim to the crown, he
laid previously applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom;
and a step which was not taken by any of the other competitors.
They all, however, with seeming willingness, made a
like acknowledgment when required; though Baliol insisted
he should give offence to the Scottish nation, had taken care
to be absent during the first days; and he was the last that
recognized the king's title. Edward next deliberated carefully about
the question of the succession in the discussion of this
great controversy. He gave orders, that Baliol, and such
of the competitors as adhered to him, should choose forty commissioners: Bruce and his adherents forty more:
and he commanded them to assemble; to sit at
Wark, to examine the cause deliberately among themselves, and make
their report to him, and he promised in the ensuing year
to give his determination. Meanwhile he pretended that it
was requisite to have all the fortresses of Scotland del-
ivered into his hands, in order to enable him, without
opposition, to put the true heir in possession of the crown;
and this exorbitant demand was complied with, both by
the states of Scotland, and by certain Barons, who died
in the castle immediately resigned their command;
except Umfreville Earl of Angus, who refused, without a
formal and particular acquittal from the parliament and
the other states, to depart, and to leave to the Scottish
dominating arbiter, who had given to Scotland so
many just reasons of suspicion. Before this assembly
broke up, which had fixed such a mark of dishonour on
the nation, all the prelates and barons there present swore
fidelity to Edward; and that prince appointed commissioners
to receive a like oath from all the other barons and
persons of distinction in Scotland.
The king, having finally made, as he imagined, this
important acquisition, left the commissioners to sit at
Wark, and examine the titles of the several competitors who
claimed the precarious crown, which Edward was willing
to give some share to the lawful heir to enjoy. He went
southwards, both in order to assist at the funeral of his
mother, Queen Eleanor, who died about this time, and to

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and Woodforde. See NEUFRING, p. 183. WALSINGE, p. 50. HENINGFORD, p. 497. Yet the same country is called by other historians, Lanark
Lanarkshire, or Lanark, Lanarkshire, as shown in some names. See N. PARK, p. 66. M. WEST, p. 547. AND W. IV. 1, p. 50. W. W. I. 3, p. 501. (See our last memoir of the
when he speaks of Lornish in Scotland, calls it Lanarkshire, p. 214, though two different places appear to be meant.
I thought this was not necessary, in order to correct Mr. Carter's misapprehension, no such new pronouns and no new words
have been given light to many passages of the most ancient English history.
at that time appear to have been men of the same language commonly made use of by all parties on that occasion. Indeed,
persons who have been in the service of the same monarch at the same time, as well as among the different
the whole barons, were of French origin; they valued themselves upon it, and pretended to despise the language and manners of the island.

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It is difficult to account for the settlement of so many French families in Scotland, the Bruce, Balats, St. Clair, Murray, Gordon,
Good为民, Fraser, Common, Colville, Umfreville, Morewatt, Hay, Maule, who were not supported them in England, by the power of the
sword. But the subterfuge of the smallest cruelty and knowledge over the brutal pretensions of the Scotch barons, is pugnacious.
M. BETN, p. 56. M. BETN, p. 496. It is said by WALSINGE, vol. i, p. 37, that the king had the Scotch barons, and turned them over
by letter of compliance, at least to silence.
practiced among the barons of England, as well as among the whole barons, who were of French origin; they valued themselves
upon it, and pretended to despise the language and manners of the island.

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W. IV. vol. ii, p. 536.
The violence, robberies, and disorders, to which that age was so subject, were not confined to the licentious barons and their retainers at land: the sea was equally infested with piracy; the feeble execution of the laws had given licence to all orders of men; and a general appetite for rapine and revenge, supported by a false sense of honour, had also infected the merchants and mariners; and it was under these circumstances that the English people, by a violent and immediate retaliation upon the aggressors. A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast near Bayonne; and both of them having occasion for water, they War with sent their boats to land, and the seamen coming to the same morning, there ensued a quarrel for the preference; a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman; who, grappling with him, threw his adversary on the ground; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his sword, was slain.\(^1\) This scuffle between two seamen about water, soon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mari- ners of the Norman ship carried their complaints to the French king: Philip, without inquiring into the fact, with- out demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter.\(^2\) The Normans, who had never been more regular in their proceedings, were not needed but this hint to proceed to immediate violence. They seized an English ship in the channel; and hanging, along with some dogs, several of the crew on the yard arm, in presence of their companions, dismissed the ves- seled, and lade their death on the ship's side. This was real vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This injury, accompanied with so general and deliberate an insult, was resented by the mar- iners of the Cinque Ports, who, without carrying any com- plaint to the king, or waiting for redresses, retaliated, by committing like barbarities on all French vessels without distinction. The French, provoked by their losses, preyed on the ships of all England's subjects; another English merchant, Gascon: the sea became a scene of piracy between the nations: the sovereigns, without either subsequent or re- pression of the violence of their subjects, seemed to remain indifferent spectators: the English made no associa- tions with the Irish and Dutch seamen; the French with the Flemish and Genoese.\(^3\) And the animosities of the people on both sides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine and other commodities; and, in their passage, seized all the English ships which they met with, hanged the seamen, and seized the goods. The in- habitants of the English sea-ports, informed of this inci- dent, fitted out another armament, well equipped and man- nered than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle, they put them to rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them.\(^4\) No quarter was given; and it is apprehended that the loss of the French amounted to fifteen thousand men: which is accounted for by this circumstance, that the Norman fleet was employed in transporting a considerable body of sol- diers from the south.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the sovereigns. On Philip's sending an envoy to demand reparation and restitution, the king despatched the Bishop of London to the French court, in order to accommodate the quarrel. He first said, that the English courts of justice were open to all men; and if any Frenchman were injured, he might seek redress by course of law.\(^5\) He next offered to adjust the matter by private arbiters, or by a personal interview with the King of France, or by a reference either to the Pope or the col- lege of cardinals, or any particular cardinals agreed on by both parties.\(^6\) The French, probably the more disgusted, as they were beaten in the field, gave him the opportunity of these expedients: the vessels and the goods of merchants

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were confiscated on both sides: depredations were continued by the Gascouins on the western coast of France, as well as by the English in the channel; Philip cited the queen to Paris, and answer for these offences: and Edward, apprehensive of danger to that province, sent John St. John, an experienced soldier, to Bordeaux, and gave him direction to the queen in a posture of force. Gascouins proved themselves unable to oppose.

That he might, however, prevent a final rupture between the nations, the king despatched his brother, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, to Paris, with a large sum of money, which he had espoused for the Queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, Queen of France, he seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to accommodate the difference. Jane pretended herself as did many others, to have been entirely taken in by her hopes of advancing her son to the throne of France. The king dowager, signed the same amicable disposition: and these two princesses told Edmund, that the circumstance the most difficult to adjust, was the point of honor with Philip, who thought himself affronted by the injuries committed against him by his sub-vassals in Guienne: but if Edward would once consent to give him seizin and possession of that province, he would think his honor fully repaired, would engage to restore Guienne immediately, and would accept of a very easy satisfaction for all the other injuries. The king was consulted on the occasion; and as he then found himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, which he regarded as the most pressing affair at that moment, he yielded to this proposal, blinded by his favourite passion for subduing that nation, allowed himself to be deceived by so gross an artifice. He sent his brother orders to sign and execute the treaty with the two princesses: Philip solemnly promised to execute part of it; and the king's citation to appear in the court of France was accordingly recalled: but the French monarch was so soon put in possession of Guienne, that the cittadels which were taken in the recovery of Gascony, where he had not retained a single place in his hands, he endeavoured to compensate that loss, by forming alliances with several princes, who, he projected, should attack France on all quarters, and make a diversion of her forces. Adolphus, Duke of Saxony, was one of the persons who proposed of the King of England for that purpose; as did also Amadus, Count of Savoy, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Counts of Gueldre and Luxembourg, the Duke of Brabant, Count of Namur, and Count of Flanders, who married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor; but these alliances were extremely burdensome to his narrow revenues, and proved in the issue entirely ineffectual. More impression was made on Guienne by an English army, which he completed by emptying the jails of thousands of thieves and robbers, who had been confined there for their crimes. So low had the profession of arms fallen, and so much had it degenerated from the estimation in which it stood during the vigour of the feudal system!

A. D. 1293. The king himself was detained in England, first by contrary winds, then by his apprehensions of a projected invasion, and by a rebellion of the Welsh, whom he repressed and brought again under subjection. The army which he sent to Guienne, was commanded by his nephew, John de Britagne, Earl of Richmond, and under him by St. John, Tweto, de Vere, and other officers of reputation; who made themselves masters of the town of Bayonv, as well as of Bourg, Biere, Reole, St. Severe, and other places, which structured Bordeaux, and cut off its communication both by sea and land. The favour which the Gascouins bore to the English government facilitated these conquests, and seemed to promise still greater successes; but this advantage was soon lost by the sudden death of some of the officers: Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, who commanded the French armies, having had siege to Podensac, a small fortress near Reole, obliged Giffard, the governor, to capitulate; and the articles, though favourable to the English, were such that the English nation, of which all whom above fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels: a policy, by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an inexplicable breach between them and the French share in the alliance; it was the Earl of Richmond himself commanded; and as the place seemed not tenable, the English general drew his troops to the water-side, with an intention of embarking with the greater part of his army. The enraged Gascouins fell upon his rear, and at the same time opened their gates to the French, who, besides making themselves masters of the place, took many prisoners of distinction. St. Severe was more vigorously defended by Hugh de Vere, son of the Earl of Oxford; but was at last obliged to capitulate.

The French king, not content with these successes in Gascony, threatened England with an invasion; and, by a sudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover; but were obliged soon after to retire. And in order to make a greater diversion of the English force, and engage Edward in dangerous and important wars, he formed a secret alliance with the Dauphin, King of Scotland; the commencement of that treaty, two months before the close of the fourteenth century, was maintained, by mutual interests and necessities, between the French and Scottish nations. John confirmed this alliance, by stipulating a marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Charles de Valois, par-"
law in execution, he could assemble a small part only of the ancient force of the kingdom. It was a usual expedient for men who held of the king or great barons by military tenure, to transfer their land to the church, and receive it back by another tenure, called frankalamogny, by which the king or baron offered no servitude. A law was made against this practice; but the abuse had probably gone far before it was attended to, and probably was not entirely corrected by the new statute, which, like many others, was likely to have been interpreted and felt but feebly executed by the magistrate against the perpetual interest of so many individuals. The constable and maréchal, when they mustered the armies, often in a hurry, and for want of better information, received the service of a baron for fewer knights' fees than were due by him; and one precedent of this kind was held good against the king, and became ever after a reason for diminishing the service.6 The rolls of knights' fees were inaccurately kept; no care was taken to correct them before the armies were summoned into the field; 4 it was then too late to think of examining records and charters; and the service was accepted on the footing which the vassal himself was pleased to acknowledge, after all the various subdivisions and conjunctions of property had thrown an obscurity on the nature and extent of his tenure. It is easy to judge of the intricacies which would attend disputes of the kind. In the thirteenth century, the number of military fees belonging to the church, whose property was fixed and unalterable, became the subject of controversy; and we find in particular, that, when the Exchequer was once a civil and a military government, the claims for the ad levied on occasion of the marriage of Henry 11.'s daughter to the Duke of Saxony, the prelate acknowledged ten, and disowned the other sixty.7 It is not known in what manner this difference was terminated; but had the question been concerning an armament to defend the kingdom, the bishop's service would probably have been received without opposition for ten fees; and the service he owed to the king not at all. But before the Pecuniary scutages, therefore, diminished as much as military services: other methods of filling the exchequer, as well as the armies, must be devised; new situations produced new laws and institutions; and the great alterations in the finances and military power of the crown, as well as in private property, were the source of equal innovations in every part of the legislature or civil government.

The existing estates conferred on the Norman by his barons and chieftains, remained not long entire and unimpaired. The landed property was gradually shared out into fewer hands; and those immense baronies were divided into a number of smaller estates, the assignations among co-heirs, by sale, or by beseeching to the king, who gratified a great number of his courtiers, by dealing them out among them in smaller portions. Such moderate estates were easily sold by the proprietors to live at home, were better calculated for duration; and the order of knights and small baronies grew daily more numerous, and began to form a very respectable rank of order in the state. As they were all immediate vassals of the crown by military tenure, they were, by the principles of the feudal law, equally entitled with the greatest barons to a seat in the national or general councils; and this right, though regarded as a privilege, which the advantages of their situation predisposed them to have solicited, was also considered as a burden, which they desired to be subjected to on extraordinary occasions only. Hence it was provided in the charter of King John, that while the great barons were summoned to the national council by a particular writ, the small barons, under which appellation the knights were also comprehended, should only be called by a general summons of the sheriff. The distinction between great and small barons, like that between rich and poor, was not exactly defined; but agreeably to the inaccurate genius of that age, and to the simplicity of ancient government, was left very much to be determined by the discretion of the king and his ministers. It was usual for the prince to require, by a particular summons, the attendance of a baron in order to the service of his vassal; or, in other words, to make a new appointment, in whatever form, of a constable and marshal, but he did not mix up all the barons into one order with the greatest barons, it gave them no surprise to see him take his seat in the great council, whether he appeared of his own accord, or by a particular summons from the king. The barons by writ, therefore, began gradually to intermix themselves with the barons by tenure; and as Camden tells us,1 from an ancient manuscript, now lost, that, after the battle of Evesham, a positive law was enacted, prohibiting every baron from attending in parliament who was not invited thither by a particular summons, the whole baronage of England held thenceforward their seat by writ, and this important privilege of their tenures was in effect abjured. Only, it is said, that the writs had been regularly continued for some time in one great family, the omission of them would have been regarded as an affront and even as an injury. A like alteration gradually took place in the order of peers, who were regularly summoned in the same manner. The dignity of an earl, like that of a baron, was anciently territorial and official: 4 he exercised jurisdiction within his county: he levied the third of the fines to his own profit: he was at first once a civil and a military governor. The law of feudal tenure, the right from the ad levied on occasion of the marriage of Henry 11.'s daughter to the Duke of Saxony, the prelate acknowledged ten, and disowned the other sixty.7 It is not known in what manner this difference was terminated; but had the question been concerning an armament to defend the kingdom, the bishop's service would probably have been received without opposition for ten fees; and the service he owed to the king not at all. But before the Pecuniary scutages, therefore, diminished as much as military services: other methods of filling the exchequer, as well as the armies, must be devised; new situations produced new laws and institutions; and the great alterations in the finances and military power of the crown, as well as in private property, were the source of equal innovations in every part of the legislature or civil government.

6 Madon's Baronia Anglica, p. 114. c Ibid. p. 115. d W. MS. of Domesday II, who took up the roll; and the recess, called Liber Rogeri Scaccari, was the result of it. 6 An account of the state of the barons 6 ibid., p. 157. 7 Hist. of each, p. 604. b The king, by his parks, and the many marks, as king Richard's rams, twenty shillings were imposed on each knight's fee. I had the fees regarded as a gross and a public nuisance, by the Liber Scaccari, and that it would have amounted to 50,000 mark, which was nearly the sum required. But we find that other privileges were imposed to complete it. a certain proof that many fines and abees had prevailed in the roll of knights' fees. b Chancellor Winchmore's Inquiry into the manner of creating Peers, p. 49. c Ibid. d T. 1. e T. 3. f 1. g Spence. Glos. in Vose. Corm. h Glos, in Vose. Corm. i Essays on the Anglo-Saxons. Thus, to the barons of the kingdom, who were known to have been much more influential in Scotland and the kingdom on the continent, than in England, their seats in parliament were not granted. m There are instances of princes of the blood who accepted of the office of sheriff. Spence in Vose. Fin. Temp. L.
royal power, and had rendered it more difficult and dangerous for the prince to exert any extraordinary act of arbitrary authority. In this situation, it was natural for the king's permanent faithful circle of officers and attendants — the barons of the royal household, whose influence was no ways dangerous to him, and who, being exposed to oppression from their powerful neighbours, sought a legal protection under the shadow of the law: — the peers, therefore, if not from the presence of the thing in parliament, where they served to control the turbulent resolutions of the great. To exact a regular attendance of the whole body would have produced confusion, and while nothing were too heavy a burden upon them: 

16 The writs were usually about 120 lines and boroughs.

17 The proceedings and resolutions of the council were not recorded, and have been preserved in their original character, and in the hands of the king, from the presence of the thing in parliament, where they served to control the turbulent resolutions of the great. To exact a regular attendance of the whole body would have produced confusion, and while nothing were too heavy a burden upon them:

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all the boroughs, without distinction, the tax agreed to by the majority of deputys.  

The union, however, of the representatives from the boroughs gave gradually more weight to the whole order; and it became customary for them, in return for the supply of money, to have the major part of the country under the power of the crown. The House of Commons, however, being a body of men in whom the majesty itself was vested, could never agree to intrust the business of the nation to the guidance of the House of Commons, unless they were absolutely more to be trusted than the House of Commons.
an affair of chance, but arose from the necessities of the present situation, is, that Edward, at the very same time, summoned deputies from the inferior clergy, the first that ever met, and did require them to impost so many taxes on their constituents for the public service. Formerly the ecclesiastical benefices bore no part of the burdens of the state: the Pope indeed, of late, had often levied impositions, but he had sometimes granted the power to the sovereign: the king himself had in the preceding year exacted, by menaces and violence, a very grievous tax of half the revenues of the clergy: but as this tax was very dangerous, and could not easily be repeated in a government which required the consent of the subject to any extraordinary resolution, Edward found it more prudent to assemble a Lower House of convoca-
tion, given to the clergy, to receive the dispensations of that power, and expecting the most violent effects of their remonstrance, which he knew he had so well merit-
ed; employed the supplies granted him by his people in making preparations against the hostilities of his northern neighbour. When in this situation, he received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip; and though uneasy at this concurrence of a French and Scottish war, he resolved not to en-
courage his enemies by a pusillanimous behaviour, or by yielding to their untold efforts. He sum-
mom John to perform the duty of a vassal, and to send him the supply of forces and materials against an invasion from France, with which he was then threatened: he next required that the fortresses of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxborough, should be put into his hands as a secu-
ritv-guard; and he exorted him to appear in an English parliament, to be held at Newcastle: and when none of these successive demands were complied with, he marched northward with numerous forces, 30,000 foot, and 4000 horse, to chastise his rebellious vassal. The Scottish nation, who had little relish on the vogue and abilities of their prince, assigned himso council of twelve noblemen, in whose hands the sovereignty was really lodged; and who put the country in the best posture of which his present distinguished features would admit. A great army, composed of 40,000 infantry, though supported only by 500 cavalry, advanced to the frontiers; and after a fruitless attempt upon Carlisle, marched eastwards to defend those provinces which Edward was preparing to attack. But some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles, Robert Bruce the father and son, the Earls of March and Angus, prognosticating the ruin of their coun-
try from foreign invasion, endeavoured here to ingratiate them-
selves with Edward, by an early submission; and the king, encouraged by this favourable incident, led his army into the enemy's country, and crossed the Tweed without a struggle. On the 25th of March, he received a message from John, by which he was informed that Prince, having now procured for himself and his nation Pope Celestine's dispensation from former oaths, he had avowed his former treaty, and received the garrison were put to the sword; and Edward, elated by this great advantage, despatched Earl Warren with 12,000 men to lay siege to Dunbar, which was defended by the inhabitants on a strong reinforcement of Welch and Irish, who, being accustomed to a desultory kind of war, were the best fitted to pursue the fugitive Scots into the re-
cesses of their lakes and mountains. But Scotland sub-
mitted by their misfortunes; and the feeble and timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, abandoned all those resources which his people might yet have possessed in this extremity. He hastened to make his submissions to Edward; he expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown. This momentous act was confirmed by the king ed northwards to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy: no Scotchman approached him but to pay him submission and do him homage: even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averse to the restraint of laws, endeavoured to prevent the devastation of their country, by giving him early proofs of obedience: and Edward, having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned to the south with his army. There was a stone to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration; all their kings were seated on it when they received the right of inaugurating an ancient tradition, and assured them, that, wheresoever this stone was placed, their nation should always govern: and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarchy, and their ultimate resource amidst all their misfortunes. Edward got possession of it; and carried it with him to England. He gave orders to destroy the records, and all those monuments of antiquity, which might preserve the memory of the independence of the kingdom, and refuse the origin of the possessions and independence of the people. He hastened, that he also destroyed all the annals preserved in

1 Archbishop Wale's State of the Church of England, p. 235. Brede
of Borrow, p. 51. Gilbert's Hist. of the Earl, p. 49

2 1609, supra, p. 89. 100

3 Gilbert's Hist. of Earl, p. 51, 54

But not rude and unpolished, he was possessed of any history which deserves much to be regretted. The great seal of Baliol had been broken, and he himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years after, he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; whereas, without his consent, it was said to have been forced for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private station. Earl Warenne was left governor of Scotland: Englishmen were intrusted with the chief offices; and Edward, flattering himself, that he had ended all of his wrongs, and that the numerous acts of fraud and violence, which he had practised against Scotland, had terminated in the final reduction of that kingdom, returned with his victorious army into England.

With an attempt which he made about the same time, for the recovery of Guenne, was not equally successful. He sent thither an army of 7000 men, under the command of his brother, the Earl of Lancaster, and with all the advantages over the French at Bourdeaux: but he was soon after seized with a distemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the Earl of Lincoln, who was not able to put any thing considerable during the rest of the campaign.

But the active and ambitious spirit of Edward, while his conquests brought such considerable acquisitions to the English, never suffered him to rest. The ancient patrimony of his family, which was wrested from him by the dishonourable arts of the French monarch, he resolved to recover. Finding that the distance of that province rendered all his forces insufficient for this attempt, he proposed to attack France in a quarter where she appeared more vulnerable; and with this view he married his daughter, Elizabeth, to John, Earl of Holland, and at the same time engaged them - with the archbishop of York, who, related to pay him the sum of 75,000 pounds, and projected an invasion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy. He hoped that, when he himself, at the head of the English, Flemish, and Dutch armies, reinforced by his German allies, to whom he had promised or remitted considerable sums, should enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itself, Philip would at least be obliged to relinquish his acquisitions, and purchase peace by the restoration of Guenne. But, in order to set this great machine in movement, considerable supplies were requisite from the parliament; and Edward, without much difficulty, obtained from the barons and knights a new grant, and induced them to renew their service against the church, on account of the former zeal of the clergy for the Moorfoot faction, made him resolve to load them with still more considerable impositions; and he required of them a fifth of their moveables. But he here met with an opposition, which for some time disconcerted all his measures, and engaged him to enterprises, that were somewhat dangerous to him; and would have proved fatal to any of his predecessors.

Dimensions with Boniface VIII. who had succeeded Celestine, the clergy, in the papal throne, was a man of the most lofty and enterprising spirit: and, though not endowed with the qualities which accompanied ambition in men of his order, he was determined to carry the authority of the tiara, and his dominion over the temporal power, to so great a height as it had ever attained in any former period. Sensible that his immediate predecessors, by oppressing the church in every province of Christendom, had extremely alienated the affections of the clergy, and had afforded the civil magistrate a pretence for making inroads into the spiritual revenues, he attempted to resume the former station of the sovereign pontiffs, and to establish himself as the common protector of the spiritual order against all invaders. For this purpose, he issued very early in his pontificate a general bull, prohibiting all princes from levying, without his consent, any taxes on the clergy of any kind, to exempt them from paying them to the secular clergy; and he threatened both of them with the penalties of excommunication in case of disobedience. This important edict was followed by the arrest of the bishop of Chichester, John de Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, who intended to employ it as a rampart against the violent extortions which the church had felt from Edward, and the still greater which the new laws threatened to inflict on them. His request to the pope for a subsidies gave them reason to apprehend. When a demand, therefore, was made on the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, a tax which was probably much more grievous than a fifth of their revenue, as their hands were mostly stocked with their cattle, and cultivated by their vassals; the clergy took shelter under the bull of Pope Boniface, and pleaded conscience in refusing compliance. The king came not immediately to extremities on this repulse; but, after a serious negociation, in which much sensible priviledge, on which they set so high a value. He had formerly seized, in an arbitrary manner, all the money and plate belonging to the churches and convents, and had applied them to public use. He was not satisfied, however, but expect more violent treatment on this sharp refusal, grounded on such dangerous principles. Instead of applying to the pope for a relaxation of his bull, he resolved immediately to employ the power in his hands; and he told the ecclesiastics, that, since they refused to support the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws. This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; to do every man justice, and to execute every sentence. The ecclesiastics soon found themselves in the most miserable station imaginably. They could not remain in their own houses or convents for want of subsistence; if they went abroad in search of rest or maintenance, they were, if not robbery, robbed of their horses and clothes, abused by every rufian, and no redress could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The prince himself was attacked on the highway, was stripped of his equipage and furniture, and was at last reduced to board himself, with a single servant, in the house of a country clergyman. The king, meanwhile, remained an indiffernt spectator of all these violations; and without employing his officers in committ-
from the Scots, voluntarily, from the first, voted a fifth of their movables; the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and some others, made a composition for the secular clergy within their dioceses: and they agreed not to pay the fifth, which would have been an act of disobedience to Boniface's bull, but on condition of obtaining from some church appurtenant to the king's officers. Many particular convents and clergymen made payment of a like sum, and received the king's protection. Those who had not so far proceeded interceded for their neglect; and they were discharged. And there was scarcely found one ecclesiastic in the kingdom, who seemed willing to suffer, for the sake of religious privileges, this new species of martyrdom, the most terrible and unmerited of all. It was owing to the great variety, spiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up, with such ostentation, to her devoted adherents.

Arbitrary. But as the money granted by parliament, though considerable, was not sufficient to supply the king's necessities, and that levied by compositions with the clergy came in slowly, Edward was obliged, for the obtaining of further supply, to exert his arbitrary power, and to lay an oppressive hand on all orders of men in the kingdom. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool allowed to be exported; and at the same time forced them to pay him a duty of forty shillings a sack, which was the third of the value of their goods. He seized all the rest of the wool, as well as all the lether of the kingdom, into his hands, and disposed of these commodities for his own advantage. He required the sheriffs of each county, when they came to him, with 2000 marks of their gold, and as many of oats, which he permitted them to seize wherever they could find them; the cattle and other commodities necessary for supplying his army were laid hold of without the consent of the owners: and though he promised to pay afterwards the equivalent of all these goods, men saw but little probability that a prince, who submitted so little to the limitations of law, could ever, without violence, respect the rights of property. He showed, at the same time, an equal disregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of his kingdom were held: in order to increase his army, and enable him to support that great effort which he intended to make against France, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he held not of the crown, and was not obliged by his tenure to perform any such service.

These acts of violence and of arbitrary power, notwithstanding the great personal regard generally borne to the king, were the order of the day; and it was not long ere the greater nobility, jealous of their privileges as well as of national liberty, came countenance and authority to these complaints. Edward assembles on the sea-coast an army, which he purposed to send over to Guienne, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders; and he intended to put these forces under the command of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the Constable, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the Marschall of England. But these two powerful earls refused to execute his commands, and affirmed, that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued, and the king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the constable, exclaimed, Sir Earl, by God, you shall either go or hang. By God, Sir King, replied Hereford, I will neither go nor hang! And he immediately departed with the marshall, and above thirty other considerable barons.

Upon this opposition, the king had aside the project of an expedition against Guienne; and assembled the forces which he himself purposed to transport into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated in the contest and elated by impunity, pretending that none of their ancestors had ever served in that country, refused to perform the duty of their office in mustering the army. The king, now finding it advisable to proceed with moderation, instead of assuaging the ears, who possessed their dignities by hereditary right, appointed Thomas de Berkeley, and Geoffrey de Gurney, to act, in that emergency, as constable and marschall, respectively. He made the great number of the nobility in Westminster-hall, to whom he designed to make an apology for his past conduct. He pleaded the urgent necessities of the crown; his extreme want of money; the great engagement of his spirit; and his lack of interest to support his foreign allies: and he promised, if ever he returned in safety, to redress all their grievances, to restore the execution of the laws, and to make all his subjects compensation for the lesser hardships they had sustained. Meanwhile, he begged them to suspend their animosities; to judge of him by his future conduct, of which, he hoped, he should be more master; to remain faithful to his government; to forget in the present war, to preserve their allegiance to his son and successor.

There were certainly, from the concurrence of discontent among the great, and grievances of the people, materials sufficient, in any other period, to have kindled a civil war in England. But Edward kept every one in awe; and his dexterity, in stopping on the brink of danger, and retracting the measures to which he had been pushed by his violent temper and arbitrary principles, showed how readily he could have turned the two great earls dared not to break out into open violence: they proceeded no further than framing a remonstrance, which was delivered to the king at Windsor, when he was mild and moderate, and which was not in consequence of the violations of the Great Charter and that of forests; the violent seizures of corn, leather, cattle, and above all, of wool, a commodity which they affirmed to be equal in value to all others in the kingdom, and to which these demands was the greatest of the king's necessities, was the great concessions of any of forty shillings a sack on the small quantity of wool allowed to be exported by the merchants; and they claimed an immediate redress of all these grievances. The king told them, that the greater part of his council were now at a distance, and without their advice he could not deliberate on measures of so great importance.

But the constable and marschall, with the disobedience of their adherents, perceived the advantage of Edward's absence, and to obtain an explicit assent to their demands. When summoned to attend the parliament at London, they came with a great body of cavalry and infantry; and before they entered the city, required as a condition to their coming, that the privy seal should be given up to their custard. The privy seal, who secretly favoured all their pretensions, advised the council to comply; and thus they became masters both of the young prince and of the resolutions of parliament. Their demands, however, were moderate, and such as sufficiently justify the purity of their intentions in all their past measures: they only required, that the two charters should receive a solemn confirmation; that a clause should be added to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament; and that they themselves and their adherents, who had refused to attend the king into Flanders, should be pardoned for the offences, and be restored to all the honours of their rank. The prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms; and the charters were sent over to the king in Flanders, to be there confirmed by him. Edward felt the utmost reluctance to this measure, which, he apprehended, would fetter the future impose fœters on his conduct, and set limits to his lawless authority. On various pretences, he delayed three days giving any answer to the decrees; and when the period expired, and the sureties of his refusal were represented to him, he was at last obliged, after many internal struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as also to the clause that bereaved him of
power which he had hitherto assumed, of imposing arbitrary taxes upon the people. 

That we may finish at once this interesting transaction concerning the settlement of the charters, we shall briefly mention the subsequent events which relate to it. The complaints of national privilege, Three knights' oaths, and the consequences of the appointment of the king's officers, were satisfied; and not only ceased from disturbing the government, but assisted the regency with their power against the Scots, who had risen in arms, and had thrown off the yoke of Edward. Indeed, it was alleged that the smallest pretence would suffice to make Edward retract these detested laws, which, though they had often received the sanction both of king and parliament, and had been acknowledged by the people, were declared to have sufficient validity; which insisted that he should again confirm them on his return to England, and should thereby renounce all plea which he might derive from his residing in a foreign country, when he formerly affixed his seal to them. It appeared that they judged right of Edward's character and intentions: he delayed this confirmation as long as possible; and when the fear of worse consequences obliged him again to comply, he expressly added a new fee of his royal dignity or prerogative, which in effect enervated the whole force of the charters. 

The two ears and their adherents left the parliament in disgust; and the king was constrained, on a future occasion, to make a more formal declaration of his pure and absolute confirmation of those laws, which were so much the object of their passionate affection. Even further securities were then provided for the establishment of national privilege. Three knights, appointed to be chosen in each county, and were invested with the power of punishing, by fine and imprisonment, every transgression or violation of the charters; a precaution, which, though it was soon disused, as encroaching too much on royal prerogative, proves the attachment which the English in that age bore to liberty, and their well-grounded jealousy of the arbitrary disposition of Edward.

The work, however, was not yet entirely finished and complete. In order to execute the lesser charter, it was requisite, by new perambulations, to set bounds to the royal forests, and to dispossess all land which former encroachments rendered waste. Edward discovered the same reluctance to comply with this equitable demand; and it was not till after many delays on his part, and many solicitations and requests, and a few days' imprisonment of the chief of the barons, that the perambulations were made, and exact boundaries fixed, by a jury in each county, to the extent of his forests. Had not his ambitious and active temper raged against the customs and habits of his time, he might have recourse so often to the assistance of his subjects, it is not likely that those concessions could ever have been extorted from him.

But while the people, after so many successful struggles, deemed themselves happy in the secure possession of their privileges, they were surprised in 1305 to find that Edward had secretly applied to Rome, and had procured from that mercenary court an absolution from all the oaths and engagements, which he had so often reiterated, to observe both the charters. There are some historians so credulous as to imagine, that this perilous step was taken by him for no other purpose than to acquire the merit of granting charters or confirmations of charters, as he did so soon after; and a confirmation so much the more unquestionable, as it could never after be invalidated by his successors, on pretence of any force or violence which he might have used against them. But the granting of this might have been done with a better grace, if he had never applied for any such absolution, the whole tenor of his conduct proves him to be little susceptible of such refinements in patronage and this very deed itself, in which he never confirmed the charters, carries the face of it a very opposite presumption. Though he ratified the charters in general, he still took advantage of the papal bull so far as to invalidate the late perambulations of the forests, which had been made with such care and attention, and to reserve to himself the power, in case of its favourable incidents, to create and extend his own arbitrary jurisdictions. If the power was not in fact made use of, we can only conclude, that the favourable incidents did not offer.

Thus, after the contests of near a whole century, and these ever accompanied with violent jealousies, often with public convulsions, the Great Charter was finally established; and the English nation have the honour of extorting, by their own strength, the defence of their liberties, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of all their princes. It is computed, that above thirty confirmations of the charters were at different times required of these kings, and granted by them, in full parliament; a precaution which, while it discovers some ignorance of the true nature of law and government, proves a laudable jealousy of national privileges in the people, and an extreme anxiety lest contrary precedents should ever be pleased as an authority for restraining them. Accordingly, we find that though arbitrary practices often prevailed, and were even able to establish themselves into settled customs, the validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally questioned and disputed, but was regarded as the basis of English government, and the sure rule by which the authority of every custom was to be tried and examined. The jurisdiction of the Star-chamber, martinet courts, imprisonment, and perambulations, of privy-council, and other practices of a like nature, though established for several centuries, were scarcely ever allowed by the English to be parts of their constitution: the affection of the nation for liberty still prevailed over all precedent, and even all political reasoning: the exercise of these powers, after being long the source of secret murmurs among the people, was, in fullness of time, solemnly abolished as illegal, at least as oppressive, by the whole legislative authority.

To return to the period from which this account of the charters has led us: though the king's impatience to appear at the head of his armies in Flanders made him overlook all considerations, either of domestic dispatches or of commotions among the Scots; his embarkation had been so long retarded by the various obstructions thrown in his way, that he lost the proper season for action, and after one memorable battle, and the defeat of the enemy, the King of France, taking advantage of his absence, had broken into the Low Countries; had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes; had made himself master of Ypres, St. Omer, and many other places, and seemed in a situation to take full vengeance on the Earl of Flanders, his rebellious vassal. But Edward, seconded by an English army of 30,000 men, (for this number assigned by historians, was able to stop the career of his victories; and Philip, finding all the weak resources of his kingdom already exhausted, began to dread a reverse of fortune, and to apprehend an invasion on France itself. The King of England on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from Adolph, King of the Romans, which he bad purchased at a very high price, and finding many urgent calls for his presence in England, was desirous of easing, on any honourable terms, a war which, as it is said, next to the execution of more important projects. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities for two years; and engaged them to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pons de Bouches.

Boniface was among the last of the sovereign pontiffs that exercised an authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes; and these exorbitant pretensions which he had been attempted to assume from the successful example of his predecessors, but of
which the season was now past, involved him in so many
calamities, and were attended with so unfortunate a catas-
trophe, that they have been scarcely abandoned, though
never openly relinquished, by his successors in the apo-
tolic chair. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal
claims, took care to insert in their reference, that Boniface
was made judge of the difference by their consent, as
a prudent conduct in right of the Pope; and the
Pope, without seeming to be offended at this mortifying
clause, proceeded to give a sentence between them, in
which they both acquiesced. 9
He brought them to agree, that
the Pope should be and was increased, and that of Edward
himself, who was now a widower, with
Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the Prince of Wales,
with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. 10 Philip was
likewise willing to restore Guinevere to the English, which
he himself, indeed, no word prudence to desire; but he
insisted that the Scots, and their king, John Baliol, should,
as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and should be
Pard with restored to their liberty. The difference,
after several disputes, was compromised, by
their making mutual sacrifices to each other. Edward
agreed to abandon his ally, the Earl of Flanders, on con-
tition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally, the
Earl of Scots. The prospect of conquering these two
countries, whose situation made them so commodious an
acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all
other considerations; and though they were both finally
dismissed with this noble offer, their contract was very recep-
tible to the principles of an interested policy. This
was the first specimen which the Scots had of the French
alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a
small power may always expect, when it blindly attaches
itself to the will and fortunes of a greater. That unhappy
people, now engaged in a brave though unequal contest
for their liberties, were totally abandoned, by the ally in
whom they reposed their final confidence, to the will of an
insolent conqueror.

Revisit of England, as well as other Euro-
pean countries, was, in its ancient state, very ill qualifyed for
making, and still worse for maintaining, conquest. Scots, Selden,
and very much inferior in its military
force, and was so ill situated for receiving foreign succours,
that it is no wonder Edward, an ambitious monarch,
should have cast his eye on so tempting an acquisition,
which brought both security and greatness to his native
country. But the instruments whom he employed to
maintain his dominion over the northern kingdom, were
not happily chosen; and acted not with the requisite pru-
dence and solicitude in the prosecution of his
plan. The late Sir John of Cressingham, and Cressingham, who bore the office of treasurer;
and a small military force remained, to secure the precari-
uous authority of those ministers. The latter had no other
object than the amassing of money by rapine and injustice:
the former distinguished himself by the rigour and severity
of his temper: and both of them, treating the Scots as a
conquered people, made them sensible, too early, of the
grievous servitude into which they had fallen. As Ed-
ward required that all the proprietors of land should swear
fidelity to him, every one who refused or delayed giving
this testimony of submission, was outlawed and imprisoned,
and punished without mercy; and the bravest and most
generous part of the nation were thus exasperated, to
the highest degree, against the English government.

There was one William Wallace, of a small fortune, but
descended of an ancient family in the west of Scotland, who
never openly renounced, by his ancestors in the apostolic
chair. Edward required that all the proprietors of land should swear
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This man, whose valorous exploits are the object of just admira-
tion, but not the subject of imitation, by his nation, was thus exasperated;
and the prop-
totions of his countrymen, had been provoked by the in-
solence of an English officer to put him to death; and
finding himself obstinately, on that account, to the severity
of the administration, he fled into the woods, and offered
himself as a leader to all those whom his crimes, or bad
fortune, or avowed hatred of the English, had reduced to
a like necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force of
body, with heroic courage of mind, with disinterested
magnanimity, with incredible patience, and ability, to bear
brutal treatment, to answer the ravings of hunger, for
which he was not more sensitive than a pauper, when he
sooon acquired, among those desperate fugitives, that
authority to which his virtues so justly entitled him.
Beginning with small attempts, in which he was always
successful, he proceeded to more momentous enterprises;
and he discovered equal caustion in executing his
followers, and valor in annoying the enemy. By
his knowledge of the country, he was enabled, when pursued,
to assure a retreat among the moorasses, or forests, or
mountains, and thereby favoured and protected himself,
he unexpectedly appeared in another quarter, and sur-
pised, and routed, and put to the sword, the unwary
English. Every day brought accounts of his great actions,
which were received with no less favour by his country-
men than terror by the enemy: all those who thirsted after
military fame were desirous to partake of his renown: his
successful valour seemed to vindicate the nation from the
ignominy of the same, in which it had been involved, as long
as it was subject to the English: and though no nobleman of note ventured as yet to join his party, he had gained a general confidence and
attachment, which birth and fortune are not alone able
to confer.

Wallace having, by many fortunate enterprises, brought
the valour of his followers to correspond to his own, re-
solved to strike a decisive blow against the English govern-
ment; and he concerted the plan of obtaining an army of
40,000 men, of whom he expected to find an equal number
at Scote, and of taking vengeance on him for all the vio-
ience and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The
scourge, apprized of his intentions, fled hastily into
England; all the other officers of that nation imitated his
example: they were alarmed at the thought of being
brought round to the Scots, who betook themselves to arms in every quarter. Many
of the principal barons, and among the rest Sir William Douglas, 9 openly countenanced Wallace's party:
RobertBruce, and many other gentlemen in
Scotland, were for the most part convinced, that the
purpose of the English was to enslave Scotland, and to
consolidate his dominion. Bruce, finding that no
salvage of himself, promised to deliver hostages for their good behaviour, and received a pardon for past
delicts.5 Others who had not yet declared themselves,
such as the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Lenox,
joined, though with reluctance, the English army; and
wished a favourable opportunity for enhancing the cause
of their distressed country. But Wallace, whose au-
thority over his retainers was more fully confirmed by the
presence of his noble companions, persevered obstinately in
his purpose; and finding himself unable to give battle to the
enemy, he resolved to retire into the mountains, by its isolation of
ominating the war, and of turning to his advantage the situa-
tion of that mountainous and barren country. When
Wallace advanced to Surling, he found Wallace encamp-

9 By n. ii. vol. ii. p. 323.
12 On the 14th of September, 1297.
who sincerely adhered to the English, he ordered his army to pass a bridge which lay over the Forth; but he was soon convinced, by fatal experience, of the error of his conduct. Wallace, allowing such numbers of the English to pass, to serve his front; lined the interval behind the bridge, and when they were fully formed, put them to rout, pushed part of them into the river, destroyed the rest by the edge of the sword, and gained a complete victory over them. Among the slain were those whom they expected the most, an extremely odious to the Scots, that they flayed their dead body, and made saddles and girds of his skin. Warrene, finding the remainder of his army much dismayed by the first success, was obliged to retire to his own, and remain behind the bridge, and retire into England. The castles of Roxborough and Berwick, ill fortified and feebly defended, fell soon after into the hands of the Scots.

Wallace, universally revered as the deliverer of his country, now received, from the hands of his followers, the dignity of regent or guardian under the captive Rabid; and finding that the disorders of war, as well as the unfavourable seasons, had produced a famine in Scotland, he urged his army to march into England, to subsist at the expense of the enemy, and to revenge all past injuries by retaliating on that hostile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing possible under such a leader, joyfully attended his advice. In the meantime, he employed during the winter season, hid every place waste with fire and sword; and after extending on all sides, without opposition, the fury of his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, and the counties of Lincoln and Yorkshire, he returned with glory, into his own country. The disorders which at that time prevailed in England, from the refractory behaviour of the constable and mareschal, made it impossible to collect an army sufficient of their enemy, and exposed the nation to this loss and dishonour.

But Edward, who received in Flanders intelligence of these events, and had already concluded a truce with France, would not allow himself to be imposed upon by his activity and valor, not only of wipping off this disgrace, but of recovering the important conquest of Scotland, which he always regarded as the chief glory and advantage of his reign. He appeared immediately, and was received by the citizens of London the election of their own magistrates, of which they had been bereaved in the latter part of his father's reign; he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the corn and other goods which had been violently seized before his departure, as if he intended to pay the value to the owners; and making public professions of confining and observing the charters, he regained the confidence of the disaffected, and himself, with his brother Edward, the popular arts, rendered himself entire master of his people, he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, and marched with an army of near a thousand thousand men, to the north country, and to the northern frontiers.

Nothing could have enabled the Scots to resist, but for one season, so mighty a power, except an entire union among themselves; but as they were deprived of their king, whose personal qualities, even when he was present, appeared so contemptible, and had left among his subjects no principle of attachment to him or his family; factions, jealousies, and animosities unavoidable arose among the great, and distracted all their councils. The elevation of Wallace, though purchased by so great merit, and such eminent services, was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to see a private gentleman raised above them by his rank, and still more by his glory and reputation.

Wallace himself, sensible of their jealousy, and dreading the ruin of his country from those intestine discord, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of his followers, who, being accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the Stewart of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch; men of equal birth, under whom the great chieftains were more willing to serve. The two Scottish commanders, collecting their several forces from every quarter, fixed their station at Falkirk, and purposed there to abide the assault of the English. Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scottish army placed their pikemen along the whole of their front; followed the interval, and loaded the great superiority of the English in cavalry, endeavoured to secure their front by pulliards, tied together by ropes. In this disposition they expected the entrance of the English archers, and to divide his army into three bodies, he led them to the attack. The English archers, who began about this time to suffer those of other nations, first chascd the Scottish bowmen off the field; then pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooled up within their intrenchments, threw them into disorder, and rendered the assault of the English pikemen and cavalry more easy and successful. The whole Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter; which the historian, attending more to the exaggerated relations of the populace, than to the probability of things, make amount to fifty or sixty thousand men. It is only certain, that the Scots never suffered a greater loss in any action, and what appeared to threaten more irrevocable ruin to their country.

In this general rout of the army, Wallace's military skill and presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire; he made the Cavally charge, and retiring on the Carloway, along the banks of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Bruce, who had already given many proofs of his aspiring genius, but who served hitherto under the English, appeared on this occasion, and distinguished the Scottish chief, as well by his majestic port as by the intrepid activity of his behaviour, called out to him, and desired a short conference. He here represent to Wallace the danger which was prepared for him, which he was engaged; and endeavoured to bend his inflexible spirit to submission under superior power and superior fortune. He insisted on the unequal contest between a weak state, deposed of its head and agitation by internal discord, and a mighty nation, conducted by the ablest and most martial monarch of the age, and possessed of every resource either for proscribing the war, or for pushing it with vigour and activity. If the love of his country, and his motive for perseverance, his obstinacy tended only to prolong her misery; if he carried his views to private grandeur and ambition, he might reflect, that, even if Edward should withdraw his armies, it appeared from past experience, that the loss of Scotland, and the pre-emience of their families, would never submit to personal merit, whose superiority they were less inclined to regard as an object of admiration, than as a reproach and injury to themselves. To these exhortations he replied, that, if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was solely because no second or competitor, or what he rather wished, no leader, had yet appeared to place himself in that honourable station; that the blame lay entirely on the nobility, and chiefly on Bruce himself, who wanting personal merit to dignify of family, had desert ed the post which both nature and fortune, by such powerful calls, invited him to assume; that the Scots possessed of such a head, would, by their unanimity and concord, have surmounted the chief difficulty under which they now laboured, and might hope, notwithstanding their present misfortunes, to recover all their past glory and abilities of Edward; that Heaven itself could not set a more glorious prize before the eyes either of virtue or ambition, than to join, in one object, the acquisition of royalty with the defence of national independence; and that as the interests of his country, more than those of any man, could never be sincerely cultivated by a sacrifice of liberty, he himself was determined, as far as possible, to prolong, not her misery, but her freedom, and was desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might terminate, when they could no otherwise be pro-
served than by prevailing the chains of a haughty victor. The gallantry of these sentiments, though delivered to an armed enemy, struck the generous mind of Bruce; the flame was conveyed from the breast of one hero to that of another; he repented of his engagements with Edward; and opening his breast to the heroism pointed out to him by Wallace, secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of embracing the cause, however desperate, of his oppressed country. A.D. 1299.

Conquering this great victory of Edward, was not yet entirely completed. The English army, after reducing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of provisions; and left the northern counties in the hands of the Scotch. The Scots, not less enraged at their present defeat, than elated by their past victories, still maintained the costest for liberty; but being fully sensible of the great inferiority of their force, they endeavoured, by applications to foreign courts, to procure to themselves some assistance. The supplications of the Scottish ministers were rejected by Philip; but were more successful with the court of Rome. Boniface, pleased with an occasion of exerting his authority, wrote a letter to Edward, exhorting him to put a stop to his oppressions on Scotland, and displaying all the proofs, such as they had probably been furnished him by the Scots themselves, for the ancient independence of the Scotch kingdom. Among other arguments, in a paragraph hinted at above, he mentioned the treaty conducted and finished by Edward himself, for the marriage of his son with the heiress of Scotland; a marriage which had been wholly abjured, had he been a superior lord of the kingdom, and had possessed, by the feudal law, the right of disposing of his ward in marriage. He mentioned several other striking facts, which fell within the compass of Edward's own knowledge, particular to Alexander, when he did homage to the king, openly and expressly declared in his presence, that he swore fealty, not for his crown, but for the lands which he held in England: and the Pope's letter might have passed for a reality stroke on the British monarchy. It is not possible to enumerate all the particulars of these arguments, as the Pope's letter, containing particulars no less singular and remarkable. It there proves the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the particulars of the Trojan, who, as a British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel: he supports his position by all the events which passed in the island before the arrival of the Romans: and after laying great stress on the extensive dominions and heroic victories of King Arthur, he vouchsafes at last to descend to the time of Edward the elder, with which, in his speech to the states of Scotland, he had chosen to begin his claim of supremacy. He asserts it to be, a fact, notorious and confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects; had dethroned these vassal kings when unfaithful to them; and had substituted others in their stead. He displays, which may amount, the full and complete homage which William had done to Henry II. without mentioning the formal abdication of that exerted dux of King Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet this paper he begins with a solemn appeal to the Almighty, the Searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and no less than a hundred and four bars assembled in public council, in Lincoln, concur in this opinion. The Pope, under their seals, the validity of these pretensions. At the same time, however, they take care to inform Boniface, that though they had justly caused their

*This story is told by all the Scotch writers: though it must be owned that Trivet and Hemingford, authors of good credit, both agree that Bruce was present at that time with Edward's army.

1 Hemer, vol. ii. p. 111.
2 Ibid. p. 353.
Edward, having completed his conquest, which employed him during the space of near two years, now undertook the more difficult work of settling the country, of establishing a new form of government, and of making his acquisition durable to the crown of England. He seems to have carried matters to extremity against the natives: he arrogated all the Scottish laws and customs; he endeavored to substitute the English to their place; he entirely rased or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity: such records or histories as had escaped his former search were now burnt or dispersed: and he hastened by too precipitate steps, to abolish entirely the Scottish name, and to sink it finally in the English.

Edward, however, still deemed his former conquest exposed to some danger, so long as Wallace was alive; and being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to discover his retreat, and become master of his person. At last, that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidst the universal cries of joy, still to maintain his independence, was betrayed into Edward's hands by Sir John Monteil, his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. The king, whose usual severity, in the absence of the English, had made him to respect like qualities in an enemy, enraged at some acts of violence committed by Wallace during the fury of war, resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity: he ordered Wallace to be carried to the castle of Castle, where he was to be tried as a traitor, though he had never made submissions, or sworn fealty to England, and to be executed on Towerhill. This was the unworthy fate of a hero, who, through a course of many years, had possessed the respect of his countrymen, industry, perseverance, defended, against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The Scots, already distrustful at the great innovations introduced by the sword of a conqueror into their laws and government, were further enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised upon Wallace; and all the people, which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chief, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and the patron of her expiring independence. The people, inflamed with resentment, were everywhere directed against the king, and, as he found himself in a dangerous situation, he was not long ere a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

It is the opinion of Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert Bruce, who had been one of the competitors for the crown, that he had succeeded, by his grandfather's and father's death, to all their rights; and the demise of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, eldest son of that prince, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young oboleman. He saw that the Scots, whose the title to their crown had expired in the males of their ancient royal family, had been divided into parties nearly equal between the houses of Bruce and Balliol; and that every incident, which had since happened, had tended to weaken them from any attachment to the latter. The slender capacity of John had proved unable to defend him against his enemies; he had been reduced by the weight of events, and had lost the crown into the hands of the conqueror: he had, before his deliverance from captivity, renounced that resignation in a manner seemingly voluntary; and had in that deed thrown out many reflections which bore hardly upon his ancient subjects, whom he publicly called traitors, ruffians, and rebels, and with whom he declared he was determined to maintain no further correspondence: he had, during the time of captivity, held himself subject to resolution; and his son, being a prisoner, seemed ill qualified to revive the rights, now fully abandoned, of his family. Bruce therefore hoped that the Scots, so long exposed, from the want of a leader, to the oppressions of their enemies, would onaniously fly to his standard, and would seat him on the vacant throne, to which he brought such plausible pretensions. His aspiring spirit, inflamed by the fervour of youth, and buoyed up by his natural courage, saw the glory alone of the enterprise, or regarded the provisos of the undertaking as mere appendages to the main object, only of further glory. The miseries and oppressions which he had beheld his countrymen suffer in this unequal contest; the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone; proved to him so many incentives to bring them relief, and conduct them to vengeance against the haughty victor. The circumstances which attended Bruce's first declaration are various related; but we shall rather follow the account given by the Scottish historians; not that their authority is in general anywise comparable to that of the English, but because they may be supposed sometimes better informed concerning facts which so nearly interested their own nation.

Bruce, who had long harboured in his breast the design of freeing his enslaved country, ventured at last to open his mind to John Cummin, a powerful obolemman, with whom he lived in strict intimacy. He found his friend, and the slaughters of the English, so fared at home, that he was determined to use every art of persuasion, to make him embrace the resolution of throwing off, on the first favourable opportunity, the usurped dominion of the English. But knowing how implacably Bruce had abhorred the name of Edward to London, Cummin, who either had all along assembled with him, or began to reflect more coolly in his absence on the desperate nature of the undertaking, resolved to settle for his crime in ascertaining this rebellion, by the means of a league of Edward to England. Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to custody; because he intended, at the same time, to seize his three brothers, who resided in Scotland; and he contrived himself with secret setting spies upon him, and ordering all his motions to be strictly watched. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprised of his danger; but not daring, amongst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, but fell on an expeditious to give him warning, that it was full time he should make his escape. He sent him, by his servant, a pair of gift spurs, and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and it was the sagacity of his friend to discover the meaning of the present. Bruce immediately contrived the means of his escape; and as the ground was at that time covered with snow, he had the precaution, it is said, to order his horses to be shod with their shoes with sand on the soles, that he might more easily track his path over the open fields or cross roads, through which he purposed to travel. He arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Amandelle, the chief seat of his family interest; and he happily found there the Scottish nobility there assembled, and among the rest, John Cummin, his former associate.

The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce among them; and still more when he discovered to them the object of his journey. He told them that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country, and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all the indignities which it had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters: that the sacrifice of the rights of his family was the first injury which had prepared the way for their ensuing slavery; and by recovering them, which was his firm purpose, he hoped to open to them the joyful prospect of recovering from the fraudulent usurper-their ancient and hereditary independence: that all past misfortunes had proceeded from their dissension; and that the sooner they were united, the sooner they could throw off the yoke of Brute, and recover their liberty from all the efforts of the Roman empire, would still be sufficient, were they worthy of their generous ancestors, to defend them against the utmost violence of the English tyrant; that it was unbecoming...
men, born to the most ancient independence known in Europe, to submit to the will of any masters; but fatal to receive those who, being irritated by such persevering resistance, and inflamed with the highest animosity, with never deigning to spare, sought the annihilation of their monarchy and dominion, but by exterminating all the ancient nobility, and even all the ancient inhabitants; and that, being reduced to this desperate extremity, it was better for them at once to perish like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the scourge of the unfortunate Wallace, whose merits, in the brave and obstinate defence of his country, were finally rewarded by the hands of an English executioner:

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of his auditors. Thus, as by all the means then in use, ran to Cummin, and revenge with which they had so long been secretly actuated. The Scottish nobles declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country and estates to the Pope, and to join the brave Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; but, by reviving the greater power of England, governed by a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities, he endeavoured to set before them the certain destruction which they must expect, if they persisted in their opinions of Bruce as a leader, took immediately his resolution; and moved partly by resentment, partly by policy, followed Cummin on the dissolution of the assembly, attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey Friars, through which he passed, and running him through the body, left him his head only. Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor were slain; I believe so, replied Bruce. And is that a matter, cried Kirkpatrick, to be left to conjecture? I will secure him. The family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms, which they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger; and chose for their motto these words, I will secure him; an epitaph enamelled by their ancestor when he executed that violent act.

Third revolt of the murder of Cummin affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles: they had now assurance left but to renounce the yoke of England, or to perish in the attempt: the genius of the nation roused itself from its present dejection: and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans to arms, attacked with success the dispersed bodies of the English, got possession of many of the castles, and having made his authority be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned and inaugurated in the abbey of St. Andrews, by the Bishop of that see, who zealously embraced his cause. The English were again chased out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the castles that still remained in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, and often defeated, must yet be once again subdued. Not discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, he sent Aymer de Valence with a considerable force into Scotland, to check the progress of the insurrections; and the flaw of fortune which attended him in this enterprise was also in this case a providence to the 6a. But this proved of no advantage to the conquerors, as by all the means then in use, he was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of his auditors. Thus, as by all the means then in use, ran to Cummin, and revenge with which they had so long been secretly actuated. The Scottish nobles declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country and estates to the Pope, and to join the brave Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; but, by reviving the greater power of England, governed by a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities, he endeavoured to set before them the certain destruction which they must expect, if they persisted in their opinions of Bruce as a leader, took immediately his resolution; and moved partly by resentment, partly by policy, followed Cummin on the dissolution of the assembly, attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey Friars, through which he passed, and running him through the body, left him his head only. Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor were slain; I believe so, replied Bruce. And is that a matter, cried Kirkpatrick, to be left to conjecture? I will secure him. The family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms, which they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger; and chose for their motto these words, I will secure him; an epitaph enamelled by their ancestor when he executed that violent act.
repressed robberies and disorders; encouraged trade, by giving merchants an easy method of recovering their debts; and in short, introduced a new face of things by the vigour and wisdom of his administration. As law began now to be well established, the abuse of that blessing began also to be remarked. Instead of their former associations for robbery and violence, men entered into formal combinations to support each other in law-suits; and a sound requisite to check this iniquity by act of parliament.

There happened in this reign a considerable alteration in the execution of the laws: the king abolished the office of chief justice, which he thought possessed too much power. He was an excellent master to the crown: he completed the division of the court of exchequer into four distinct courts, which managed, each, its several branch, without dependence on any one magistrate; and as the lawyers afterwards invented a method, by means of their fictions, of carrying business from one court to another, the several courts became rivals and checks to each other; a circumstance which tended much to improve the practice of the law in England.

But though Edward appeared thus, throughout his whole reign, a friend to law and justice, it cannot be said that he was an enemy to arbitrary power; and in a government more regular than was customary in England in his age, such practices, as those which may be remarked in his administration, would have given sufficient ground of complaint, and sometimes were, even in his own time, much commented on; such as the plunder and devastation of the Jews; the putting of the whole clergy at once, and by an arbitrary edict, out of the protection of the law; the seizing of all the wool and leather of the kingdom; the heightening of the impositions on the commonalty valuable, the new and illegal commission of Trailbaston; the taking of all the money and plate of monasteries and churches, even before he had any quarrel with the clergy; the subjecting of every marriage to the payment of a large sum of money, and this without due process of law; such as the procuring of the Pope's dispensation from the oaths which he had taken to observe that charter; and his levying of tallages at discretion even after the statute, or rather charter, by which he had renounced that prerogative; these are some of the most notable instances of his arbitrary disposition, and prove with what ease and reserve we ought to celebrate his love of justice. He took care that his subjects should be justice to each other; but he desired all, and he had a care of his officers in their transactions, both with them and with their neighbours.

The chief obstacle to the execution of justice in those times was the power of the great barons; and Edward was perfectly qualified, by his character and abilities, for keeping these tyrants in awe, and restraining their illegal practices. This salutary purpose was accordingly the great object of his attention; yet he was immoderately led into a measure which tended to increase and confirm their dangerous authority. He passed a statute which, by allowing them to entail their estates, made it impracticable to diminish the property of the great families, and left them in the enjoyment of their inheritances.

Edward observed a contrary policy with regard to the church: he seems to have been the first Christian prince that passed a statute of mortmain; and prevented by law the close and secret mode of mortifying new lands, which, by the ecclesiastical canons, they were for ever prohibited from alienating. The opposition between his maxims with regard to the nobility and to the ecclesiastics, leads us to conjecture that it was only by chance he professed a beneficial intention to the commons, in order to maintain the number of knights' fees, and to prevent the sepoirs from being defrauded of the profits of warlands,
og of the cloth abroad, particularly at Antwerp. For the English at this time scarcely thought of any more distant commerce. This king granted a charter of declaration of protection and privileges to foreign merchants, and also ascertainment of the other duties which those merchants were in return to pay on merchandise imported and exported. He promised them security; allowed them a jury on trials, consisting half of natives, half of foreigners; and appointed the court of barons in London for their protection. But notwithstanding this seeming attention to foreign merchants, Edward did not free them from the cruel hardship of making one answerable for the debts, and even for the crimes, of another, the same event resulting, very often, to the injury of the ignorant. Because of the organizing the company of the present barbarous nations. The king also imposed on them a duty of two shillings on each tun of wine imported, over and above the old duty; and forty pence on each sack of wool exported, besides half a mark, the former duty.

In the year 1303, the Exchequer was robbed, and of no less a sum than 100,000 pounds, as is pretended. The abbot and monks of Westminster were indicted for this robbery, but acquitted. It does not appear that the king ever discovered the criminals with certainty; though his indignation fell on the society of Lombard merchants, particularly the Florentines, very openly. The Pope having in 1307 collected much money in England, the king enjoined the oncino not to export it in specie, but in bills of exchange. A proof that commerce was still understood at that time. Edward had by his first wife, Eleanor of Castle, four sons; but Edward his heir and successor was the only one that survived him. She also bore him eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy; of the surviving, Joan was married, first to the Earl of Gloucester, and after his death to Ralph de Montemer, Margaret espoused John, Duke of Brabant; Elizabeth espoused, first John, Earl of Holland, and afterwards the Earl of Hereford; Mary was a nun at Amesbury. He had by his second wife, Margaret of France, two sons and a daughter; Thomas created Earl of Norfolk, and Mareschal of England; and Edmund, who was created Earl of Kent by his brother when king. The princess died in her infancy.

CHAP. XIV.

EDWARD II.

Weakness of the king—His passion for favourites—Piers Gavaston—The fitful aspect of some of his actions—His illness, the Battle of Bannockburn—Death of the Prince of Wales—The Great Council assembled at Westminster—Consequence of the king's commission—The king deposed—Murdered—His character—Miscellaneous transactions in this reign.

A. D. 1307. The possessorsentiments in favour of young Edward, kept the English from being fully sensible of the extreme loss which they had sustained by the death of the great monarch who filled the throne; and all men hastened with alacrity to take the oath of allegiance to his son and successor. This prince was in the twenty-third year of his age, was of an agreeable figure, of a mild and gentle disposition, and having never discovered a propensity to any dangerous vice, it was natural to prognosticate tranquillity and happiness from Weakness of the government. But the first act of his reign was, to return hasted all these hopes, and showed himself to be totally unqualified for that perilous situation, to which every English monarch, during those ages, had, from the unstable form of the constitution, and the turbulent dispositions of the people derived from it, the misfortune to be placed. The undaftagible Robert Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, and he himself had been obliged to take shelter in the western isles, remained not long inactive; but, before the death of the late king, had salied from his retreat, and again collected his followers, had appeared in the field, and had obtained by suprise an important advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. He was now become so considerable as to have added the King of England sufficient glory in subduing him, without incurring any danger of seeing all those mighty preparations, made by his father, fail in the enterprise. But Edward, instead of pursuing his advantage, which was the outset, rapidly turned southward, and pressed into Scotland; and having an utter incapacity and equal aversion for all application or serious business, he immediately returned upon his footsteps and disbanded his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct, that the authority of the English monarch was as insufficient to support such fabulous to be dreaded, and that every insolence might be practised by them with impunity.

The next measure taken by Edward gave his passion for favourites. He now attacked those nobles which no longer kept them in awe. There was one Piers Gavaston, son of a Gascoigne knight, of some distinction, who had honourably served the late king, and who, in reward of his services, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master, by his agreeable behaviour, and by supporting his reckless projects with unceasing amusements, which suited his capacity and his inclinations. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person, was noted for fine men and easy carriage, and was reckoned himself in all respects well suited for various exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit, in which his countrymen usually excel. By all these accomplishments he gained so entire an ascendant over young Edward, whose heart was disposed to make him his friend and confidence, that the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his son promise never to recall him. But no sooner did he find himself master, as he vainly called it, of the crown, than he recalled Gavaston, and without any ceremony, or even before his arrival at court, endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which he had escheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, son of Richard, King of the Romans; and seemed to enjoy with indifference his royal dignity, as but it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendour this object of his fond affections.

The haughty barons, offended at the supere
courtship of the favourite, whose birth, though quite respectable, was not respectable; whose conduct, though quite respectable, was not respectable to the great officers of state, whose name, though quite respectable, was not respectable to the great officers of state, were displeased in the way they were used, in the way they were used, and, concealing not their discontent; and soon found reasons to justify their animosity in the character and conduct of the man they deplored. Instead of diminishing envy by every means of gratification and modesty of his behaviour, Gavaston displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation; and deemed no circumstance of his good fortune so agreeable, as its enabling him to eclipse and mortify all his rivals. He was vainglorious, profuse, rapacious; fond of exterior pomp and appearance, giddy with prosperity; and as he imagined that his fortune was now as strongly rooted in the kingdom, as his ascendant was uncontrolled over the weak princes, who were so unprepared to meet him, that he might support his sudden and ill-estabished gran
deur. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the English nobility by his superior address; in every conversarion he made them the object of his wit and raillery; every day his enemies multiplied upon him; and nought but wanting but a little time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and to his master. It became the king to take a firm hold of France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to espouse the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been attached, though unexpected accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage. Edward left

Gavaston, Guardian of the realm, with more ample powers than had usually been conferred upon him, returned with his young queen, renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to the favourite, of which every one so loudly complained. His behavior was of an insinuating and inguining spirit; and finding that her husband's capacity required, as his temperament inclined, him to be governed, she thought herself best entitled, on every account, to perform the remainder of his conduct in the kingdom. A revolt against the person who had disappointed her in these expectations. She was well pleased therefore to see a combination of the nobility forming against Gavaston, who, sensible of her talents, had wantonly provoked her by new insults and injuries.

A. D. 1309.

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, was by far the most opulent and powerful subject in England, and possessed in his own right, and soon after in that of his wife, heretofore the family of Lincoln, no less than six baronies, with a proportionable estate in land, attended with all the jurisdictions and powers, which commonly in that age were exercised. He was ambitious and factious in his disposition; mortally hated the favourite, whose influence over the king exceeded his own; and he soon became the head of that party among the barons, who were called the king's friends, and were the midwife of civil war; and the royal authority, despised in the king's own hands, and hated in those of Gavaston, became insufficient for the execution of the laws, and the maintenance of order. He was summoned at Westminster, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue; and were there enabled to impose their own terms on the sovereign. They required that the king, who had, at the instance of his predecessor, imposed an oath on him never to return, and engaged the bishops, who never failed to interpose in all civil concerns, to pronounce him excommunicated if he remained any longer in the kingdom. Edward was obliged to submit; but, before he returned to his empire, gave proofs of his fond attachment to his favourite. Instead of removing all unbridge by sending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; attended him to Bristol, on his journey thither, and before last degree conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gascony and England. Gavaston, who did not want bravery, and possessed talents for war, acted during his government with vigour against some of the barons, whom he engaged to pay him a new subsidy.

Meanwhile the king, less shocked with the illegal violence which had been imposed upon him, than unhappy in the absence of his minister, employed every expedient to seduce the opposition of the barons to his return; as if his success in that point were the chief object of his government. The high office of hereditary steward was conferred on Lancaster; his father-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other concessions; Earl Warren was also mollified by civilities, grants, or promises; the insolence of Gavaston being no longer before men's eyes, was less the object of general indignation; and Edward, deeming matters sufficiently prepared for the purpose, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained for Gavaston dispensation from that oath which the barons had compelled him to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm. He went down to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland; flew into his arms with transports of joy; and having obtained the formal consent of the barons in parliament to his re-establishment, set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness and affection. Gavaston himself, still disposed to thwart the barons in their just causes, resumed the same ostentation and insolence; and became, more than ever, the object of general detestation among the nobility.

The barons first discovered their animosity by absenting themselves from parliament; and finding that this expedient had not been successful, they began to think of employing sharper and more effectual remedies. Though there had scarcely been any national ground of complaint, except some disquieting reports of the public presses; yet it was the opinion of all the acts of mal-administration, objected to the king and his favourite, seemed of a nature more proper to excite heart-burnings in a ball or assembly, than commotions in a great kingdom. But they saw, that the times, that the barons were determined, and were able, to make them the reasons of a total alteration in the constitution and civil government. Having come to a defiance of the laws, 7th Feb. by the king's proclamation, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they found themselves entirely masters; and they presented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve, on his choosing judges, the whole authority, both of the crown and of the parliament. The king was obliged to sign a commission, empowering the Prelates and barons to elect twelve persons, who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom, and regulation of the king's household; consenting that those ordinances should thenceforth, and for ever, have the force of laws; allowing the barons to select among themselves and their friends, for their distinct and regular observance; and all this for the greater glory of God, the security of the church, and the honour and advantage of the king and kingdom. The barons, in their declaration, in which they acknowledged that they owed these concessions merely to the king's free grace; promised, that this commission should never be drawn into precedent; and engaged, that the power of the ordinances should expire at the time appointed.

The chosen Junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and presented them to the king and parliament for their confirmation, in the ensuing year. Some of these ordinances were laudable, and tended to the regular execution of justice: such as those, requiring sheriffs to be men of property, abolishing the practice of issuing privy seals for the oppression of justice, restraining the practice of purveyance, prohibiting the adulteration and alteration of the coin, excluding foreigners from the farms of the revenue, ordering all payments to be regularly made into the exchequer, revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the case of venial or poxutions. But what chiefly grieved the king, was the ordinance for the removal of evil counsellors, by which a great number of persons were by name excluded from every office and power. Gavaston himself was for ever banished the king's dominions, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. Other persons, more agreeable to the barons, were substituted in all the offices. And it was ordained, that, for the future, all the considerable dignities in the household, as well as in the law, revenue, and military governments, should be appointed by the barons, and the power of making war, or assembling his military tenants, should no longer be vested solely in the king, nor be exercised without the consent of the nobility.

Edward, from the same weakness both in his temper and situation, which had engaged him to grant this unlimited commission to the barons, was led to give a parliamentary sanction to their ordinances: but as a consequence of the same character, he secretly made a protest against them, and declared, that, since the commission was granted only for the making of ordinances to the advantage of king and kingdom, such articles as should be found prejudicial to both, were to be held as not ratified, and confirmed. In forgetfulness of the bad purpose, he had been set, to train a firm purpose to revoke ordinances which had been imposed on him by violence, which entirely annulled the royal authority, and above all, which deprived him of the company and society of a person, whom, by a
usual infatuation, he valued above all the world, and above every consideration of interest or tranquillity.

As soon, therefore, as Edward, removing to York, had freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, he invited back Gavaston from Flanders, which that favourite had made the place of his retreat, and declared his banishment to be illegal, and contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom, openly reinstated him in his favour, and conferred upon him a new authority. The barons, highly provoked at this disappointment, and apprehensive of danger to themselves, from the declared animosity of so powerful a minister, saw that either his or their ruin was now at hand, and they removed, with remarkable zeal, their former confederacies against him. The Earl of Lancaster was a dangerous head of this alliance: Guy, Earl of Warwick, entered into it with a furious and precipitate passion: Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the comatose, and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great accession of power and interest; even Earl Warrenne deserted the royal cause, which he had hitherto supported, and was induced to embrace the side of the confederates. And as Robert de Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, professed himself of the same party, he determined the body of the clergy, and consequently the people, to declare against Henry and his minister. So formidable, at that time, was the power of the great nobility, that the combination of a few of them was always able to shake the throne; and such an universal concurrence became irresistible. The Earl of Lancaster, in the interest of his friend and master, the king, York, where he found the king already removed to Newcastle, he flew thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tintern, where he embarked, and sailed with Gavaston to Scarborough. The last of his favourites, in which, had it been properly supplied with provisions, was deemed impregnable; and he marched forward to York, in hopes of raising an army, which might be able to support him against his enemies. There being no way of deposing the king, or besieging the castle of Scarborough; and Gavaston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and to surrender himself prisoner.

He stipulated for two months; that endeavours should, during that time, be mutually used for a general accommodation; that if the terms proposed by the barons were not accepted, the castle should be restored to him; and that the Earl of Pembroke and Henry Percy should, by contract, pledge all their lands for the fulfilling of these conditions. Pembroke, now master of the person of this public enemy, confederate in the castle of Deffling, where, on pretence of other business, he left him, protected by a feeble guard. Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, attacked the castle: the garrison refused to make any resistance; Gavaston was yielded up to him, and conducted to Warwick castle: the Earl of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, immediately repaired thither; and without any regard either to the laws or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the obnoxious favourite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner. The king had retired northward to Berwick when he heard of Gavaston's murder, and his resentment in all portions of England must have been the more terrible, since he had ever borne him while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene; and he made preparations for war in all parts of England. But being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he soon after hearkened to terms of accommodation; granted the barons a pardon of all offences; and as they stipulated to ask him publicly pardon on their knees, he was so pleased, and was won over by other considerations, that he seemed to have sincerely forgiven them all past injuries. But as they still pretended, notwithstanding their lawless conduct, a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required the establishment of their former ordinances as a necessary security for that purpose, Edward told them, that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of such of those ordinances as were not entirely derogatory to the prerogative of the crown. This answer was received, for the present, as satisfactory. The king's person, after the death of Gavaston, was now become less obnoxious to the public; and as the ordinances insisted on were to be nearly the same with those which had formerly been extorted from Henry III. by Montfort, and which had been attended with so many fatal consequences, they were, on that account, demanded with less vehemence by the nobility and people. The minds of all men seemed to be thus allayed; and time and the longer prevailed: and England, now united under its head, would henceforth be able, it was hoped, to take vengeance on all its enemies; particularly on the Scots, whose progress was the object of general resentment and indignation.

Immediately after Edward's retreat from war with Scotland, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses, in hand, which he intended to have sheltered his feeble army; and supplying his defect of strength by superior abilities, he made deep impression on all his enemies, foreign and domestic. He chased Lord Argyile, and the chiefest of the Macdowals, from their hills, and made himself master of the same; broke, with success, the Cummins in the low counties of the north: he took the castles of Inverness, Forfar, and Brechin. He daily gained some new accession of territory to himself, and his interests, by the time he daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion, and enlisted under his standard every bold leader, whom he enriched by the spoils of his enemies. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that of the barons of the high countries enterprises: Edward Bruce, Robert's own brother, distinguished himself by acts of valour; and the terror of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of the king, even the province of the independent states, had new and distant hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

In this situation, Edward had found it necessary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing a spirit of law and order to the government, disturbed by a long continuance of wars and confiscations. The interval was very short: the truce, ill-observed on both sides, was at last openly violated; and war recommenced with greater fury than ever. Robert, not content with defending himself, made a raid into the northern part of England; he subjugated his needy followers by the plunder of that country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror. Edward, at last, roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against an enemy so much superior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh, but being destitute of provisions, and being ill supported by the English nobility, who were then employed in framing their ordinances, he was soon obliged to retreat without gaining any advantage over the enemy. But the union of the king with his confederates was the last and after the death of Gavaston, seemed to restore that kingdom to its native force, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing, at one blow, this important enterprise. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he enlisted troops from the high and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish as to a certain prey; he joined to them a body of the Welch, who were actuated by like motives; and assembling the whole military force of England, he
marched to the frontiers with an army which, according to the Scotch writers, amounted to an hundred thousand men.

The army collected by Robert exceeded not thirty thousand combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader, be deemed formidable to the most numerous and best armed troops of Stirling, which, with Berwick, was the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, had long been besieged by Edward Bruce: Philip de Mowbray, the constable of that place, obstinately held out, last obliged to capitulate, and to promise, that if, before a certain day, which was now approaching, he were not relieved, he should open his gates to the enemy. Robert, therefore, sensible that here was the ground on which he must expect the English, chose the field of battle with all the skill and prudence imaginable, and made the necessary preparations for their reception. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; where he had a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left, and not content with having taken these precautions to prevent his being surrounded by the more numerous army of the English, he foresaw the superior strength of the enemy in cavalry, and purposely chose a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, and sharp stakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered over with more stakes, and with a reed pavement, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry; where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cut off his head, and injured many of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body.

The Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and gleaning in the value of their prudence, professed a happy issue to the combat on the ensuing day: the English, confident in their numbers, and elated with former successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge: and the night, though extremely short in that season and in that climate, appeared tedious to the impiants of the several combatants. Early in the morning, Edward drew out his army, and advanced towards the Scots; and Earl Morphoe, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack without preparation, and fell among the covered pits which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy. His horse was cast, and he himself was overthrown and slain: Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scotch cavalry, gave the enemy no leisure to rally, but pushed them off the field with considerable loss, and pursued them in sight of their whole line of infantry. While the English army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, which commonly proves decisive, they observed an army on the heights towards the left, which seemed to be marching leisurely in order to surround them; and they were distracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of waggoners and sapper-boys, whom Robert had collected, and having supplied them with military standards, gave them a distance, of a formidable body. The stratagem took effect: a panic seized the English: they threw down their arms and fled: they were pursued with great slaughter, for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick: and the Scots, besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, and above 400 gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new encouragement, and pursued them in sight of these noble prisoners. While the English were thus left without an army to oppose them, Robert, who had narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the Earl of March; and he thence passed by sea to Berwick.

Edward, on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the greatest overthrow that the English nation, since the conquest, has ever received. The number of slain on those occasions is always uncertain, and is commonly much magnified by the victors; but this defeat made a deep impression on the minds of the English; and it was remarked, that for some years, no superiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots. Robert, in order to check all intimation of his expected success, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without opposition: he besieged Carlisle; but that place was saved by the valour of Sir Andrew Halka, the governor; he was also successful against Berwick, which he took by assault: and this prince, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests on the English. He sent over his brother Edward, with an army of 6000 men, into Ireland; and that nobleman assumed the title of king of that island. He himself followed soon after with more numerous forces. The horrible and absurd oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government, made them at first fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers; but a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scotch army to the greatest extremities; and Robert was obliged to yield to the power of his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain near Dundalk by the English, commanded by Lord Leveret; and these projects, too extensive for the force of the Scotch nation, thus vanished into smoke.

Edward, besides suffering those disasters from the invasion of the Scots, and the insurrection of the Irish, was also infested with civil wars in Wales; and above all by the factions of his own nobility, who took advantage of the public calamities, insulted his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to establish their own independence on the ruins of the crown. He himself, who had declined attending him on his Scotch expedition, no sooner saw him return with disgrace, than they insisted on the renewal of their ordinances, which, they still pretended, had validity; and the king's ungallant situation obliged him to submit to their demands. The ministry was new-modelled by the direction of Lancaster: that prince was placed at the head of the council; it was declared, that all the offices should be filled, from time to time, by the votes of parliament, or rather by the will of the barons and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavoured to put itself in a better posture of defence against the Scots. But the factious nobles were far from being terraced with the public necessities of the times: on the contrary, they founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown: Lancaster himself was suspected, with great appearance of reason, of holding a secret correspondence with the King of Scots; and though he was intrusted with the command of the English armies, he took care that every enterprise should be disappointed, and every plan of operations prove unsuccessful.

All the European kingdoms, especially that of England, were at this time unacquainted with the office of a prime minister, so well understood at present in all regular monarchies; and the people could form no conception of a man, who, though situated in the highest stations, and possessed by reason of the greater nobles by their submission to his temporary authority. Edward was plainly, by nature, unfit to hold himself the reins of government: he had no vices, but was unhappy in a total incapacity for serious business: he was not capable of knowing or of wisely and seriously to be governed: yet every favourite whom he successively chose was regarded as a fellow-subject exalted above his rank and station: he was the object of envy to the great body; his character and conduct were detested by the people; his authority of the king a

a Rymer, vol. iii. p. 481.

b T. de la More, p. 504.
c Dant.
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kingdom was considered as an usurpation; and unless the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the Earl of Lancaster or some mighty baron, whose family interest was so extensive as to be able alone to maintain his influence, he could expect no more than immediate mutiny on the throne.

Sir Hugh de De
gaveston, was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, of high rank, and of the Louvain family. His power and influence extended all the exteriors of person and address, which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but was destitute of that moderation and prudence which might have qualified him better to the inordinate and vengeful temper of the king. Through all the perils of that dangerous station to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the same name, and who, by means of his son, had also attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman weareable from his years, respected through all his past life for wisdom, valor, and integrity, and well fitted, by his talents and experience, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his munition.5 But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser, than the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons, regarded him as the enemy of their interest, the object of their animosity, and the instrument of his ruin.6 They first declared their discontent by withdrawing from parliament; and it was not long ere they found a pretence for proceeding to greater extremities against him.

The king, who set no limits to his bounty civil commo
toward his minions, had married the young lord Spenser to his niece, one of the eboires of the Earl of Gloucester, slain at Barnockburn. The favour of such a success to that opulent baron, had inherited great possessions in the marches of Wales; and being desirous of extending still further his influence in those quarters, he is accused of having committed injustices to the barons of Audley and Standfast, and had married two sisters of the same family. There was likewise a baron in that neighbourhood, called William de Brinouse, Lord of Gower, who had made a settlement of his estate on John de Mowbray, his son-in-law; and, in case of failure of that nobleman and his issue, had substituted the Earl of Hereford in the succession to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the decease of his father-in-law, entered immediately in possession of the estate, without the formality of taking livery and seisin from the crown; but Spenser, who coveted that barony, persuaded the king to put in execution the rigors of the feudal law, to seise the estate of Mowbray, and to confer it upon him.7 This transaction, which was produced by a spirit of faction, immediately excited a civil war in the kingdom. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms; Audley and Ammon joined them with all their forces; the two Rogers de Mortimer, and Roger de Clifford, with many other, despaired, for private reasons, at the Spencers, brought a considerable accession to the party; and their army being now formidable, they sent a message to the king, requiring him immediately to dismiss or confine the younger Spenser; and menacing him, in case of refusal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that minister by their own authority. They severely waited for an answer; and immediately fell upon the lands of young Spenser, which they pillaged and destroyed; murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houses;8 they thence proceeded to confront him, and his adherents, the estates of the father, whose character they had hitherto seemed to respect: and having drawn and signed a formal association among themselves,9 they marched to London with all their forces, and assaulted themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, as a demand of the king's protection on both the Spencers. These noblemen were then absent; the father abroad, the son at sea; and both of them employed in different commissions: the king therefore replied, that he would be bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving assent to so illegal a demand, or compelling noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of making answer.10 Equity and reason were but a feeble opposition to men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved in guilt, saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops; and gaining in to the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spencers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, by merces and vices, to have the sons of Spenser attainted of attainder against these ministers.11 This sentence was voted by the lay barons alone: for the commons, though now an estate in parliament, were yet of so little consideration, that their assent was not demanded; and even the votes of the latter were neglected amidst the present disorders. The only symptom which these turbulent barons gave of their regard to law, was their requiring from the king an indenity for their illegal proceedings, after which they disbanded their army, and separated, in security, as they imagined, to their several castles.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, was followed by a declaration of war, which was not long delayed. The king, acting on the example of his ancestors, felt the spirit of the age, in which it was not contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat with him, with slighting courtesy. The queen, having occasion soon after to pass by the castle of Leeds in Kent, which belonged to the Lord Spenser, desired a night's lodging, but was refused accommodation. She then sent two officers, who presented themselves at the gate, were killed.12 The insurrection upon this princess, who had always endeavoured to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in the ruin of her guilty family, involved no action which nobody pretended to justify; and the king thought that he might, without giving generalumbrage, assemble an army, and take vengeance on the offender. No one had ever done him so much wrong, who had been so treacherous a friend. On his side he had engaged perpetual Edeward prevailed.13 But having now some forces on foot, and having concertled with his friends through-out England, he ventured to take off the mask, to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spencers, whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter, passed without the assent of the prelates, and executed by violence from him and the estate of barons.14 Still the commons were not mentioned by either party.

The king had now got the start of the barons; and an advantage, which, in those times, was commonly decisive: and he hastened with his army to the court, where the prince, the emperor, and the rest of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Many of the barons in those parts endeavoured to appear born by submission: their castles were seized, and their persons committed to custody. But Lancaster, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; received the promise of a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolph Earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas;15 and being joined by the Earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king, who had collected an army of 10,000 men, and was in possession of Edinburgh. Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend the passages of the river: but being disappointed in that plan of operations, this prince, who had no men remaining on foot, and his command so scattered was even suspected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottish allies, who he was pursued by the king; and his army diminished daily, till it came to Banoughbridge, where he found Sir Andrew Hare, the great favourite of King Robert, and his comrade in the same battle of the river, and ready to dispute the passage with him. He
was repulsed in an attempt which he made to force his way; the Earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels was disconcerted; Lancaster himself was become incapable of taking any measures either for flight or defence; and he was seized, without resistance, by Hainault, and conducted to the king.1 In those violent times, the laws were so much neglected on both sides, that, even where they might, without any sensible inconveniency, have been observed, the conquerors deemed it unnecessary to pay any regard to them. Lancaster, who was guilty of open rebellion, and was taken in arms against his sovereign, instead of being tried by the laws of his country, which pronounced the difference with which he was treated by the court, and led to execution. Edward, however little vindictive in his natural temper, here indulged his revenge, and employed against the prisoner the same indignities which had been exercised, by his orders, against Gaveston. He was cloathed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, a hood was put on his head, and in this posture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince of the blood invaded to an eminence near Fornfirt, one of his own castles, and there beheaded.2

Thus perished Thomas Earl of Lancaster, prince of the blood, and one of the most potent barons that had ever been in the land. He now for the first time discovered the violence and turbulence of his character: his private deportment appears not to have been more innocent; and his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favour of the monks and populace, will rather be regarded as an aggravation of the crime. Badlesmere, Giffard, Barret, Cheyne, Fleming, and about eighteen of the most notorious offenders, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and were executed. Many were thrown into prison: others made their escape beyond sea: some of the king's servants were rewarded from their forfeitures: Harcla received for his services the earldom of Carlisle, and a large estate, which he soon afterwards sold. He received special commendation for saving the king's person, and the crown from the danger of a mutiny, which was discovered by the king himself, and which sought to make the journey alone; both fearing, lest that easy prince should in his absence fall under other influence, and foreseeing the perils to which he himself should be exposed, if, without the protection of his household, he should appear in the field, where he was so generally hated. While these doubts occasioned delays and difficulties, Isabella A.D. 1263, proposed, that Edward should resign the dominion of Guernsey to his son, now fourteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. This expeditious, which seemed so happily to remove all difficulties, was immediately deferred by the king, who was charmed with the contrivance: young Edward was sent to Paris: and the run covered under this fatal snare, was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

The queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancasterian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon began a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that part of the people who had been led by Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who had been obliged, with others, to make his submission to the king; and had been condemned for high treason; but having received pardon for bred life, was afterwards detained in the Tower, with an intention of rendering his confinement perpetual. He was so fortunate as to make his escape into France; and being one of the most considerable persons now remaining of the party, as well as distinguished by his violent animosity against Spenser, he was easily admitted to pay his court to Queen Isabella. The graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections: he became her confident and counsellor in all her measures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion, all the sentiments of honour and of fidelity to her husband.6 Hatting the man whom she had injured, and whom she had so much valued,6 she married him ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and having artfully gotten into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She even took her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose: her court was daily filled with the exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her: a correspondence was secretly carried on with the exiled party in England: and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedy to return with the prince, she publicly replied, that she would never

Hutin, who, after a short reign, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Philip the Long, his brother, whose death soon after made way for Charles the Fair, the youngest brother of that family. This monarch had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guernsey, and as there was no common or council, he judged in that strange species of sovereignty established by the feudal law, he seemed desirous to take advantage of Edward's weakness, and, under that pretence, to confiscate all his foreign domains. After an embassy by the Earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, Queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjust, in an amicable manner, the difference which had been created by his new court in the kingdom. Charles started a new pretension, the justice of which could not be disputed, that Edward himself should appear in his court, and do homage for the fees which he held in France. But there occurred many difficulties in complying with this demand. Young Spenser, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aspired to the same influence; and though that artful prince, on her leaving England, had dispersed her animosity, Spenser, well acquainted with her secret sentiments, was unwilling to attend his master to Paris, and appear in a court, where her credit might expose his errors. Not to lose the advantage of such an opportunity as he had hitherto no less on allowing the king to make the journey alone; both fearing, lest that easy prince should in his absence fall under other influence, and foreseeing the perils to which he himself should be exposed, if, without the protection of his household, he should appear in the field, where he was so generally hated. While these doubts occasioned delays and difficulties, Isabella proposed, that Edward should resign the dominion of Guernsey to his son, now fourteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. This expeditious, which seemed so happily to remove all difficulties, was immediately deferred by the king, who was charmed with the contrivance: young Edward was sent to Paris: and the run covered under this fatal snare, was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

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Philip the Fair, King of France, who died in 1315, had left the crown to his son Lewis

* A letter to the Pope, p. 211. From the records
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set foot in the kingdom till Spenser was for ever removed from his presence and counsels: a declaration which procured his great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises.

Edward endeavoured to put himself in a posture of defence; but besides the difficulties arising from his own indolence and slender abilities, and the want of authority which of consequence attended all his resolutions, it was not easy for him, in the present state of the kingdom and revenues, to maintain a constant force ready to repel invasion, which he knew not at what time or place he had reason to expect. All his efforts were unequal to the truculent and hostile conspiracies, which, mingling with abode, were forming against his authority, and which were daily perseverance further even into his own family. His brother, the Earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak prince, who was then at Paris, was engaged by his sister-in-law, and by the King of France, who was also his cousin-german, to give countenance to the invasion, whose sole object, he believed, was the expulsion of the Spencers: he prevailed on his elder brother, the Earl of Norfolk, to enter secretly into the same design; the Earl of Leicester, brother and heir of the Earl of Lancaster, had too many reasons for his hatred of these ministers, to refuse his concurrence. Walter de Reynel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the prelates, expressed their approbation of the queen's measures: several of the most potent barons, evrying the authority of the favourite, were ready to fly to arms: the minds of the people, by means of some truths and many calumnies, were early disposed to the same party; and though checked but the appearance of the queen and prince, with such a body of foreign troops as might protect her against immediate violence, to turn all this tempest, so artfully prepared, against the unhappy Edward.

A. D. 1325.

Clearing, though the countenance and assistance to the faction, was opened openly to support the queen and prince against the authority of a husband and father; and Isabella was obliged to court the alliance of some other foreign princes, whose dominions she might set out on her intended enterprise. For this purpose, she advanced young Edward, whose tender age made him incapable to judge of the consequences, with Philippa, daughter of the Count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the open assistance of this prince, and the secret protection of her brother, enlisted in her service near 3,000 men, she set sail from the harbour of Dort, and landed safely, and without opposition, at that of Southampton. The Earl of Kent was in her company: two other princes of the blood, the Earl of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester, joined her soon after her landing, with all the forces of the three quarters of the kingdom: the prelates, bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vessels and the authority of their character: even Robert de Watteville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress in Suffolk, deserted to her with all his forces. To render her cause more favourable, she renewed her declaration, that the sole purpose of her enterprise was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of Chancellor Baldwin, their确立. The populace were allured by her specious pretences: the barons thought themselves secure against foritures by the appearance of the prince in her army: and a weak irresistible bug, supported by ministers generally odious, was unable to sink the torrent of which bore with such irresistible violence against him.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to some sense of duty, departed for the west, where he hoped to meet with a better reception; and he had no sooner discovered his weakness by leaving the city, than the rage of the populace broke out without control against him and his ministers. They first plundered them in their houses, and then, when they were obvious to them, seized the Bishop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was passing through the streets; and having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river. They made themselves masters of the Tower by surprise: then entered into a formal assemblage to put to death, without mercy, every one who should dare to oppose the enterprise; or, in acquiescence, or offer, condemned to death by the rebellious barons: he was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs; and his head was sent to Winchester, the place whose title he bore, being a real and absolute head of the state, or a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace.

The king, disappointed anew in his expectations of succour from the Welsh, took shipping for Ireland; but being accompanied by no force, and by contrary wind, he endeavoured to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales: he was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the Earl of Leicester, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spencer, his favourite, who also fell into the hands of the king, was soon executed. He had not shown any appearance of a legal trial: the Earl of Arundel, almost the only man of his rank in England who had maintained his loyalty, was, without any trial, put to death at the instigation of Mortimer; Baldwin, the chancellor, being a priest, could not with safety be suddenly despatched; but being sent to the Bishop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably suspected, seized by the populace, was thrown into Normandy, and soon after expired, from the cruel usage which he had received. Even the usual reverence paid to the sacred dotal character gave way, with every other consideration, to the present rage of the people.

The Earl of Kent, on his arrival in England, was hailed by the prevalent delusion, summoned, in the king's name, a parliament at Westminster; where, together with the power of her army, and the authority of her partisans, she engrossed, by using the power committed to her by past treasons by committing new acts of violence against their sovereign, she expected to be seconded by the fury of the populace, the most dangerous of all instruments, and the least answerable for their excesses. A great charge was drawn up against the king, in 13th Jan. which, though it was framed by his invertebrate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius, or his misfortunes, were objected to him; for the greatest malice found no particular crime with which it could reproach this unhappy prince. He was accused of incapacity for government, of wasting his time in idle amusements, of neglecting public business, of being swayed by evil counsellors, of losing, by his misconduct, the Kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guern; and to swell the charge, even the death of some barons, and the imprisonment of some prelates, convicted of treason, were laid to his account. It was in vain, amidst the violence intended to secure their lives, the people, to appeal either to law or to reason; the deposition of the king, without any appearing opposition, was voted by the parliament: the prince, already declared regent, was placed on the throne; and a deputation was sent to Edward at Kenilworth, to require
his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him.

But it was impossible that the people, however corrupt the barbarity of the times, still further inflamed by faction, could for ever remain insensible to the voice of nature. Here, a wife had first deserted, next invaded, and then deserted her husband; bad made her minor son an insubordinate and unnatural testament of his fate; then, by his being treacherously, seduced the nation into a rebellion against their sovereign; had pushed them into violence and cruelties that had dishonoured them: all those circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The suspicions which soon arose of Isabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer, the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, increased the general abhorrence against her; and her hypocrisy, in publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even the most stupid and most prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with the greatest contempt, with venison and slaughter. He became sensible, that all his misconduct, which faction had so much exaggerated, had been owing to the unavoidable weakness, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. He then viewed with compassion to whose custody he had been committed, was soon touch

ed with those generous sentiments; and besides using his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspect to have retained still more honourable intentions in his favour. To screen himself from his own enemies, he took his wife, his person, and his children, from his hands, and delivered over to Lord Berkeley, and Mautravers, and Gourna, who were intrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, the care he was taken with the gentlest due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gourna came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if his intention had been to break entirely the prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous expiriments, for the instruments of his murder. It is reported, that one day, when Edward was to be shaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpose; and when he desired it to be changed, and was still denied his request, he burst into tears, which bedewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed, that, in spite of their insolence, he should appear before the world with a face wet with tears. But this method of laying Edward in his grave appeared still too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to the two keepers, who were at his discretion, instantly to depose him, and having thus extricated himself from the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as possible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge? they came to Berkeley castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him, and plunged him into his fundament a red hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though the outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle, while his bowels were consuming. Gourna and Mautravers were held in general detestation; and when the ensuing revolution in England threw their protectors from power, they found it necessary to provide for their safety by flying the kingdom. Gourna was afterwards seized at Marseilles, delivered over to the Seneschal ofGuencenc, put on board a ship with a view of carrying him to France, but was murdered at sea by secret orders, as was supposed, from some nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any discovery which he might make of his accomplices. Mautravers conceded himself for several years in Germany; but having found means of rendering some service to Edward III, he ventured to approach his person, he laid his hand on his knees before him, submitted to mercy, and received a pardon.

It is not easy to imagine a more intricate and more dangerous than the uniform. His character, whose tragic death we have related; nor a prince less fitted for governing that fierce and turbulent people subjected to his authority. He was obliged to dover the sins of others the worst by the weight of public, by the ability or inclination to bear: the same indolence and want of penetration led him to make choice of ministers and favourites who were not always the best qualified for the trust committed to them: the seducers grapple, pleased with his weakness, yet complaining of it, under pretence of attacking his ministers, insulted his person and invaded his authority: and the impatient populace, mistaking the source of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increased the public disorders by their faction and violence. It was in vain to look for protection from the laws, whose voice, always feeble in those times, was not heard amidst the din of arms; and he could not defend himself by the same means or the same sacrifices. He was always to any of the people: the whole machine of government was torn in pieces with fury and violence: and men, instead of regretting the manners of their age, and the form of their constitution, were hard pressed to know which of the most skillful hand to conduct them, imputed all errors to the person who had the misfortune to be intrusted with the reins of empire.

But though some mistakes are natural and almost unavoidable, while the events are recent, it is a shameful delusion in modern histories, to imagine that all the ancient princes who were unfortunate in their government, were also tyrannical in their conduct, and that the seditions of the people were always proceeded from some invasion of their privileges by the monarch. Even a great and a good king was not, in that age, secure against faction and rebellion, as appears in the case of Henry 11; but a great king had the best chance, as we learn from the history of the same period, for quelling and subduing them. Compare the reigns and characters of Edward I and II. The father made several violent attempts against the liberties of the people; his barons opposed him: he was obliged at least found prudent, to submit: but as they dreaded his valour and abilities, they were content with reasonable satisfaction, and pushed no further their advantages against him. The facility and weakness of the son, not his violence, he considered: and even the same government were overturned: an attempt to reinstate them, was an unpardonable crime: and no atonement, but the deposition and tragic death of the king himself, could give those horrid contumacy. It is easy to see that a constitution which depended so much on the personal character of the prince, must necessarily, in many of its parts, be a government of will, not of laws. But always to throw, without distinction, the blame of all disorders upon the sovereign, would introduce a fatal error in politics, and serve as a perpetual apology for treason and rebellion: as the turbulence of the great, and madness of the people, were not, equally with the tyranny of princes, evil; and the latter, when they rebel against society, and no less carefully to be guarded against in every well-regulated constitutions.

While these abominable scenes passed in England, the theatre of France was stained with a wickedness equally barbarous, and still more public and deliberate. The order of knights templars had arisen during the first servour of the Crusades; and uniting the two qualities, the most popular in that age, devotion and valour, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprises, the defence of the Holy Land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the pugnacity of the time, the character of its most faithful, ample, and powerful friends, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of

2 Cotton's Alciato, p. 82.
these virtues; and the templars had, in a great measure, lost that popularity which first raised them to honour and distinction. Acquainted, from experience, with the fatigues and dangers of the endless travels which led them to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe: and being all men of hir, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned all kind of secular occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still proceeded by steps, and marched against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity, which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair, who, having entered a private disgust against some eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an un distinguished ruin.

On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the templars, who were to be committed to be committed to such enormous and absurd crimes, as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. Besides their being universally charged with murder and vices the most shocking, every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join in this impious, the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites, as could serve to no other purpose, than to degrade the order in his eye, and destroy for ever the authority of all his superiors over him. Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt: the more obstinate persisted in the hands of their tormentors: several, to procure immediate ease, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them: forged confessions were imputed to others: and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the templars relieved from their tortures, than, preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgers, justified the innocence of their order, and asserted that all the gallant actions of the past, in ancient or later times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself now engaged in honour to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he had branded for all eternity, to be relapsed in their breaches, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital: great numbers expired, after a like manner, in other parts of the kingdom: and when he found that the perseverance of these unhappy victims in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold erected before the church of Notre Dame, at Paris; a full pardon was offered them on the one hand; the fire, destined for their execution, was shown on the other; these men, from their own innocence, and that of their order, and were instantly hurled into the flames by the executioner. In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V. who was the executor of Philip's will, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and with all the pomp and ceremony, by any inquiry into the truth of facts, he, summarily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole order. The templars, all over Europe, were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them; but no where, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt produced to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but as the order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the Pope, transferred to the order of St. John. We now proceed to relate some other detached transactions of the present period.

The kingdom of England was afflicted with a grievous famine during several years of this reign. Perpetual rains and cold continued, and the harvests, for want of winds, suffered a mortality among the cattle, and raised every kind of food to an enormous price. The parliament, in 1315, endeavoured to fix more moderate rates to commodities; not sensible that such an attempt was impracticable, and that, were it possible to reduce the price of provisions by any other expedient than by introducing plenty, nothing could be more pernicious and destructive to the public. Where the produce of a year, for instance, falls so far short, as to afford full subsistence only for nine months, the only expedient for making it last all the twelve, is to raise the prices, to put the people by that means on short allowance, and oblige them to save themselves till a more plentiful season: this measure may be doubled in the necessary consequence of scarcity; and laws, instead of preventing it, only aggravate the evil by compelling and restraining commerce. The parliament accordingly, in the ensuing year, had an opportunity of repairing the mischief, which they had found useless and burdensome.

The prices affixed by the parliament are somewhat remarkable: three pounds twelve shillings of our present money for the best stalled ox; for other oxen, two pounds eight shillings: a fat hog of two years old, ten shillings: a fat wether unshorn, a crown; if shorn, three shillings and six-pence: a fat goose, seven-pence halfpenny: a fat fow, a shilling, three-pence; a chicken, three-pence: four pigeons, three-pence: two dozen of eggs, three-pence. If we consider these prices, we shall find that butcher's meat, in this time of great scarcity, must still have been sold, by the parliamentary ordinance, three times cheaper than our middling prices at present: poultry somewhat lower; because, being now considered as a delicacy, it has risen beyond its proportion. In the country places of Ireland and Scotland, where delicacies bear no price, poultry is at present as cheap, if not cheaper, than butcher's meat. But the inference I would draw from the comparison of prices in still more considerable: I suppose that the rates, affixed by parliament, were inferior to those of a former age, when scarcity was an extraordinary and mortal calamity; and that these commodities, instead of a third, had really risen to half of the present value. But the famine at that time was so consuming, that what was formerly called a pillar, or a dozen shillings a quarter, usually for three pounds; that is, twice our middling prices: a certain proof of the wretched state of tillage in those ages. We formerly found, that the middling price of corn in that period was half of the present price; while the middling price of cattle was only an eighth part: we here find the same immense disproportion in years of scarcity. It may thence be inferred with certainty, that the raising of corn was a species of manufactory unknown in that age: it was all produced in the midst of Europe; there was no other source of the national wealth; and there is reason to think, that other manufactures more refined were sold, even beyond their present prices: at least there is a demonstration for it in the reign of Henry III., when a piece of cloth was sold at twenty shillings, and a yard at eight marks. But this is the subject of another place; and I shall confine myself to what the present bill contains. As to the execution of the laws, which has belonged to the ostentatious Gavaston, and to the family which the king received from the Earl of Lancaster, after the murder of that favourite, we find some embroidered girdles, flowered shits, and silk waistcoats.
It was afterwards one article of accusation against that potent and opulent earl, when he was put to death, that he had purloined some of that finery of Gawston's. The ignorance of those ages in manufactures, and still more, their unskilful husbandry, seem a clear proof, that the country was then far from being populous. All trade and manufactures indeed were then at a very low ebb. In the midst of Europe, where they seem to have risen to any tolerable degree of improvement, was Flanders. When Robert, Earl of that country, was applied to by the king, and was desired to break off commerce with the Scots, whom Edward called his apprizers and - representative on that account by the church, the earl replied, that Flanders was always considered as common, and free and open to all nations. The petition of the elder Spencer to parliament, complaining of the devastation committed on his lands by the barons, contains several particulars which are curious, and discover the manner of the age. He affirms, that they had ravaged sixty-three mansions belonging to him, and he makes his losses amount to 46,000 pounds; that is, to 135,000 of our present money. Among other particulars, he enumerates 28,600 sheep, 1000 oxen and heifers, 1200 cows, and 500 horses, which lived for two years, 560 cwt. of beef, 2000 hogs; together with 600 beacons, 40 carcases of beef, and 600 muttons in the larder; ten tons of cider, arms for 200 men, and other warlike engines and provisions. The place of residence of the steward of the earl, was his own estate, as well as the estates of the other nobility, was farmed by the landlord himself, managed by his stewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villeins. Little or none of it was let on lease to usurers; its produce was consumed in its own necessaries by the heritors or their heirs. A great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal; instead of applying to others for the support of his retainers he resorted to open force and violence; the great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law, than by a rude species of the law of nations. The method in which we find they treated the king's favourites and ministers, is a proof of their usual way of dealing with each other. A party which complains of the arbitrary conduct of ministers, ought naturally to affect a great regard for the laws and constitution, and maintain, at last, the appearance of justice in their proceedings; yet those barons, when discontented, came to parliament with an armed force, constituted the king to assent to their measure, and this was done without being brought to a trial by the court of law; they committed him, but the organ of present power. Though the persons, of whom it was chiefly composed, seemed to enjoy great independence, they really possessed no true liberty; and the security of each individual among them, was not so much derived from the general protection of law, as from his own private power and that of his confederates. The authority of the monarch, though far from absolute, was irregular, and might often reach him; the current of a faction might overwhelm him: a hundred considerations, of benefit and injuries, friendships and animosities, hopes and fears, were able to influence his conduct; and amidst these motives, a habitual respect to equity and law and justice was commonly, in those rude ages, of little moment. Nor did any man entertain thoughts of opposing present power, who did not deem himself strong enough to dispute the felicity, with it by force, and was not prepared to give battle to the sovereign of the ruling party.

Before I conclude this reign, I cannot forbear making another remark, drawn from the detail of losses given in by the elder Spencer; particularly, the great quantity of slaughtered cattle which were taken and consumed. 80,000 carcases of beef, 600 muttons. We may observe that the outrage of which he complained began after the third of May, or the eleventh, new style, as we learn from the same paper. It is easy therefore to conjecture, what a vast store of the same kind he must have laid up at the beginning of winter, and we may draw a new conclusion with regard to the wretched state of ancient husbandry, which could not provide subsistence for the cattle during that season. The earl's house at the south west corner of England: for Spencer had but one manor so far north as Yorkshire. There being few or no enclosures, except perhaps for deer, no sown grass, little hay, and no other cattle to feed the barons, as well as the people, were obliged to kill and salt their oxen and sheep in the beginning of winter, before they became lean upon the common pasture; a precaution still practised with regard to oxen in the least cultivated parts of this island. The saving of mutton is a sensible expedient which is observed every where where long disused. From this circumstance, however trivial in appearance, may be drawn important inferences with regard to the domestic economy and manner of life in those ages.

The disorders of the times, from foreign wars and internal dissensions, but above all, the cruel famine, which obliged the nobility to dismiss many of their retainers, increased the number of robbers of the kingdom; and no place was secure from their incursions. They met in troops like armies, and overran the country. Two cardinals themselves, the Pope's legates, notwithstanding the numerous troops which attended them, were robbed, and despoiled of their goods and equipage, when they traveled on the highway.

Among the other wild fancies of the age, it was imagined, that the persons affected with leprosy, a disease at that time very prevalent, and when the country was overflowed by the sea, a great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal; instead of applying to others for the support of his retainers he resorted to open force and violence; the great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law, than by a rude species of the law of nations. The method in which we find they treated the king's favourites and ministers, is a proof of their usual way of dealing with each other. A party which complains of the arbitrary conduct of ministers, ought naturally to affect a great regard for the laws and constitution, and maintain, at last, the appearance of justice in their proceedings; yet those barons, when discontented, came to parliament with an armed force, constituted the king to assent to their measure, and this was done without being brought to a trial by the court of law; they committed him, but the organ of present power. Though the persons, of whom it was chiefly composed, seemed to enjoy great independence, they really possessed no true liberty; and the security of each individual among them, was not so much derived from the general protection of law, as from his own private power and that of his confederates. The authority of the monarch, though far from absolute, was irregular, and might often reach him; the current of a faction might overwhelm him: a hundred considerations, of benefit and injuries, friendships and animosities, hopes and fears, were able to influence his conduct; and amidst these motives, a habitual respect to equity and law and justice was commonly, in those rude ages, of little moment. Nor did any man entertain thoughts of opposing present power, who did not deem himself strong enough to dispute the felicity, with it by force, and was not prepared to give battle to the sovereign of the ruling party.

I have seen a French manuscript, containing accounts of some private disbursements of this king. There is an article, among others, of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. The number of this. It is judged by the events of the reign, this ought not to have been an easy undertaking.

This king left four children, two sons and two daughters: Edward, his eldest son and successor; John, created afterwards Earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, King of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, Count of Gueldres.

CHAP. XV.

EDWARD III.

War with Scotland—Expedition of the Earl of Kent—Execution of Mortimer, Earl of March—Scotland—Love and Enmity of the French and English—The claims of the crown of France—Preparations for war with France—Naval victory—Domestic disturbances—Affair of Brittany—The war with France—Invasion of France—Battle of Crecy—War with Scotland—Expulsion of the King of Scots.

The violent party, which had taken arms against Edward II, and finally deposed that unfortunate monarch, deems it requisite for their future

1 Byrner, vol. iii., p. 170.
3 id Cellular.
security to pay so far an exterior obedience to the law, as
to desire a parliamentary indemnity for all their illegal
proceedings; on account of the necessity, which it was
pretended they lay under, of employing force against the
Spencers and other evil counsellors, enemies of the king-
dom. All the attainers also, which had passed against
the Earl of Lanark, and his adherents, when the change
of war turned against them, were easily reversed during
the triumph of their party and the Spencers, whose for-
er attainted had been reversed by parliament, were now
agreed to the want of fortunes, condemned by the votes
of their enemies. A council of regency was likewise ap-
pointed by parliament, consisting of twelve persons; five
prelates, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the
Bishops of Winchester, Westminister, and Hereford; and
seven lay peers, the Earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey,
and the Lords Wake, Ingham, Percy, and Ross. The
Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector
of the king's person. But though it was reasonable to ex-
pect the assistance of the former King had given rights
to the licentiousness of the barons, great domestic
tranquillity would not prevail during the present minority,
the first disturbance arose from an invasion by foreign
enemies.

War with Scott. The King of Scots, declining in years and
health, but retaining still that martial spirit which had raised his nation from the lowest ebb of for-
tune, now professed opportunities for reparation, and
set out for the engaging of England. He first made an attempt on the castle of Norham, in which he was disappointed; he then collected an army of 25,000 men on the frontiers, and having given the command to the Earl of Murray, and Lord
Douglas, threatened an incursion into the northern coun-
tries. The English regency, after trying in vain every ex-
pedient to restore peace with Scotland, made vigorous provision for the defense, and besides assembling an
army of near sixty thousand men, they invited back John
of Hainault, and some foreign cavalry, whom they had
dismissed, and whose discipline and arms had appeared
superior to those of their own country. Young Edward
himself, burning with a passion for military fame, appeared
at the head of these numerous forces, and marched from
Durham, the appointed place of rendezvous, in quest of
the enemy, who had already broken into the frontiers, and
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revenues; be never consulted either the princes of the blood, or the nobility, in any public measure; the king himself was so besieged by his creatures, that no access could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Boulain and Spenser fell much more deservedly on the new favourite.

A. D. 1328.

Mortimer, sensible of the growing hatred of the people, thought it requisite, on any terms, to secure his life; and accordingly, on a negotiation with Robert Bruce for that purpose. As the claim of superiority in England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating a marriage between his daughter and the king, was persuaded by her of Robert, consented to resign absolutely this claim, to give up all the homages done by the Scottish parliament and nobility, and to acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland.1 In return for these advantages, Robert stipulated the payment of 30,000 marks to England. This treaty was ratified by parliament; but was nevertheless the source of great discontent among the people, who, having enteredaneously into the pretentions of Edward I. and deeming themselves disgraced by the successful resistance made by so inferior a nation, were disappointed, by this treaty, in all future hopes of recovering their independence.

The princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, were much united in their councils; and Mortimer entertained great suspicions of their designs against him. In summoning them to parliament, he strictly prohibited them from keeping any kind of armed force, and, on his command, had brought only their usual retinue with them, Mortimer and his party were attended by all their followers in arms, and they began with some reason to apprehend, and to be a danger to the king. They resorted, assembled their retainers, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer, when the weakness of Kent and Nurfolk, who deserted the common cause, obliged Lancaster also to make his submissiou.2 The quarrel, by the interposition of the prelates, seemed for the present to be appeased.

But Mortimer, in order to intimidate the princes, determined to have a victm; and the simplicity of the queen's mind was so much to the advantage of the Earl of Kent, afforded him soon after an opportunity of practising upon him. By himself and his emissaries, he endeavored to persuade that prince, that his brother, King Edward, had been deprived of his kingdom by some secret prison in England. The earl, whose remorses for the part which he had acted against the late king, probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, entered into a design of restoring him to liberty, of re-instating him on the throne, and of making thereby some atonement for the injuries which he himself had unwarily done him.3 After this harmless contrivance had been allowed to proceed a certain length, the earl was seized by Mortimer, was accused before the parliament, and condemned by those slavish, though turbulent barons, to lose his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's design, were desirous of proceeding with more secrecy; and the prisoner was beheaded next day; but so general was the affection borne him, and such pity prevailed for his unhappy fate, that though peers had been easily found to condemn him, it was evening before his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office.

The Earl of Lancaster, on pretence of his having assigned to the queen's hand, was soon after thrown into prison: many of the prelates and nobility were procured to : Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family by the for-


features. The estate of the Earl of Kent was seized for his younger son, Geoffrey: the immense fortunes of the Spencers and their adherents were mostly converted to his own use: he affected a state and dignity equal or superior to the royal; his power became formidable to every one: his illegal practices were daily complained of: and all parties, forgetting past animosities, conspired in their hatred of Mortimer.

It was impossible for these abuses could long escape the observation of a prince, endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward, who, being now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himself capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by this insolent minister. It is supposed that Mortimer, being conscious of his unfavourable connections with the emissaries of Mortimer, that it behoved him to conduct the project for subverting him with the same secrecy and precaution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated his intentions to Lord Montacute, who engaged the Lords Molins and Clifford, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Edward Boulain, and others, to enter into their views; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of the enterprise. The queen dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress: the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked in the night, evening, and morning, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage, which had formerly been concealed by the castellane of the castle, but was now burned in rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's.4 A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation. He was accused before that assembly of having usurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived, and having deceived his brother; of having committed a design to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting 20,000 marks of the money sent him by the king of Scotland, and of other crimes and misdemeanours.5 The parliament condemned him, from the supposed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his answer, or examining a witness; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes, in Westminster. This was, indeed, a period remarkable that this sentence was, near twenty years after, reversed by parliament in favour of Mortimer's son; and the reason assigned was the illegal manner of proceeding. The principles of law and justice were established in England, not in such a degree as to prevent any iniquitous sentence against a person obnoxious to the ruling party; but sufficient, on the return of his credit, or that of his friends, to serve as a reason or pretence for its reversal.

Justice was also executed, by a sentence of the House of Peers, on some of the inferior criminals, particularly on Simon de Bereford; but the barons in that act of jurisdiction entered a protest, that though they had tried Bereford, he was none of their peers, they should not for the future be obliged to receive any such indictment. The queen was confused to her own house and fortune. It was pretended that her revenue was reduced to 4000 pounds a year;7 and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a decent visit once or twice a year, she never was able to reintaste herself in any credit or authority.

Edward having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself, with industry and judgment, to redress all those grievances which had preceded to these keys carried to the queen's ear from the late abuses of it. He issued writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice, without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the ministers: and as the

4 Avice in, p. 9.
7 Ibid. p. 10.
robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had, during the course of public convulsions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great officers, who made use of them against their enemies, the king, after exacting from the peers a solemn promise in parliament that they would break off all connexions with such malefactors, set himself in earnest to remedy the evil. Many of these gangs had become so numerous as to require his own personal presence at them; and he exerted both courage and industry in executing this salutary office. The ministers of justice, from his example, employed the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing the criminals; and this disorder was by degrees corrected, at least palliated; the utmost that could be expected with regard to a disease hitherto inherent in the constitution.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward sought, and soon found, an opportunity of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, and had fixed it by the last treaty of peace with England, soon after died, and left David, his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph, Earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories, now suppliant in that country, that both the Scottish nobility, who, before the commencement of the wars, enjoyed lands in England, and the English who inherited estates in Scotland, should be restored to their respective situations; but though the article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who observed that the estates claimed by Englishmen were much more numerous and valuable than the others, cited as his reason to admit so many of the exiles into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wrest from his own followers the possessions bestowed on them as the reward of former services; and he had protracted the performance of his part of the stipulation. The English nobles, however, in their expectations, began to think of a remedy; and as their influence was great in the north, their enmity alone, even though unsupported by the King of England, became dangerous to the minor prince, whom he submitted to the influence of the barons.

Edward Baliol, the son of that John who was crowned King of Scotland, had been detained some time a prisoner in England after his father was released; but having also obtained his liberty, he went over to France, and resided in Normandy, on his paternal estate in that country, without any thoughts of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. He was, however, everywhere unhesitatingly and unanimously abjured by the Scots, and rejected by the English, that he was universally regarded as a private person; and he had been thrown into prison, on account of some private offenses of which he was accused. Lord Beaumont, a great English baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, 4 found him in this situation, and deeming him a proper instrument for his purpose, made such interest with the King of France, who was not aware of the consequences, that he recovered him his liberty, and brought him over with him to England.

The injured nobles, possessed of such a head, began to think of vindicating their rights by force of arms, and the appeal to Edward for his concurrence in the accu-

2 Cotton's Abbeig. 4 Rymer, vol. iv. p. 381. 5 Antiq. Scoths. vol. i. c. 30. 6 I. iii. cap. 21. 7 As Regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of restitution to the English barons, had always confessed the justice of their claim, and had only given an evasive answer, grounded on plausible pretences, Edward resolved not to proceed by open violence, but to employ his artifices against him. He secretly encouraged Baliol to his enterprise; convinced at his assembling forces in the north, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join in the attempt. A force of over 2,000 men was enrolled under Sir Donald Beaton; and the Lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitz-warn, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Mowbray. As these adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be strongly armed and guarded, they resolved on a surprise; and having embarked at Ravenspur, they reached in a few days the coast of Fife.

Scotland was at that time in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved whole the political fabric, and maintained a union among the unruly barons, Lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain in a crusade against the Moors; and Edward, though in the battle: the Earl of Murray, who had long been declining through age and infirmities, had lately died, and had been succeeded in the regency by Donald Earl of Marre, a man of no extraordinary abilities. The Commons of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a proper guidance and direction: and a minor king seemed ill qualified to defend an inheritance, which it had required all their joint strength to consolidate. With this situation they expected and were prepared to meet. As they had been apprised of the intended invasion, great numbers, on the appearance of the English fleet, immediately ran to the shore, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy. Earl Marre had valour and activity, and he drove back the Scots with considerable loss. He marched westward into the heart of the country, flattering himself that the ancient partisans of his family would declare for him. But the force ammunitions which had been medled between the two nations, inspired the Scots with a strong prejudice against a prince supported by the English, he was regarded as a common enemy; and the regent found no difficulty in assembling a great army to oppose him. It is pretended that Earl Marre had less than 40,000 men under his banners; but the same hurry and impatience that made him collect a force, which from its greatness was so disproportioned to the occasion, rendered all his motions unskillful and imprudent. The river Earne ran between the two armies; and the Scots, confiding in that security, as well as in their great superiority of numbers, kept no order in their encampment. Baliol had not been so prudent as to attack the unguarded and undissembled Scots; threw them into confusion, which was increased by the darkness, and by their very numbers to which they trusted; and he beat them off the field with great slaughter. But in the morning, when the Scots were at a certain distance, they were ashamed of having yielded the victory at so weak a file, and they hurried back to recover the honour of the day. Their eager passions urged them precipitately to battle, without regard to some broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which disordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol seized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon the confounded princes, who had been prevented the previous night by Earl Marre, Lord Lynedoch, and many others, of the miserable state of military discipline in those ages. Baliol soon after made himself master of Perth; but still was not able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, and Sir Archibald Douglas, brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the
head of the Scottish armies, which amounted still to near 40,000 men; and they purposed to reduce Baliol and the English by famine. They blockaded Berwick by land; they collected some vessels with which they invested it by water; but Baliol's ships fled or were taken, and thus a complete victory; and opened the communication between Berwick and the sea. The Scottish armies were then obliged to disband for want of pay and subsistence; the nation was, in effect, the loss of the hands of men: each nobleman who found himself most exposed to danger, successively submitted to Baliol; that prince was crowned at Scione: David, his competitor, was the forlorn husband, wife, Jane, sister to Edward: and the heads of his party sued to Baliol for a truce, which he granted them, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquility, and have his title recognised by the whole Scottish nation.

A. D. 1333.

But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was, notwithstanding the truce, attacked on a sudden near Annan, by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of that party; he was routed; his brother John Baliol was slain; he himself was chased into England in a miserable condition; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had gained it.

While Baliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had been sensible, that, without the protection of England, it would be impossible for him to maintain possession of the throne; and he had secretly sent a message to Edward, by way of the Scots, professing to renew the homage for his crown, and to espouse the Princeess Jane, if the Pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering Scotland, and old school to the most important concessions, by Mortimer during his minority, threw off all scruples, and willingly accepted the offer; but as the detaining of Baliol had been a great object of the English, the king was prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown; an enterprise which appeared from late experience so easy and so little hazardous. As he possessed many popular arts, he consulted his parliament on the occasion; but that assembly, finding the resolution already taken, declined giving any opinion, and only granted him, in order to support the enterprise, an aid of a fifteenth, from the personal estates of the nobility and centre, and a tenth of the value of the salt in the south of England; and they added a proviso, that the king would thenceforth live on his own revenue, without grudging his subjects by illegal taxes, or by the outrageous seizure of their goods in the shape of purveyance.

As the Scots expected that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the Regent, threw a strong garrison into that place, under the command of Sir William Douglas, the brother of the man who had given the hand of his young king to the hand of Baliol; the English were greatly alarmed on the news; and they quitted their own garrison in the north of England, without a struggle, and passed over the Tweed, and then the Tweed, and committed the frontier to the English. The English monarch, after his residence in Scotland, returned to London.

A. D. 1334.

The Scots were not at all disposed to make peace. The Regent, with the consent of the Scots, sent a letter to Philip the Fair, the king of France, inviting him to come to a conference to settle the dispute. Philip the Fair came in December, 1337. The English monarchs met at Halidon-hill, a little north of Berwick; and though his heavy-armed cavalry dissolved in the field, under the action more steady and desperate, they were received with such regard by Edward, and were so galled by the English archers, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and, on the fall of Douglas, their general, were totally routed. The whole army was swept off, the English generals lost only one of their companions, and, besides, the Irish, gave little quarter in the pursuit: all the nobles of chief distinction were slain or taken prisoners; near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action; while the number of the English was lost in the fine of the battle. A considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh: the superiority of England was again recognised; many of the Scottish nobility made fealty to Edward; and to complete the misfortunes of that nation, Balioileed Berwick, Donbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, which were declared to be forever annexed to the English monarchy.

If Baliol, on his first appearance, was dreaed by the Scots, as an instrument employed by England to subvert the kingdom, this deed confirmed all their suspicions, and rendered him the object of universal hatred. Whatever submissions they might be obliged to make, they considered him, not as their prince, but as the delegate and confidante of their conqueror. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed Regent by the party of this latter prince, employed with success his valour and activity in many small but decisive actions against Baliol, and was himself almost wholly expelled him the kingdom. Edward was obliged again to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland: the Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses; they fortified the houses and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels; but this confirmed them still further in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they were ready to take advantage of the first opportunity of the retreat of their enemy, and they soon re-conquered their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland with like success: he found every thing hostile, and the king himself in the spot on which he was encamped: and though he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was further from ever being broken and subdued. Besides being supported, by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, they were encouraged, amidst all their calamities, by daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect, from this incident, a great division of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them.

A. D. 1335.

We now come to a transaction, on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this king, but of the whole English and French history, during more than a century; and it will therefore be necessary to give a particular account of the springs and causes of it. It had long been prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and, in order to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it a determinate end, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause, when strictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best antiquaries, in the sense commonly understood upon

19th July.

it. But though positive law seems wanting among the
French for the exclusion of females, the practice had
taken place; and the rule was established beyond controversy
on some account as well as some modern precedents.
During the first race of the Capets, the Franks were
so rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of
submitting to a female reign; and in that period of their
history there were frequent instances of kings advanced to
royal dignity by the succession of dyed, were related to the
woman by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These preced-
tents, joined to like causes, had also established the male
succession in the second race; and though the instances
were not always so circumstantial that persons of either
sex might assert, the principle of excluding the female line seems still
to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the
nation. During the third race, the crown had descended
from father to son for eleven generations, from Hugh
Capet to Louis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the course
of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always
been governed by males, and no female, and none who
founded his title on a female line ever mounted the
throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three
sons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair,
and one daughter, Isabelia, Queen of England. Lewis
Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter, by Mar-
panga, Queen of Scotland; and as the queen was then pregnant, Philip, his younger brother, was
appointed regent till it should appear whether the child
proved a son or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who
lived, and hence Philip became eldest, as the Duke of
Burgundy made some opposition, and
asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by
a solemn and deliberate decree, gave her an exclusion, and
declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to
the crown of France. Philip died after a short reign,
leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without
dispute, or controversy, then succeeded to the crown.
The reign of Charles was also short; he left one daughter;
but before his death he made his heiress, or at least his age-
pointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if
the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip de
Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king; being the
son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair.
The Queen of France was delivered of a daughter:
the regency coded; and Philip de Valois was unanimously
placed on the throne of France.
The Kings of England, who was at that time a youth of
fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was
entitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the
crown, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to
that of the French monarch. But Edward, not well
imagined a notion weaker or worse grounded. The
principle of excluding females was of old an established
opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with
the most express and positive law; it was supported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent instances;
solemnly and deliberately decided: and what placed it
still further beyond controversy, if Edward was disposed
to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own preten-
sions; since the three last kings had all left daughters,
who were still alive, and who stood before him in the
order of succession. He was therefore reduced to assert,
that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her
sexual incapacity of succeeding, he himself, who inherited
through her, was liable to no such objection, and might
claim by the right of proprium. But, besides that this
pretension was more favourable to Charles, King of Na-
varre, a brother of the deceased, than to a sister, it was
clearly contrary to the established principles of succession
in every country of Europe.24 was so repugnant to the practice,
both to private and public inheritances, that nobody in
France, at that time, under his claim; Philip's assertion
was universally rejected: 25 and he explained, that he
had a competitor; much less so formidable a one as the
King of England.

But through the youthful and ambitious mind of Ed-
ward had rashly entertained this notion, he did not think
proper to insist on his pretensions, which must have
immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a
dangerous and unpalatable war with so powerful a monarch.

Philip was a prince of mature years, of great experience,
and, at that time, of an established character both for
prudence and valour; and by these circumstances, as well
as by the internal union of his people, and their acquies-
cence in his undoubted right, he possessed every advan-
tage above all his enemies. He could, by injurious and
violent, to the government of the most intractable and
most turbulent subjects in Europe. But there immediately
occurred an accident which required that Edward should
either open the war by a fresh renewal of resistance and
abjure them. He was summoned to do homage for
Guennue: Philip was preparing to compel him by force of
arms: that country was in a very bad state of defence;
and the forfeiture of so rich an inheritance was, by the
feudal law, the immediate consequence of his refusing or
deciding to perform the duty of a vassal. Edward there-
fore thought it prudent to submit to present necessity: he
went over to Amiens; did homage to Philip; and as there
had arisen some controversy concerning the terms of
submission, he afterwards sent over a formal deed, in which
he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; 26
which was in effect ratifying, and that in the strongest
terms, Philip's pretensions. Philip was, however, his own
claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly
disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on
it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of
the kingdom; and Edward, on further thought of it, had it not been for some incidents
which excited an animosity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois was descended from the blood royal
of France, was a man of great character and authority,
had espoused Philip's sister, and, by his birth, talents, and
credit, was entitled to make the highest figure, and fill the
most important offices, in the monarchy. This prince had
lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birth-
right, by his ancestor, his heir was age,
pointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if
the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip de
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2 Frouard, liv. 1. chap. 4. 10 Frouard, liv. 1. chap. 73.
3 Frouard, liv. 1. chap. 89. 11 Frouard, liv. 1. chap. 89. 24 Anon. Hist.
p. 291. Wadding, p. 120. Murimuth, p. 72.

2 Frouard, liv. 1. chap. 89. 10 Frouard, liv. 1. chap. 73.
Low Countries and on the borders of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might save the province of Guisene, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

Preparations for war with France. The king began with opening his intentions to the Count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in his plans; and soon afterwards referred the expenses of those undertakings to the count of Namur. The Duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his concurrence; the Archbishop of Cambrai, and the Marquis of Juliers, the Count of Namur, the Lords of Fauquemont and Baupen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nought was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable but the accession of Flanders; which Edward procured by means somewhat extraordinary and unusual.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the Flemish names are at this day a degree of opulence unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that barbarous age; had acquired privileges and independence; and began to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather of slavery, into which the common people had long been reduced. The power of the court at Brussels, it was probably difficult for them to bring their sovereign and their nobility to conform themselves to the principles of law and civil government, so much neglected in every other country; but it was impossible for them to confine themselves within the proper bounds in their opposition and resentment against any instance of tyranny: they had risen in tumults; had insulted the nobles: had ceased to regard the monarch as an authority; and, over to the guidance of a sedulous leader, had been guilty of all that insolence and disorder, to which the thoughtless and enraged populace are so much inclined, whenever they are unfortunate enough to be their own masters. Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He was placed and disseized all the magnates at pleasure; he was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure: all the citizens of Ghent were deprived of their property, and were destined to death to give him the smallest umbrage: the few nobles who remained in the country, lived in continual terror from his violence: he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered; and bestowed a great part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use. Such were the first effects that Europe saw of popular violence; after having grounded, during so many ages, under monarchal and aristocratical tyrannies. James d'Arteville was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flanders to his interests; and that prince, the most haughty and most aspiring of the age, never courted any ally with so much ardor. He seconded the king in this great enterprise, affected to consult his parliament, asked their advice, and obtained their consent. And the more to strengthen his hands, he procured from them a grant of 20,000 sacks of wool; which might amount to about a hundred thousand pounds: this commodity was a good instrument to employ with the Flemings; and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other necessary sums by loans, by pawning the crown jewels, by confining, or rather robbing at once all the Lombards, who now exercised the invincible trade formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on interest; and being attended by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, he sailed over to Flanders.

The Germans were provoked by the strides of France, and their unprovoked hostilities against France, A.D. 1338, had required the sanction of some legal authority; and Edward, that he might give them satisfaction on this head, had applied to the Kings of Castile, of Naples, and the Marquis of Juliers, the Count of Namur, the Lords of Fauquemont and Baupen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nought was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable but the accession of Flanders; which Edward procured by means somewhat extraordinary and unusual.

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to be exhausted, they were slow in their motions, and
irresolute in their measures. The Duke of
A. D. 1328. Brabant, the most powerful among them,
seemed even inclined to withdraw himself wholly from the
alliance; and the king was necessitated, both to gain the
Brabanters new privileges in trade, and to contract to his
son Edward with the daughter of that prince, ere he could
bring him to fulfil his engagements. The summer was
wasted in indecisions and negociations; and Edward
could take the field; and he was obliged, in order to
allure his German allies into his measures, to pretend
that the first attack should be made upon Cambry, a city
in his marches, which had been consecrated for his protection.
But finding, upon trial, the difficulty of the enterprise, he
conducted them towards the frontiers of France; and he
there saw, by a sensible proof, the vanity of his expecta-
tions: the Count of Namur, his brother-in-law, (for the old count
was dead,) refused to commence hostilities against his hereditary
lord, and retired with his troops. So little account
did they make of Edward's pretensions to the crown of
England.

War with France. The king, however, entered the enemy's
country, and encamped on the fields of Vi-
ronfosse, near Capelle, with an army of near 50,000 men,
commanded by the family of Forester,
which had contracted to his honour, without running any unnecessary hazard.
The two armies faced each other for some days; mutual de-
fense; the Earl of Northumberland, at his rest retired into Flan-
ders, and disbanded his army.a

Such was the fruitless and almost ridiculous conclusion of Edward's mighty preparations; and, as his measures were made more difficult from the
situation in which he found himself, he might learn from experience in what a hopeless
case he was engaged. His expenses, though
they had led to no end, had been consuming and de-
structive: he had contracted debts; he had anticipated all his revenue; he had
pawed every thing of value which belonged either to himself or his queen; he was obliged, in some measure,
even to pawn himself to his creditors, by not sailing to England till he obtained their permission, and by promis-
ing on his word of honour to return in person, if he did
not remit their money.

But he was a prince of too much spirit to be dis-
couraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking; and he
was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful
and more gallant enterprises. For this purpose he had,
during the course of the campaign, sent orders to summon a
parliament by the royal name, Edward, whom he had left with the
title of guardian, and to demand some supply in his urgent necessities. The barons seemed inclined to grant his request; but the knights, who often at this time acted
as a separate body from the barons, made some scruple of
taxing their constituents without their consent; and
they desired the guardian to summon a new parliament, which
might be properly empowered for that purpose.
The situation of the king and parliament was for the time
nearly similar to that which they constantly fell into
about the beginning of the last century; and similar con-
sequences began visibly to appear. The king, sensible of the frequent demands which he should be obliged to make on his subjects, had been anxious to assure to his
friends a seat in the House of Commons, and at his insta-
igation, the sheriffs and other placemen had made interest to be elected into that assembly; an abuse which the
parliament of England, by the tenor of the four
magnae charters, was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had professedly annexed
conditions to their intended grant, and required a consider-
able retribution of the royal prerogatives, particularly
with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knightng the king's eldest son, and

u Froissart, liv. i. chap. 79. Henng. p. 325.
* w Froissart, liv. i. chap. 79.
A.D. 1339.—CHAP. XV.
marrying his eldest daughter. The new parliament, called
by the guardian, retained the same free spirit; and though
they offered a large supply of 30,000 sacks of wool, no
business was concluded, because the conditions which
they annexed were considered as a temporary concession. But when Edward himself came
over to England he summoned another parliament, and he
had the interest to procure a supply on more moderate
terms. French parliaments before Edward's times, and of the
privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses,
and a remedy for some abuses in the execution of
common law, were the chief conditions insisted on; and the
king promised, if this was made, a grant of 30,000 pounds
obtained from the barons and knights an unusual grant for
two years of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece on their
estates; and from the burgesses a sixth of their movables at their true value. The whole parliament agreed to
a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on
each three hundred woolwells, and on each last of leather
for the same term of years; but dreading the arbitrary
spirit of the crown, they expressly declared that this grant
was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into
precedent. Being soon after sensible that this supply,
though considerable, and very unusual in that age, would
come in slowly, and would not answer the king's urgent necessities, the king approached the French
kings openly in all public deeds gave himself that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with those of
England in his seals and ensigns. The parliament thought proper to oblige the consequences of this measure, and
declare that they owed him no obedience as King of France, and that the two kingdoms must for ever remain
different and independent. They undoubtedly foresaw
that France, if subdivided, would in the end prove the seat
of government, and they deemed this present protesta-
tion necessary, in order to prevent their becoming a
province to that monarchy. A frail security, if the event
had really taken place!

As Edward was imprifized, from the prepara-
tions which were making both in England
A. D. 1340.
and the Low Countries, that he must expect another
invasion from Edward, he fitted out a great fleet of 400 vessels,
with men of war, and brought the fleet to Sluise, with a view of intercepting the king in his
passage. The English navy was much Naval victo-
ry, inferior in number, consisting only of 240
sail; but whether it were by the superior abilities of
Edward, or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they
gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun in their
backs; and with these advantages began the action. The
battle was fierce and bloody: the English archers, whose
force and address were now much celebrated, galled the
French on their approach; and when the ships grappled
together, and the contest became more steady and furious,
the example of the king and the knight of
Flamborough, by the tenor of the four
magnae charters, was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had professedly annexed
conditions to their intended grant, and required a consider-
able retribution of the royal prerogatives, particularly
with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knightng the king's eldest son, and

* Froissart, liv. i. chap. 10.
The lustre of this great success increased the king's authority in his own eyes, and the forces of war, with expedition, and joined the English army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above 100,000 men, consisting chiefly of foreigners, a more numerous army than either before or since has ever been commanded by a king of England; and that at a time when the Flemings, to the number of 50,000 men, marched out under the command of Robert of Artois, and laid siege to St. Omer; but this tumultuary army, composed entirely of treacherous and cowardly subjects, was routed, by a sally of the garrison, and notwithstanding the abilities of their leader, was thrown into such a panic, that they were instantly dispersed, and never more appeared in the field. The enterprises of Edward, though not attended with so inglorious an issue, proved equally vain and fruitless. The King of France had assembled an army more numerous than the English; was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his dominions, by his crown princes, and even by three monarchs, the Kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre: yet he still adhered to the prudent resolution of putting nothing to hazard, and after throwing strong garrisons into all the frontier towns, he retired to his courts, persuaded that the enemy, having wasted their force in some tedious and unsuccessful enterprise, would afford him an easy victory.

Tournaix was at that time one of the most considerable cities in Flanders, and had 50,000 inhabitants of all ages, who were averse to the French government; and as the secret of Edward's design had not been strictly kept, Philip learned that the English, in order to gratify the discontent of his subjects, were determined to attack the city with the siege of this place: he took care, therefore, to supply it with a garrison of 14,000 men, commanded by the bravest nobility of France; and he reasonably expected that these forces, joined to the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city against all the efforts of the enemy. Accordingly Edward, when he commenced the siege, about the end of July, found every where an obstinate resistance; the valour of one side was encountered with equal valour by the other: every assault was repulsed, and proved unsuccessful: and the king was at last obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garrison and citizens, which had enabled them to sustain their resistance, would be too feeble to expose them to the more easily reduced by famine. The Count of Eu, who commanded in Tournaix, as soon as he perceived that the English had formed this plan of operations, endeavoured to save his possessions, by expelling all the useless mouths; and the Duke of Brabant, who wished no success to Edward's enterprises, gave every one a free passage through his quarters.

After the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; and Philip, recalling all his scattered garrisons, advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty army, with an intention of still avoiding any decisive action, but of seeking some opportunity for thorough defeat. Here Edward, irritated with the small progress he had hitherto made, and with the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, sent Philip a defiance by a herald, and challenged him to decide their claims from the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied, that Edward, having done homage to him for the duchy of Guisnez, and having endeavoured to save his provinces, by expelling all the useless mouths; and the Duke of Brabant, who wished no success to Edward's enterprises, gave every one a free passage through his quarters.

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duce, could possibly be contrived by the king or his ministers. And though the parliament, foreseeing the inconvenience, had granted, as a present resource, 20,000 sacks of wool, the only English goods that bore a sure price, the quantity next to rentless for money; it was impossible but the getting possession of such a bulky commodity, the gathering of it from different parts of the kingdom, and the disposing of it abroad, must take a long time. Besides the urgency, the parliament would not permit, and must occasion all the disappointments complained of during the course of the campaign. But though nothing had happened, which Edward might not reasonably demand, he had got within what was an unfortunate issue of his military operations, and so much vexed and annoyed by his foreign creditors, that he was determined to throw the blame somewhere off himself, and he came in very bad humour into England. He dis- covered his peevish disposition by the first act which he performed after his arrival: as he landed unexpectedly, he found the Tower negligently guarded; and he immedi- ately committed to prison the constable, and all the others who had the charge of that fortress, and treated them with unusual rigour. His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the sheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, the under-takers of all kinds of work; besides dismissing all of them from their employments, he appointed commissioners to inquire into their conduct; and these men, in order to gratify the king's humour, were sure not to find any per- son innocent who came before them. Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the great seal, Sir John Smith, chief justice, Andrew Aubrey, Mayor of London, were disabled and imprisoned; as were also the Bishop of Chichester, chan- cellor, and the Bishop of Lichfield, treasurer. Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new taxes had been chiefly intrusted, fell likewise under the king's displeasure; but being absent at the time of Edward's arrival, he escaped feeling the immediate effects of his anger. There were strong reasons which might discourage the kings of England, in those ages, from bestowing the chief offices of the crown on prelates and other eccle- siastics or laymen. These men had so intrusted them- selves in privileges and immunities, and so openly chal- lenged an exemption from all secular jurisdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malversa- tion in office; and as even treason itself was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a sufficient reason for depriving or other spiritual censures, that order of men had insured to themselves an almost total immunity, and were not bound by any political law or statute. And on the other hand, these were men of a pecu- liar class which favoured their promotion. Besides that they possessed almost all the learning of the age, and were best qualified for civil employments; the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the ranks of the crown; as their crimes bore weight, by their personal authority, to the powers intrusted with them: while at the same time they did not endanger the crown, by accumulating wealth or influence in their families, and were restrained, by the decency of their character, from that open rapine and violence so often practised by the nobles. These motives had induced Edward, as well as many of his predecessors, to intrust the chief depart- ments of government in the hands of ecclesiastics, at the hazard of seeing them disown his authority as soon as it was turned against them. A. D. 1341. This was the case with Archbishop Strat- ford, with the prelates, informed of Edward's indignation against him, prepared himself for the storm; and not content with standing upon the defensive, he re- solved, by beginning the attack, to show the king that he knew the pretensions of his character, and had courage to maintain them. He issued a general summons of excommunion against all who, on any pretext, exercised vio- lence on the person or goods of clergy-men; who infringed those privileges secured by the Great Charter, and by eccle- siastics or laymen; or who accused a prelate of treason, or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's displeasure. Even Edward had reason to think himself struck at by this sentence; both on account of the imprisonment of the two bishops, and that of other clergy- men concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of having their goods and movables, that he might make them amenable for any balance which appeared due in their hands. The clergy, with the prince at their head, were now formed into a regular combination against the king; and many calumnies were spread against him, in order to turn the public against his person. He was accused of having deprived so many of his followers of their possessions, that it was pretended that he meant to recall the general par- don, and the remission which he had granted of old debts, and to impose new and arbitrary taxes without consent of parliament. He had entered into operations, by which he had imprisoned one of his own household, and had authorized them for their obstinate offenders. These topics were not well calculated to appease Edward's indignation; and when he called a parliament, he sent not to the privy, as to the other peers, a summons to attend on him. Stratford, chief justice, was accused of being a traitor or anger: he appeared before the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the crosser in his hand, and ac- companied by a pompous train of priests and prelates; and he required of them all the declared to be enemies to the crown. During two days the king rejected his application: but sensible, either that this affair might be attended with dangerous consequences, or that in his im- patience he had perhaps unthoughtfully accused some people, at his return in his office, which seems really to have been the case, he at last permitted him to take his seat, and was reconciled to him. Edward was now found himself in a bad situation both with his own people and with foreign states; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himself from such multiplied difficulties and embarrassments. His unjust and exorbitant demands on France and Scotland had en- gaged him in an unpopular war with these two kingdoms, his nearest neighbours: he had lost almost all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments: he was deeply in- volved in debts, for which he owed a consuming interest; and his military operations on many other hands, except his naval victory, none of them had been attended even with glory or renown, either to himself or to the nation: the animosity between him and the clergy was open and declared, and the people were discouraged on ac- count of many arbitrary measures in which he had been engaged: and what was more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his present necessities, were deter- mined to retract his power, and by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themselves independence and authority. But the aspiring genius of Edward, which had so far transported him beyond the bounds of discretion, proved at last sufficient to reinstate him in his former authority, and finally, to render his reign the most triumphant that is to be met with in English story: though for the present he was obliged, with some losses of dignity, to yield to the current which bore so strongly against him. The parliament framed an act, which was likely to produce considerable innovations in the government. They presumed, that, whereas the great charter had to prohibit the damages of the people, been violated in many points, particularly by the imprisonment of free men, and the seizure of their goods, without suit, indictment, or trial, it was necessary to con- form it anew. It abolished all chief debtors, and put together with the steward and chamberlain of the house- hold, the keeper of the privy seal, the comptroller and

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treauser of the wardrobe, and those who were intrusted with the education of the young prince, to swear to the regular observance of it. They also remarked, that the peers of the realm had formerly been arrested and imprisoned, and disposed of their temporalities and lands, and that the consequence of such conduct was not to preclude future enjoyment of the same, but that the king should fill it by the advice of his council, and the consent of such barons as should at that time be found to reside in the neighbourhood of the court. And they endeavoured to demonstrate that the king should resume into his own hand all these offices, except those of justices of the two benches, and the barons of exchequer; that the ministers should for the time be reduced to private persons; that they should in that condition answer before parliament to any accusation brought against them; and that, if they were found anyway guilty, they should finally be disfranchised of their offices, and more persons be substituted in their place.

These last regulations the barons approached as near as they durst to those restrictions which had formerly been imposed on Henry III. and Edward II., and which, from the dangerous considerations attending them, had become so odious that, for fifteen years, no barons were willing to hazard the concurrence of the people in demanding them, or the ascent of the present king in granting them.

In return for these important concessions, the parliament declared the king himself a traitor to the good of the state, and his wants so urgent, from the clamours of his creditors, and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute; but he secretly entered a protest of such a nature as were sufficient, one should imagine, to destroy all future trust and confidence with his people: he declared, that as soon as his brother and the other dispossessed barons should have withdrawn from the public令牌, revoke what had been extorted from him. Accordingly, he was no sooner possessed of the parliamentary supply, than he issued an edict, which contains many extraordinary provisions and penaltys. In his first article, that statute had been enacted contrary to law; as if a free legislative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms, that as it was hurtful to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had returned in their place, he had only dissembled when he seemed to ratify it, but that he had never in his own breast given his assent to it. He does not pretend that either he or the parliament lay under force; but only that some inconvenience would have ensued. He ratified this statute under the aspect of the pretended statute. He therefore, with the advice of his council, and of some earls and barons, advocates and amis his; and though he professes himself willing and determined to observe such articles of it as were formerly law, he declares it to have beenforth no force or authority. The statutes that were afterwards assembled took no notice of this arbitrary exration of royal power, which, by a parity of reason, left all their laws at the mercy of the king; and, during the course of two years, Edward had so far re-established his influence, and freed himself from his present necessities, that he then obtained from the parliament this repeal of the obnoxious statute.

This transaction certainly contains remarkable circumstances, which discover the manners and sentiments of the age; and may prove what inaccuracy work might be expected from such rubbish, when employed in legislation, and in retiring the delicate fabric of laws and a constitution.

But though Edward had happily recovered his authority at home, which had been impaired by the losses of the French war, he had undergone so many mortifications from that attempt, and saw so little prospect of success, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened him to more promising views, and given his-enterprising genius a full opportunity of displaining itself.

John III. Duke of Brittany had, during some years, found himself declining through age and infirmities; and having no issue, he was solicitous to prevent the succession to his title, either by the birth or death of his deisme, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. His younger brother, the Count of Penthièvre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke displeased her; and as his family inherited the duchy by the female line, and he judged his recent marriage, the marriage was the male heir of that principality. He accordingly prepared to dispose in the manner he thought best to the crown of Montfort, who being his brother by a second marriage, was the male heir of that principality. He accordingly prepared to dispose in the manner he thought best to that crown.

But on the death of this good prince, the ambition of the Count of Montfort broke through all those regulations, and kindled a war, not only dangerous to Brittany, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles of Blois was soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, Montfort was active in acquiring immediate possession of it; and by force or intrigue he made himself master of Rennes, Nantz, Brest, Hennebont, and all the most important fortresses, and engaged many confederates to his aid; for he seemed to calculate that he could expect no favour from Philip, he made a voyage to England, on pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and he there offered to do homage, and Edward as King of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty; Montfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to the state, was given an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries, who had no sincere attachment to him, and whose assistance was obstructed by those numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier. Robert of Artois was zealous in enforceing these considerations: the ambitious spirit of Edward was little disposed to sit down in marriage on those repulses which he had received, and which, he thought, had so much impaired his reputation; and it required a very short negotiation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men, who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.

As this treaty was still a secret, Montfort, on his return, ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cause before the court of peers; but observing Philip and his judges to be prepossessed against his title, and dreading their intentions of arresting him, till he should restore what he had seized by violence, he suddenly made his escape; and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois. Philip sent his eldest son, the Duke of Nemours, with a powerful army, to the assistance of the latter; and Montfort, unable to resist the field against his rival, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was besieged. The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants; Montfort fell into the
hands of his enemies; was conducted as a prisoner to Paris; and was shut up in the tower of the Louvre.\(^3\)

A. D. 1342. This event seemed to put an end to the royal pretensions of the Count of Mountfort; but his affairs were successively disturbed by unexpected incidents, which improved new life and vigour into his party. Jane of Flanders, Countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of the age, was roused, by the captivity of her husband, from the torpor into which she had hitherto limited her genius; and she courageously undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. No sooner did she receive the final intelligence, than she assumed the accustomed postures of her inheritance, where she then resided; and carrying her infant son in her arms, deplored to them the calamity of their sovereign. She recommended to their care the illustrious orphan, the sole male heir of the ancient Montfort family. The audience, moved by the affecting appearance, and inspired by the noble conduct, of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family; all the houses of the Benedicts adhered to the resolution: the countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and after she had put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennesbonne, where she waited with impatience the arrivals of those succours which Edward had promised her. Meanwhile she sent over her son to England, that she might both put him in a place of safety, and engage the king and the English to make a show of assistance. The defence was no less vigorous: the besiegers were repulsed in every assault; frequent sallies were made with success, and the garrison honourably resisted the most inhuman attempts. Edward, without any fault on his own side, after having maintained for a considerable time that siege, was constrained by his master to make a truce; and the English, who had triumphed, were content with the terms which Edward had extorted from them, by the promise of a new and more powerful succour. The king landed at Morbain, near Vannes, with an army of 12,000 men; and, being master of the field, he endeavoured to give a lustre to his arms, by commencing at once three important sieges, that of Vannes, of Renness, and of Nantes. But by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprises. Even the siege of Vannes, which Edward, in person, conducted with vigour, was not attended with success; and the French had the usual device of making preparations against him. The Duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, appeared in Brittany, at the head of an army of 30,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, and besieged Vannes, where he was left to himself by the king, and by his master, who was engaged in another contest. Edward, however, was not satisfied with this truce; and he immediately invaded England, exposed to the hazards of the sea, and sometimes to those which arose from the fleet of the enemy. In this dangerous situation, Edward willingly hearkened to the mediation of the Pope's legates, the Cardinals of Palestrine and Freseart, who endeavoured to negotiate, if not a peace, at least a truce, between the two kingdoms. A treaty was concluded for a cessation of arms during three years;\(^4\) and Edward had the abilities, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation, to procure to himself such a formal and honourable term. It was agreed that Vannes should be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be disposed of afterwards as they pleased; and though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Avignon towards his adversaries, he saved himself, by this device, from the dishonour of having undertaken a fruitless enterprise. It was also stipulated, that all prisoners should be released, that the places in Brittany should be restored to their ancient proprietors, the garrisons to their tenants, and the Bishop of Leon was already engaged, for that purpose, in a conference with Charles of Blois; when the countess, who had mounted to a high tower, and was looking towards the sea with great impatience, descried some sails at a distance. She immediately exclaimed: Behold the succours! the English succours! no capitulation.\(^5\) This fleet had on board heavy armed vessels of war, and a body of troops, which, augmented by the forces that had been prepared for the relief of Hennesbonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest officers of the king's guard, and were resolved to enforce the siege by a great body of men, prepared for the relief of Hennesbonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest officers of the king's guard, and were resolved to enforce the siege by a great body of men, prepared for the relief of Hennesbonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds.
The truce, though calculated for a long time, was of very short duration; and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. Of course, the historians of the two countries differ in their account of the cause of this. It seems probable, however, as is affirmed by the French writers, that Edward, in consenting to the truce, had no other view than to extricate himself from a perilous situation into which he had fallen, and was afterwards very careless in observing it. In the first instance, he clung to it; but when the subject was taken up, he complained chiefly of the punishment inflicted on Olivier de Clisson, John de Monta蜚ban, and other Breton noblemen, who, he said, were partisans of the family of Montfort, and consequently his enemies. He declared that, at the conclusion of the truce, those noblemen had openly, by their declarations and actions, embraced the cause of Charles of Blois; and if they had entered into any secret correspondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and were justly punishable by Philip and Charles for their breach of faith; nor had Edward any ground of complaint against France for the violation of the truce. But when he laid these pretended injuries before the parliament, whom he affected to consult on all occasions, that assembly entered into the quarrel, advised the king not to be a party to a truce which was dissipated by the French for the renewal of the war: the counties were charged with a hundred thousand men, the boroughs with a tenth. The clergy consented to give a tenth for three years.

These supplies enabled the king to complete his military preparations; and he sent his cousin Henry, Earl of Derby, son of the Earl of Lancaster, into Guienne, for the defence of that province. This prince, the most accomplished of the English court, rose to such a height, the virtues of justice and humanity, as well as those of valour and conduct, and not content with protecting and enriching the province committed to his care, he made a successful invasion into the territories of his enemies. He took Monsegur, Monpezat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tomnus, with the fortress of Damassan. Agugillon, a fortress deemed impregnable, fell into his hands from the cowardice of the governor. Guienne was surrendered after a short siege. The only place where he met with considerable resistance was Rocle, which, however, was at last reduced, after a siege of nine weeks. He made an attempt on Blaye, but thought it more prudent to raise the siege, than waste his time before a place of small importance. The reason why Derby was permitted to make such an impression, was the opposition, so far as the side of Guienne, was the difficulties under which the French finances then laboured, and which had obliged Philip to lay on new impositions, particularly the duty of stamps, by the French discantors, and granted numerous of them subjects. But after the court of France was supplied with money, great preparations were made; and the Duke of Normandy, attended by the Duke of Burgundy, and other great barons, by the town of Guienne a powerful army, which the English could not withstand in the open field. The Earl of Derby stood on the defensive, and allowed the French to carry on, at leisure, the siege of Angoulême, which was their first enterprise. John, Lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himself reduced to such extremities, as obliged him to employ a straggar in order to save his garrison, and to prevent his being reduced to surrender at discretion. He appeared on the walls, and desired a parley with the Duke of Normandy. The prince there told Norwich, that he supposed he intended to capitulate, and that he was glad, as to-morrow is the feast of the Virgin, to whom I know that you, Sir, as well as myself, bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day. The proposal was agreed to; and Norwich, having ordered his forces to prepare all the necessary works of fortress, and having advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers imagining they were to be attacked, ran to their arms; but Norwich sent a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who urged himself on by faithfully keeping his word, exclaimed, I see the governor has outwaited me: but let us be content with gaining the place: and the English were allowed to pass through the camp un molested. After some other successes, the Duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon; and as the natural strength of the fortress, together with a brave garrison under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Walter de Walworth, rendered it impregnable, the place by assault, he proposed, after making several fruitless attacks, to reduce it by famine; but, before he could finish this enterprise, he was called to another quarter of the kingdom, by the news of the greatest disasters that ever befell the French monarchy.

Edward, informed by the Earl of Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was exposed, had prepared a force with which he intended, in person, to bring it relief. He embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of eight thousand sail of all dimensions, and carried with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The winds proved long contrary, and the long length of time, spent in the town of Guisnes, for the English troops were not in the province, was at last persuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt, to change the destination of his enterprise. This nobleman was a Norman by birth, had long made a considerable figure in the court of France, and was generally esteemed for his personal merit and his valour; but being disobedient and persuaded by Philip, he had fled into England; had recommended himself to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men; and had succeeded to Robert of Arton in the invidious office of excising and assisting the king in every enterprise against his native country. He had long insisted that an expedition by Normandy promised, in the present circumstances, more favourable than any other. Edward would find the northern provinces almost destitute of military force, which had been drawn to the south; that they were full of flourishing cities, whose pluder would enrich the English; that their cultivated fields, as yet unspoiled by war, would supply them with plenty of provisions; and that the neighbourhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in those quarters. These reasons, which had not before been duly weighed by Edward, began to make more impression, after the disappointments which he met with in his voyage to Guienne: he ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at La Hogue. This army, which, during the course of the Invasion of the ensuing campaign, was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand mounted men, seven thousand infantry, and six thousand Irish. The Welch and the Irish were light, disorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a pursuit, or scouring the country, than for any stable action. The bow was always esteemed a formidable weapon, where the military discipline of the enemy was not well armed and armoured. The only solid force in this army were the men at arms; and even these, being cavalry,
were, on that account, much inferior, in the shock of battle; and as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very mean idea of the military force of those ages, which, being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated the art of war itself, till the general invention. The king created the Earl of Arundel, constable of his army, and the Earls of Warwick and Harcourt, marquises; he bestowed the honour of knighthood on the Prince of Wales, and made the command of the young squires, immediately on his landing. After destroying all the ships in La Hogue, Harfleur, and Cherbourg, he spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded licence of razing, spoiling, and burning every place of which they became masters. The loose discipline then prevalent could not be much hurt by these disorderly practices; and Edward took care to prevent any surprise, by giving orders to his troops, however they might dispose themselves in the day-time, always to quarter themselves at night near the main body. In this manner, Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin, were pillaged without resistance; and a universal consternation was spread abroad.

The intelligence of this unexpected invasion soon reached Paris; and threw Philip into great perplexity. He issued orders, however, for levying forces in all quarters; and to the counties of Eu and Flanders, he sent the Count of Eu, and the Count of Tancarville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caen, a populous and commercial but open city, which lay in the neighbourhood of the English army. The temptation of so rich a prize, soon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and the reinforcements which they daily received from the country, ventured to meet him in the field. But the king, with his prudent coolness, thought proper to prevent this precipitation: the Counts of Eu and Tancarville were taken prisoners; the victors entered the city along with the vanquished, and a furious massacre commenced, without any discretion, with great expedition, in despair, barricaded their houses, and assaulted the English with stones, bricks, and every missile weapon: the English made way by fire to the destruction of the citizens; till Edward, anxious to save both his spoil and his soldiers, stopped the massacre; and having obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops licence to begin a more regular and less hazardous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days: the king reserved for himself share the jewels, plate, silks, fine cloth, and fine linen; and he bestowed all the remainder of the spoil on his army. The whole was embarked on board the ships, and sent over to England, which together with the treasure of the richest citizens of Caen, whose ransom was an additional profit, which he expected afterwards to levy. This dismal scene passed in the presence of two cardinal legates, who had come to negociate a peace between the king and the English army. The king moved next to Rouen, in hopes of treating that city in the same manner; but found that the bridge over the Seine was already broken down, and that the King of France himself was arrived there with his army. He marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, destroying the whole country, and every town and village which he met with on his road.4 Some of his light troops carried their rapiers even to the gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germans, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and other villages, was reduced to ashes within sight of the capital. The English intended to pass the river at Poissy, but found the French army encamped on the opposite banks, and the bridge at that place as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by orders from Philip. Edward now saw that the French meant to enclose him in his country, in hopes of attacking him on all sides; but he saved himself by a stratagem from this perilous situation. He gave his army orders to dislodge, and to advance further up the Seine; but on the 13th of March, conning by the same channel, he arrived at Poissy, which the enemy had already quitted in order to attend his motions. He repaired the bridge with increas-

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4 Feissart, liv. 1, chap. 125.  
5 Ibid. chap. 124.  
6 Ibid. chap. 125.
On this side France demanded the king and the resolution which he expected from them. He demanded nothing, he said, but that they would imitate his own example, and that of the Prince of Wales; and as the honour, the lives, the liberties of all were exposed to the same danger, he was confident that they would make one common effort to extirpate themselves from the present difficulties, and that their united courage would secure them the victory over all their enemies.

It is related by some historians, that Edward, besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe. This is the epoch of one of the most singular discoveries that has been made around a war; and it is in dispute whether the whole art of war, and by consequence many circumstances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts rendered the prevention useless. This piece, it is true, which was first framed, for the use of men that were immediately sensible of their danger, & the very objects to which the invention was directed, & the overthrow of empires, has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and has given greater stability to civil societies. Nations by their means have been enabled to continue their existence, and to resist enemies, otherwise inevitable, with less frequent and rapid: success in war has been reduced nearly to a matter of calculation: and any nation overmatched by its enemies, either yields to their demands, or secures itself by alliances against their violence and invasion.

The invention of artillery was at this time known in France, as well as in England; but Philip in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless encumbrance. All his other movements discovered the same imprudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a desire of revenge, his desire of Alençon was such that he determined, by a declaration of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the English; and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his side was sure. But his army, lor which he was advancing, in some confusion, from Abbeville; but after he had advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen, whom he had sent before to take a view of the enemy, returned to him, and brought him intelligence, that they had seen the English drawn up in great order, and awaiting his arrival. They therefore advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry had permitted them to observe. Philip assented to this counsel; but the former precipitation of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, made it impracticable for him to put it in execution. The division pressed upon another; orders to stop were not seasonably conveyed to all of them; this immense body was not governed by sufficient discipline to be manageable: and the French army, perfectly overpowered by the English, was exhausted, fatigued, and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of 15,000 Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria, and Charles Gualdini; the second, by John Henn, Bishop of Alençon: the king himself was at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there were no less than three crowned heads in this engagement: the King of Bohemia, the King of the Romans, his son; and the King of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vessels of the crown of France. The army now consisted of above 120,000 men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendour.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immovable; and the Genoese first began the attack. There was a prodigious back and forth engagement, a thunder shower, which had monstrosed and relaxed the strings of the Genoese cross-bows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The Genoese fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the Count of Alençon, who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put to the sword. The artillery fired amidst the crowd; the English archers continued to send in their arrows among them; and nothing, by storm and confusion, terror and dismay. The young Prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The English cavalry, however, recovering some of their place, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a stout resistance; and having at last cleared themselves of the Genoese runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and after a short combat, defeated them. The Earl of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the prince, who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an example of valour which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the Earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, despatched a messenger to the king, and entreated him to send succours to the relief of the prince. Edward had chosen his situation, and the situation of the Earl of Warwick,uyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the prince were slain or wounded! On receiving an answer in the negative, Return, said he, to any ancient and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him: I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of highness which I so lately conferred upon him: he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy. This speech being reported to the prince and his attendants inspired them with fresh courage: they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the Count of Alençon was killed. The whole line of the French was thrown into disorder: the riders were killed or dismounted: the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given to the vanquished. The King of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother; he found them already discomfited; and the example of their rout increased the confusion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himself a horse killed under him; he was remounted; and though left almost alone, he seemed still determined to maintain the combat: when John of Hamault seized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horse, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, fell into the arms of the Prince of Wales, and exclaimed, My brave son! Persevere in your honourable course: You are my son; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself today: You have shown yourself worthy of the noblest of our race.

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and the English, observing that they had lost their way in the night and in the mist, they employed a stragglar to bring them into their power; they erected on the eminences some French standards which they had
taken in the battle; and all who were allure by this false signal were put to the sword, and no quarter given them. In excuse for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French king had given like orders to his troops; but the real reason probably was, that the English, in their present situation, did not choose to be encumbered with prisoners. On the day of battle and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, 12,000 French knights, 1,400 gentle-

men, besides above 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Earl of Flanders, Blos, Vaucouleurs, Amale, were left on the field of battle. The Bohemian, their.smallest, the estate of the former was remarkable: he was blind from age; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentle-
mans of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His crest was three ostrich feathers; and his motto these German words, Ich dien, i servc: which the Prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory. The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English, than for the great slaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one esquire and three knights, and very few of inferior rank: a demonstration, that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the sagacious conduct of the French, made the battle the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times. The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in placing his main body towards the right, on the mountain, which he placed after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces; he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom, as might be the means not only to maintain the war, but to recover the vast domains which he lost by the death of D'Artville, who had been murdered by the populace themselves, his former partisans, on his attempting to transfer the sovereignty of that province to the Prince of Wales. The King, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in entering the stain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being supplied with every thing necessary for defence, he encouraged the townsmen to persist in their duty to the English, and courage of Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine: he chose a secure station for his camp; drew intrenchments around the whole city; raised huts for his soldiers, which he covered with straw or bough; and provided his army with all the conveniences necessary to make them endure the winter season which was approaching. As the governor soon perceived his in-

stinct, he expelled all the useless mouths; and the king had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp, and be even supplied with money for their journey.

While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there passed in different places many other events; and all to the honour of the English arms.

The Duke of Normandy from Guienne left the Earl of Derby master of the field; and he was neglectful in making his advantage of the superiority. He took Mirebeau by assault: he made himself master of Lusignan in the same manner: Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands: Pointz opened its gates to him; and Derby, having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the southern provinces of France with terror and devastation.

The flames of war were at the same time kindled in Brittany. Charles of Blois invaded that province with a considerable army, and invested the fortress of Roche de Rien; and in twenty days, five thousand English troops under Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner. His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretensions to Brittany, compelled by the present danger, offered to take her place in the council, and proved herself a rival in every shape, and an antago-
nist to the Countess of Montfort, both in the field and in the cabinet. And while these heroic dames presented themselves to the world, and armies in England, of still higher rank, showed herself no less capable of exerting every manly virtue.

The Scottish nation, after long defending, war with incredible perseverance, their liberties against the superior force of the English, recalled their king, David Bruce, in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great assistance, yet he gave them the countenance of nobility; and as Edward's wars on the continent proved a great diversion to the force of England, they rendered the balance more equal between the kingdoms. In every part of France was opinion that Scotland was comprehended; and when Edward made his last invasion upon France, David was strongly solicited by his ally to begin also hostilities, and to invade the northern provinces of his kingdom. The superiority of his nation being always forward to such incursions, David soon mustered a great army, entered Northumberland at the head of above 50,000 men, and carried his mages and devastations to the gates of Durham. But Queen Philippa, assem-

bling a numerous force, and engaging with the Scots to the number of 15,000 men, she carried the battle. The field was fought on the 20th of Oct. till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles which they fought with the English, even though they commonly declined such engagements where the superiority of numbers was not on their side: but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the present. Though the field was broken and chaos, and thousand of them, some historians say twenty thousand, were slain; among whom were Edward Keith, Earl Mareschal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, Chamberlain: and

Carrie, Lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.

Philippa, having secured her royal prison in the tower, crowned the sea at Dover; and was received in the English camp before Calais, with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry: Edward's court excelled in these accomplishments as much as in policy and arms; and if anything could justify the obsequious devotion then professed to the fair sex, it must be the appearance of such extraordinary women as shone forth during that period.

The town of Calais had been defended 1177, with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and Calais taken. bravely by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length; but Philip, informed of their distressed condition, determined to attempt their relief, and he ap-

proached the English with an immense army, which the writers of that age make amount to 200,000 men. But he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and secured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable de-

strucction, he concluded it impossible to make an attempt.
in the English camp. He had no other resource than to send his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field; which being refused, he was obliged to despatch with him before his men returned from the chase. 

John of Vienne, governor of Calais, now saw the necessity of surrendering his fortress, which was reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He therefore resolved to send the English a signal to the English envoys that he desired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was sent to him by Edward. "Brave Knight," cried the governor, "I have been intrusted by my sovereign with a message from his Majesty, and I must therefore surrender, and desire, as the sole condition, to insure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have long shared with me every danger and fatigue."

Manny replied, that he was well acquainted with the intentions of the King of England; that that prince was incensed against the townspeople of Calais, for their pertinacious resistance, and for the evils which they had made him and his subjects suffer; that he was determined to take no other method but to receive the town on any condition which should confine them in the punishment of these offenders. "Consider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave people should be subjected. In your situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince; making more of the honour of their country than of their own lives, they have given their property to the state; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny was struck with the justness of these sentiments, and a sentiment of religion inspired him; he declared, on the authority of the intentions of the King of England, that he should give such treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at last persuaded to mitigate the rigour of the conditions demanded; he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be detained as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks; and, on these conditions, he promised to spare the lives of all the rest. 

When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it struck the inhabitants with new consternation. To sacrifice six of their fellow-citizens to certain destruction for signalizing their resistance, and to be removed from the scene of their sufferings, was more severe than that general punishment with which they were before threatened; and they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressing a situation. At last one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name deserves to be recorded, stepped forth, and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions; another animated by his example, made a like generous offer: a third, and a fourth, presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, with their feet in irons, and were ordered to be led to execution. It is surprising that so generous a prince should ever have entertained such a barbarous purpose against such men; and still more that he should seriously persist in the resolution of carrying them to a sacrifice, by cutting off their ears, and then throwing them into the flames. They were put to death by the executioner of this infamous king, who, after burning them alive, cast their bodies into deep waters:

and though his biographer was obliged to Queen Philippa herself. In it is a mistake to imagine that the patent of indulgences, which he used to purchase the allegiance of the people, is in the same manner of the case as the letters patent of indulgences, which were granted to St. John of Beverley, and which are now preserved in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. The greater part of them are written in Latin, some being in a different handwriting, and others in a more elegant. The following is one of them: "To all and every person who shall receive this letter of indulgence, I grant, on the condition of it, and on the contrary, exist in general the king's proroguing and declaring the peace of the land. The more unwillingly he wrote, in order to avoid the difficulties that would arise from being tied to the spirit of his predecessor. He was therefore naturally disposed to be severe, as the only way of saving his reputation against the accusations against him of the citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a整齐 to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety. The king took possession of Calais, and immediately executed an act of rigour, more justifiable, because more necessary, than that which he had before refused. He was aware that his pretended title to the crown of France, every Frenchman regarded him as a mortal enemy: he therefore ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and he endeavoured to persuade all the English, being men of his nation, to remain in that city as long as he retained it. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole, commodities of the kingdom to the destruction of the most refined industry and manufactures. All the English were obliged to bring thither these goods: foreign merchants came to the same place in order to purchase them; and at a period when posts were not established, and when the communication between states was so imperfect, this institution, though it hurt the navigation of England, was probably of advantage to the kingdom. Through the mediation of the Pope's legate, Edward promised to make a truce with France; but, even during this cessation of arms, he had very nearly lost Calais, the sole fruit of all his boasted victories. The king had intrusted that place to Aimery de Pauze, an Italian, who was to have kept it, owing to his superior command, as the lifting of the siege, the man was utterly destitute of every principle of honour and fidelity. This man agreed to deliver up Calais for the sum of twenty thousand crowns; and Leoffrey de Charney engaged to supply the officers of the garrison in those quarters, and who knew, that if he succeeded in this service, he should not be disowned, ventured, without consulting his master, to conclude the bargain with him. Edward, alarmed by the news of this treachery by which Aimery's secretary, summoned the governor to London on other pretences; and having charged him with the guilt, promised him his life, but on condition that he would turn the garrison in the castle to the destruction of the town. The Italian easily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of about a thousand men, under Sir Walter Manny, got itself transported from London, carrying with him the Prince of Wales; and, without being suspected, arrived the evening before at Calais. He made a proper disposition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces and the garrison under arms. On the appearance of the enemy, he gave a charge to his soldiers was admitted at the postern; and Aimery, receiving the stipulated sum, promised that with their assistance, he would immediately open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting to enter the town. In a short time the gates were opened, and the French entered the town. The garrison of the castle, which was a strong place, and had been fortified by the French, was immediately taken, and the town was immediately surrendered to the English. The French, though astonished at the event, behaved with valour: a fierce and bloody engagement ensued. As the morning broke, the king, who was not distinguished by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, re-marked a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribemont, who exerted himself with singular vigour and bravery; and he was seized with a desire of trying a single combat with him. He stept forth from his troop, and challenging Ribemont by name, (for he was known to him,) began a sharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beaten to the ground by the valour of the Frenchman; twice recovered his horse; and both fought with equal force on both sides; the victory was long undecided; till Ribemont, perceiving himself to be left almost alone, called out to his antagonist, Sir knight, I yield myself
self your pranser; and at the same time delivered his sword to the king. Most of the French being overpowered by numbers, and intimidated in their retreat, lost either their lives or their liberty.  

The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were conducted into Calais; where Edward discovered the great stratagem with which they had had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. They were admitted to supp with the Prince of Wales and the English nobility; and after supper, they were conducted through the city, and were allowed to treat familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He even addressed himself to Charny, and avoided reproaching him, in too severe terms, with the treacherous attempt which he had made upon Calais during the truce; but he openly bestowed the highest encomiums on Ribaumont; called him the most valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with; and confessed that he himself had at no time been so great a danger as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a string of pearls, which he wore about his own head, and throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he said to him, "Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery; and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake: I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels; let them all know from what hand you had the present; you are not my prisoner: or a prisoner; and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper."

Nothing proves more evidently the vast superiority assumed by the English army above all the other orders of men during those ages, than the extreme difference which Edward made in his treatment of these French knights, and that of the six citizens of Calais, who had exerted more signal bravery in a cause more justifiable and more honourable.

CHAP. XVI.

EDWARD III.

The prudent conduct and great success of Edward, in this engagement, had excited a strong emulation and a military genius among the English nobility; and these turbulent barons, overawed by the crown, gave now a more useful direction to their ambition, and attached themselves to a prince who led them to the acquisition of riches and of glory. That the institution of the order of the Garter, in imitation of some orders of a like nature, religious as well as military, which had been established in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons, besides the sovereign; and as it had never been enlarged, this body of distinction continues now as honourable as it was at its first institution, and is still a valuable, though a cheap present, which the prince can confer on his greatest subjects. A vulgar style prevails, but is not supported by any, and conducted as a court-ball; Edward, his mistress, commonly supposed to be the Countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favour merely by accident: upon which he called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense, Evil to him that thinks evil.* But it was not only among those ancient warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance; he instituted the order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the order. The name was, indeed, unsuitable to the matters of the times; and it is, indeed, difficult by any other means to account, either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or for the peculiar badge of the order, as having reference to any purpose, either of military use or ornament. But a sudden draft was thrown over this festivity and triumph of the court of England, by a destructive pestilence which ravaged that kingdom, as well as the | 1349. | 1349. | A. D. 1349. 

The Constable of Eu, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Caen, recovered his liberty, on the promise of delivering as his ransom the town of Guines, near Calais, of which he was superior lord; but as John was offended at this stipulation, which, if fulfilled, opened still further that frontage of the country; and he suspected the English must have formed for the use of the poor. The same author says, that there died above 80,000 persons of the plague in Normandy, which was in deplorable.
de la Cerda was appointed constable in his place; and had a like fatal end: the King of Navarre ordered him to be assassinated; but such was the weakness of the crown, that this prince, instead of dreading punishment, would not even agree to ask pardon for his offence, but on condition that he should receive an accession of territory: and he had also John's second son put into his hands as a security for his person, when he came to court, and performed the act of mock penitence and humiliation before his sovereign.  

The two French princes seemed entirely reconciled; but this reconciliation, to which John submitted from necessity, and Charles from policy, did not long continue; and the King of Navarre knew that he had reason to apprehend the most severe vengeance for the many crimes and treasons which he had already committed, and which he would have avenged himself with Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had received his pardon from Philip de Valois, but persevered still in his factious disposition, he increased the number of his partisans in the party, to a frequent resort, where they were under the mediation of the Pope. John detected this correspondence; and to prevent the dangerous effects of it, he sent forces into Normandy, the chief seat of the King of Navarre's approach of invading England, and castles of the kingdom. But hearing that Edward had prepared an army to support his ally, he had the weakness to propose an accommodation with Charles, and even to give this truce, by which he removed himself from Berwick to the Moselle, as the purest of a feigned reconciliation, which rendered him still more dangerous. The King of Navarre, insolent from past impunity, and desperate from the dangers which he had already incurred, made himself master of the province of Dauphiné, and expressed his approbation of this event. He seduced, by his address, Charles, the King of France's eldest son, a youth of seventeen years of age, who was the first that bore the appellation of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiné to the crown. But this prince, being made master of the province which he had collected momentous, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates; and, in concert with his father, he invited the King of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a frequent resort, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution; the King of Navarre was thrown into prison; but this stroke of severity in his own country did not operate as a falling douche in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a possession, and even proceeded to ravage the fortress of Ghent, arising from the imprisonment of the King of Navarre; and he sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, to support the partisans of the Navarrese; and was also resolved, on this expedition; but finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining at the height of his power, he finally submitted, into the king's hands his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, received in lieu of them an annual pension of 2000 pounds, with which he passed the remainder of his life in pious and retiring manners.  

During these military operations, Edward received information of the increasing disorders in France, arising from the imprisonment of the King of Navarre; and he sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, to support the partisans of the Navarrese; and was also resolved, on this expedition; but finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining at the height of his power, he finally submitted, into the king's hands his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, received in lieu of them an annual pension of 2000 pounds, with which he passed the remainder of his life in pious and retiring manners.  

The King of Navarre's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. He broke into France, and even pitched his head of a superior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle. The King of England's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. He broke into France, and even pitched his head of a superior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle.

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proved insufficient to save him in this extremity, had the
King of France known how to make use of his present
advantages. His great superiority in numbers enabled
him to threaten the enemy; and interesting all
provisions, which were already become scarce in the
English camp, to reduce this small army, without a blow,
to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But such
was never the custom of the English nobility, and the
Prince, much had their thoughts been bent on overraking
the English as their sole object, that this idea never struck
any of the commanders; and they immediately took meas-
ures against him, as a certain factory. While
the French army was drawn up in order of battle, they were
stopped by the appearance of the Cardinal of Perigord;
who, having learned the approach of the two armies to
each other, had intimated, by in throwing his delay. To
prevent any further effusion of Christian blood. By
John’s permission, he carried proposals to the Prince of
Wales; and found him so sensible of the bad posture of
his affairs, that an accommodation seemed not impractic-
able. Edward told him that he would agree to any terms
consistent with his own honour and that of England; and
he offered to purchase a retreat, by ceding all the conquests
which he had made during this and the former campaign,
and to the English crown. The Prince, not to spare the
France during a course of seven years. But John, imagining that he had
now got into his hands a sufficient pledge for the restitu-
tion of Calais, required that Edward should surrender him-
self, and presented him with a hundred of his attendants;
and offered, on these terms, a safe retreat to the English
army. The Prince rejected the proposal with disdain; and
declared that whatever fortune might attend him, England
should never be allowed to escape for want of his loss.
This resolute answer cut off all hopes of an accommoda-
tion; but as the day was already spent in negociating,
the battle was delayed till the next morning.

The Prince of Wales had leisure during the
night to strengthen, by new interrenchments, the post which
he had before so judiciously chosen; and he contrived an
ambush of 300 men at arms, and as many archers, whom
he put under the command of the Captain de Bucchini,
and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the
flank or rear of the French army during the engagement.
The
whole of his army was commanded by the Earl of Warwick,
the rear by theEarls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main
body by the prince himself. The Lords Chandos, Audley,
and many other brave and experienced commanders, were
at the head of different corps of his army.

John attempted his forces in three divisions, nearly
equal: the first was commanded by the Duke of Orleans,
the king’s brother; the second by the dauphin, attended
by his two younger brothers; the third by the king him-
self, who had by his side Philip, his fourth son and
favourite, then about fourteen years of age. There
was no reaching the English army but through a narrow
lane, covered on each side by hedges; and in order to open
this passage, the musculards Andrenon and Clement were
ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men
at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of
English archers who lined the hedges, plied them on each
side of their way, and by striking very near them, yet
placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against
the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The
French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal
combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the
end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the
Prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body,
ready for their reception. They were disconcerted and
overcome by the mode of the massacre; the dauphin
was taken prisoner; and the remainder of the detachment,
who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of
the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled
upon their own army, and put every thing into disorder. 1

In that critical moment, the Capitul de Bucchini unex-
pectedly appeared and attacked in flank the dauphin’s line,
which fell into some confusion. Landas, Bodenam, and
St. Vincent, who had been ordered by the Prince to remain
with his brothers, had been commissed, too anxious for
their charge or for their own safety, carried them off
the field, and set the example of flight, which was followed
by the other young nobles, and exchanged, without winning
with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, thought no
longer of fighting, but carried off his division by a retreat,
which soon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to
him to renew the attack, and offered him the good
which he had from his valor what his imprudence had betrayed;
and the only resistance made that day was by his line of
battle. The Prince of Wales felt with impunity on
some German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded
by the Counts of Salibruchene, Nydo, and Nost: a fierce
battle ensued: one side were encouraged by the near
prospect of so great a victory: the other were stimulated
by the shame of quitting the field to an enemy so much
superior in numbers. The Duke of Athens, Constable of France, falling in battle,
that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself
exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were
every moment stopt, and the Prince saw the danger of his
side one after another; his son, scarce fourteen years
of age, received a wound, while he was fighting valiantly
in defence of his father: the king himself, spent with fatigue,
and of the French army. He despatched the Earl of Warwick
to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to save the life
of the captive prince, which was exposed to greater danger
than it had been during the heat of the action. The
English were all inmotion, and the French had made
their escape. The French, however, offered him by violence
the homage of the whole army; the English
Gascors claimed the honour of detaining the royal pris-
ton: and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield
the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death. 2
Warwick overawed both parties, and approaching the
Prince with great demonstrations of respect, offered to conduct
him to the prince’s tent.

Here commences the real and truly admirable heroism
of Edward: for victories are vulgar things in comparison
of that moderation and humanity displayed by a young
prince of twenty-seven years of age, not yet cooled from
the fury of battle, and elated by extraordinary and as
unexpected a success, as ever Zenon found in the
march of the massacre; the dauphin was taken prisoner; and the remainder of the detachment,
who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of
the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled
upon their own army, and put every thing into disorder. 1

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1 Froissart, liv. i. chap. 161. 2 Froissart, liv. i. chap. 164. 3 In 1416, chap. 162. 4 Bymer. vol. vi. p. 70, 354. 5 Froissart, liv. i. chap. 164. 6 Froissart, liv. i. chap. 164. 7 P. 1. 197.
that if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of such consummate valour and humanity.

Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner; and he himself served at the royal captive's table. If he had been of a haughty spirit, the sight of the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at table; and declared, that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty, to assume such freedom. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion: John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refused to his father, and seated on the throne; his misfortunes, not his title, were respected; and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by their late discomfiture, burst into tears of admiration, which were approved, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a manner fitted, and carried by a black palfrey. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the King of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesy as if he had been a captive, that he might manifest the kindness that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit. It is impossible, in reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which resulted from the otherwise whimsical principles of John, who was always ready to make use of those rude manners, some superiority even over people of a more cultivated age and nation.

The King of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with in England, had the melancholy consolation of the wretched, to see companions in affliction. The King of Scots had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands; and the good fortune of this latter monarch had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to be prisoners in his capital. But Edward, finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart, his nephew and heir, was still able to defend itself, consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of 100,000 marks sterling; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility as hostages for the payment.

Meanwhile, the captivity of John, joined State of France. to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country a dissolution, almost as universal as it was bloody; a total destruction of the finest re- mains, the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but though endowed with an excellent capacity, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor authority sufficient to defend a state; the civil and military forces of his country were shaken by intestine faction. In order to obtain supply, he assembled the states of the kingdom: that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves divided; and both parties were plundered at the present opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the King of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the oid judges, and first magistrate of Paris, was put at the head of the unarmed populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They detained the dauphin, who had no longer retained in his possession Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, marchesals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other munsters with a like fate; and when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands, and conducted the people between the disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence, and were, in some degree, the agents who, on account of the base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in the service, refused off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery, and associating to them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, formed numerous, and often dangerous, bands, which put the whole kingdom. They desolated the open country: burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. The peasants, formerly oppressed and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery; and rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, bore only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous peasants. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy: their castles were occupied, and all their property was carried away. Their wives and daughters were first ravished, then murdered: the savages proceeded so far as to impale some gentlemen, and roast them alive before a slow fire: a body of nine thousand of them broke into Meurs, whereas the wife of the dauphin, with above 300 ladies, had taken shelter: the most brutal treatment and most atrocious cruelty were justly dreaded by this helpless company: but the Capitul de Buche, though in the service of Edward, yet moved by generosity and by the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their rescue, and beat off the peasants with great slaughter. In other civil wars, the opposite factions, falling under the government of their several leaders, commonly preserve still the vestige of some rule and order: but here the wild state of nature seemed to be renewed: every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows: and the populousness of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil society, served only to increase the horror and confusion of the scene.

Amidst these disorders, the King of Navarre made his escape from Paris, and fixed himself in the Louvre, where he could have no several states, the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but though endowed with an excellent capacity, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor authority sufficient to defend a state; the civil and military forces of his country were shaken by intestine faction. In order to obtain supply, he assembled the states of the kingdom: that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves divided; and both parties were plundered at the present opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the King of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the old judges, and first magistrate of Paris, was put at the head of the unarmed populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They detained the dauphin, who had no longer retained in his possession Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, marchesals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other munsters with a like fate; and when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands, and conducted the people between the disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence, and were, in some degree, the agents who, on account of the base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in the service, refused off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery, and associating to them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, formed numerous, and often dangerous, bands, which put the whole kingdom. They desolated the open country: burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. The peasants, formerly oppressed and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery; and rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, bore only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous peasants. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy: their castles were occupied, and all their property was carried away. Their wives and daughters were first ravished, then murdered: the savages proceeded so far as to impale some gentlemen, and roast them alive before a slow fire: a body of nine thousand of them broke into Meurs, whereas the wife of the dauphin, with above 300 ladies, had taken shelter: the most brutal treatment and most atrocious cruelty were justly dreaded by this helpless company: but the Capitul de Buche, though in the service of Edward, yet moved by generosity and by the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their rescue, and beat off the peasants with great slaughter. In other civil wars, the opposite factions, falling under the government of their several leaders, commonly preserve still the vestige of some rule and order: but here the wild state of nature seemed to be renewed: every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows: and the populousness of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil society, served only to increase the horror and confusion of the scene.

Amidst these disorders, the King of Navarre made his escape from Paris, and fixed himself in the Louvre, where he could have no
increase the public distractions. He wanted the steadiness and prudence requisite for making his intrigues subservient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partisans into a regular faction. He revived his pretensions, somewhat obsolete, to the crown of France; but while he advanced this claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the English, who were concerned in interest to desire that peace, and to invest the enemy to the state, served only by the friendship which they seemingly bore him, to render his cause the more odious. And in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti than one who aspired to be the government of a state, and was engaged, by his station, to endeavour the re-establishment of order in the community.

The eyes therefore of all the French, who wished to restore the king to the space and possession of the country, were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence and spirit, that he daily gained the ascendancy over all his enemies. Marred, the sedition of Provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of the insurgents were dispersed and put to the sword; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate; and though many grievous disorders still remained, France began gradually to turn the tides of his tresses, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

During the confusion in the dauphin’s affairs, Edward seemed to have a favourable opportunity for pushing his combinations: but bounds and difficulties and discovered countries were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence and spirit, that he daily gained the ascendancy over all his enemies. Marred, the sedition of Provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of the insurgents were dispersed and put to the sword; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate; and though many grievous disorders still remained, France began gradually to turn the tides of his tresses, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

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were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in an attempt to secure by hostilities, which, however hitherto successful, had been extremely expensive, and might prove very dangerous: and that Edward having acquired so much glory by his arms, the praise of modern times was as great as that of the ancients. The last may be nominal, and yet he could not so easily renounce an honour so much the greater, as it was durable, was united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the most real advantages. Peace of the peaceable is better than of more terms of peace; and it is proper that, in order to palliate this change of resolution, he should as soon as possible express an intention to renounce the last, which ancient historians represent as the cause of this sudden accommodation. The conferences between the English and French commissioners were carried on during a few days at Bayeux in the Castrum, and terminated by the 6th May. The 6th of May was at last concluded on the following conditions: It was stipulated that King John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, about 1,500,000 of which was to be discharged at different payments: that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Argoût, possessed by him at the death of his father, and to the provinces of Poitou, Anjou, Chinon, Touraine, Agenais, Périgord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovegno, Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Moncontour, and the town of Falaise, the territory of the Principality of Orange, which was all that remained of France: that the King of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions: that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connexions with the Oldenburg, and that the succession of the French crown to the families of Blois and Montfort, should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and if the controversies refused to submit to the award, the dispute should no longer be a ground of war between the kingdoms: and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions.

In consequence of this treaty the King of England and Calais; whether Edward also soon after repaired: and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey; and the two princes, purposing to divide all the privileges acquired by the treaty made, John to that part of the country which bordered on and was subject to the territories of the King of Navarre, Edward to the rest; the execution of this agreement was accomplished with a mediocrity and sincerity, of mutual amity. The good disposition of John made him fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliging the princes, who were not all at the same time possessed of the same sentiments as their respective sovereigns: the King of Navarre was not of these, as he designed to throw off the yoke of his sovereign, and to enslave his country under foreign dominion. The French court were contented with the result of these transactions, and the treaty, as far as concerned them, was altogether advantageous to the nation. But it is to be remarked, that a third of the French king's ransom was yet unpayable when he broke out anew between the two crowns: his son chose rather to employ his revenue in embattling the English, than in enforcing the treaty made by his father.
Mountfort soon after got entire possession of that duchy. But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow: he submitted to the decision of fortune: he acknowledged the title of Mountfort, though a zealous partisan of England; and received the professed homage for his dominions. But the chief obstacle which the French king met with in the settlement of the state, proceeded from obscure enemies, whom their crimes alone rendered eminent, and their number dangerous.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigny, the many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces, and possessed of few, if any, means, having no fixed object, or recompense of a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could gain a subsistence, they associated themselves with the banditti, who were already in so enmities of rape and violence; and under the names of the compagnies and compagnies, became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character, particularly Sir Peter King of Castle, Hampered by his contumely Verte, and others, were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose numbers amounted, on the whole, to near 40,000, and who bore the appearance of regular armies, and were armed in a manner that could not be defeated by it, and betake themselves to peaceable or lawless professions.

As Charles was not able by power to reduce to his enervous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; and to contrive some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil.

A. D. 1366.

The treaty was soon concluded. The high character of honour which that general possessed made every one trust to his promises: though the intended expedition was kept a secret, the companies implicitly enlisted under his standard; and they required no other condition before their engagement, than an assurance that they were not to be led against the Prince of Wales in Guenee. But that prince was so little averse to the enterprise, that he allowed some gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the service under du Guesclin.

Du Guesclin, having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the Pope then resided, and demanded of him an explanation for his soldiers, and the sum of 200,000 livres. The first was readily promised him; some more difficulty was made with regard to the second. "I believe that my fellows, moved by the generosity of the New King of Castle, whose subjects, instead of supporting their oppressors, were ready to join the enemy against him." Peter fled from his dominions, took shelter in Guenee, and craved the protection of the Prince of Wales, whom his father had interested with his present service of the French, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince seemed now to have entirely changed his sentiments with regard to the Spanish transactions; whether that he was moved by the generosity of the New King of Castle, or by the partnership of the New King of Castle and Wales.

His Majesty, at the earnest importunity of his father, he levied a great army, and set out upon his enterprise. He was accompanied by his eldest son, the younger, and perhaps his eldest cousin, in the room of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male issue, and whose daughter he espoused. Clandes also, who bore among the English the same character which du Guesclin had acquired among the French, commanded under him on this expedition.

The first blow which the Prince of Wales gave to Henry of Trastamara, was the recalling of all the compagnies from his service; and so much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and enlisted under his banners. Henry, however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the King of Aragon, and others of his neighbours, was able to meet the enemy with an army of 100,000 men; forces three times more numerous than those which were commanded by Edward. Du Guesclin, seeing the enemy, offered him a suit to fight a decisive action, to cut off the Prince of Wales's provisions, and to avoid every engagement with a general, whose enterprises had hitherto been always conducted with prudence, and whose services the prince trusted too much to his numbers; and ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara. 3d April.
Histories of that age are commonly very copious in describing the shocks of armies in battle, the valour of the combatants, the slaughter and various successes of the day; but though small encounters in those times were often well disputed, military discipline was always too imperfect, and orders in great armies, and actions latterly deserve more the name of routs than of battles. Henry was chased off the field, with the loss of above 20,000 men: there perished only four knights and forty privates among the English.

Peter, who so well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood; but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the Pope, his allies and ambassadors, who, finding the young prince not submitted to the viceroy: Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But he had soon reason to repent his condescension with a man like Peter, abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, finding his soldiers daily perish by sickness, and even his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any satisfaction on this head, to return into Guienne.

The barbaries exercised by Peter over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the old resentment and old animosities. It appeared, in the return of Henry of Tramastare, together with du Gueselin, and some forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again deterred and was taken prisoner. His brother, however, seeing that it should be impossible for him to live, made a covenant with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The Duke of Lancaster, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that sovereignty, and, by claiming the successions, increased the animosity of the new King of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of France had given to Prince Edward received from this splendid, though irruptive expedition, ended not with it. He had involved himself so much in debt, by his prepayments and the pay of his troops, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his principality a new tax, to which some of the nobility consented with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit. This incident revived the animosity which the inhabitants bore to the English, and which all the ambitious qualities of the Prince of Wales were able to mitigate or assuage. They complained that they were considered as a conquered people, that their privileges were disregarded, that all trust was given to the English alone, and that they were exposed, during their stay there, to the malice and ill-nature of the English; and that the extreme reluctance which most of them had expressed to receive the new yoke, was likely to be long remembered against them. They cast, therefore, their eyes towards their ancient sovereign, whose prejudice, they found, had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the Counts of Armagnac, Conming, and Perigord, the Lord d'Albert, with other nobles, went to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Claires, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government.

In the treaty of Bretigny, it had been stipulated, that the two kings should mutually cede to each other the territories claimed to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John, of the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English. But the lands of Anjou, which were ceded to Edward de Balan, who was taken prisoner at Calais, it was found necessary, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories, that the mutual renunciations should for some time be deferred; and it was agreed, that the parties meanwhile should make no use of their respective claims against each other. Though the failure in exchanging these renunciations had still proceeded from France, Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it; both because this clause seemed to give him entire security, and because some preceding apology had probably been made to him for each delay. It was, however, on this pretence, though directly contrary to treaty, that Charles resolved to ground his claim, if still considered as of superior lord of those provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his sub-vassals.

But as views of policy, more than those of justice, enter into the deliberations of princes; and as the events which removed from the English, the pride of their triumphs, the severe terms imposed by the treaty of peace, seemed to render every prudent means of revenge honourable against them; Charles was determined to take this measure, less by the renderings of his civilians and lawyers, than by the present situation of the two monarchies. He considered the declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the Prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of all those provinces bore to their ancient master, and their distance from England, their vicinity to France, the extreme animosity expressed by his own subjects against these invaders, and their ardent thirst of vengeance; and he judged that the없는 변수를 제공하는 자료 속에서, 이상적 형태의 작업을 수행하는 것에 어려움이 없다. 판점, 그 예로는 복잡한 시스템에서의 문제 해결을 수행하는 것에 어려움이 없거나, 이상적 형태의 작업을 수행하는 것에 어려움이 없다.
barked for Bourdeaux with another army, but was so long detained by contrary winds, that he was obliged to lay aside the enterprise. Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of 30,000 men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris, without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement: he proceeded in his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waste; but part of his army being there defeated by the conduct of du Guesci, who was now created Constable of France, and who seems to have been the first uncommon instance of general that had yet appeared in Europe, the rest were scattered and dispersed, and the small remnants of the English forces, instead of reaching Guene, took shelter in Briere, and the king, who had endeavored to make all France the place of their destination. Edward, from the necessity of his affairs, was at last obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests, except Calais.

The decline of the king's life was exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid and magnificent character to which it had filled the beginning and the body of it. Besides losing the loss of his foreign dominions, and being baffled in every attempt to defend them, he felt the decay of his authority at home, and experienced, from the shortness of some parlamentary representatives, the great insufficiency of the people, and the influence of present fortune over all their judgments. This prince, who during the vigour of his age had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war, and who, by immensity of his possessions, was capable per ilude himself in pleasure; and being now a wiser, he attached himself to a lady of sense and spirit, one Alice Pierce, who acquired a great ascendency, and, by her influence, gave such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. The indolence, also, naturally attending old age and infirmities, had made him, in a great degree, resign the administration into the hands of his son, the Duke of Lancaster, who, as he was far from being popular, weakened extremely the affection which the English bore to the person and government of the king. Men curtailed his jealousies very far against the government, and as they saw, with much justice, the death of the Prince of Wales every day approaching, they apprehended lest the succession of his son Richard, now a minor, should be defeated by the intrigues of Lancaster, and that he would reduce the power of the king. But the king, in order to satisfy both the people and the prince on this head, declared, in parliament, his grandson heir and successor to the crown; and thereby cut off all the hopes of the Duke of Lancaster, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any.

The Prince of Wales, after a lingering illness, died in the forty-sixth year of his age; and left a character illustrious for every eminent virtue, and from his earliest youth, till the hour he expired, unstained by any blemish. His valour and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit; his generosity, humanity, affability, moderation, gained him that; as they saw, with much justice, the death of the Duke of Milan, and he was qualified to throw a lustre, not only on that age to which he lived, and which noise infested him with its vices, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. The king survived about a year without being sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained.

The English were apt to consider, with peculiar fondness, the history of Edward III. and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his conduct, the advantages of perpetual peace, and tranquility than she had been blessed with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their bunglers; he made them feel their prince, the magnanimity of daring, or even being inclined, to murmur at it: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorize. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were, in other respects, neither founded in justice, nor directed to any salutary purpose. His attempts against the King of Scotland were of no great moment; and although the first, of his grandfather's claim of superiority over that kingdom, were both unreasonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himself to be too easily seduced, by the glaring prospect of French conquest, to make a war against them, which was practicable, and which, if attained, might really have been of lasting utility to his country and his successors. The success which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to the great and magnificent talents, was unexpected. His attempts against the King of France were of much moment, and were from the very nature of things, not from any unforeseen accidents, was found, even during his lifetime, to have procured him no solid advantages. But the glory of a conquest over the king of France, which the English made, and which, after the event, has been lamented. His prime ambition was to be considered as a monarch of the first rank, and to be the arbiter of the fates of nations: so violent that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France, is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of the prince. And indeed, from the unfortunate state of human nature, it will commonly happen, that a sovereign of genius, such as Edward, who usually finds every thing easy in his domestic government, will turn himself towards military enterprises, where alone he meets with success: and there he has full exercise for his industry and capacity.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his Queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the beroe Edward, usually called the Black Prince, and was created Earl of Chester before he was twelve years old. And Edward, in the beginning of his reign, was first married to the Most Noble Edward, queen, by whom she had a child. By the marriage of the Prince of Wales she had a son, Richard, who alone survived his father.

The second son of Edward (for we pass over such as died in their childhood) was Lancie, Duke of Clarence, who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the Earl of Ulster, by whom he left one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Lancie was the father of the Duke of York, and he was the first of that illustrious family. Lancie's son, Edward, was the eldest son of the Duke of Milan, and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess. Of all the family, he resembled most his father, especially in the external form of his person, which was replete. Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from the place of his birth: he was created Duke of Lancaster; and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown of England. The first marriage of Gaunt, commonly called Edward the Black Prince, his son, was to the most unfortunate of his nieces, and his daughter, married to Edmund, created Earl of Cambridge by his father, and Duke of York by his nephew. The fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of Earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of Duke of Gloucester from his ne-
In order to prevent confusion, we shall always distinguish these two powers by the titles of York and Gloucester, even before they were advanced to them.

There were also several princesses born to Edward by Philippa; to wit, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, who, it is supposed, in the matter of their appointment into the peerage, were chiefly waited on in their visitation, and had never been presented to the peers. There were also two others, none of whom were ever presented to the peers.

It was remarked by an elegant historian,6 that conquerors, though usually the bane of human kind, proved often, in those feudal times, the most powerful and necessary protection, and were most in need of supplies from their people; and not being able to compel them by force to submit to the necessary impositions, they were obliged to make them some compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. This remark is, in some measure, though imperfectly, justified by the history of Edward III. He took no steps of moment without consulting his parliament, and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleased as a reason for supporting his measures.7

The parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time; and even the House of Commons, which, during the minority, was naturally depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of some weight in the constitution. In the later years of Edward, the king's minority, which had been widely supposed in particular, was totally Luttrell, who fell a sacrifice to the authority of the Commons;7 and they even obliged the king to banish his mistress by their remonstrances. Some attention was also paid to the election of their members; and lawyers, in particular, who were at that time men of character somewhat inferior, were totally excluded the House during several parliaments.8

Of the many popular laws enacted by any prince, was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth of this reign,6 which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were, if any other cases should occur, from inflicting the penalty of treason without an application to parliament. The bounds of treason were indeed so much limited by this statute, which still remains in force, without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, and to explain a conspiracy for levying war against the king, to be equivalent to a conspiracy against his life; and this intention was so clearly declared by the same statute, that the case, been tacitly acquiesced in. It was also ordained, that a parliament should be held once a year, or oftener, if need be: a law, which, like many others, was never observed, and lost authority by disregard.

Edward granted above twenty parliamentary confirmations of the Great Charter; and these concessions are commonly appealed to as proofs of his great indulgence to the people, and his tender regard for their liberties. But the contrary presumption is more natural. If the maxims of Edward's reign had not been in general somewhat arbitrary, and if the Great Charter had not been frequently violated, the parliament would never have applied for these frequent confirmations, which could and must have been put to a deed regularly observed, and which could serve to no other purpose than to prevent the contrary proceedings from turning into a rule, and acquiring authority. It was understood by the nation during those ages, that a statute which had been enacted some years, instead of acquiring, was imagined to lose force by time, and needed to be often renewed by recent statutes of the same sense and tenor. Hence, likewise, that general clause so frequent in old acts of parliament, that the statutes enacted by the king's progetors should be observed;9 a precaution which, if we do not consider the circumstances of the times, might appear absurd and ridiculous. The frequent confirmations, in general terms, of the privileges of the church, proceeded from the same cause.

It is a clause in one of Edward's statutes, that no man, of what estate or condition soever, shall be put out of land, tenement, or house, without the consent of the great men of the same land. This privilege was sufficiently secured by a clause of the Great Charter, which had received a general confirmation in the first chapter of the same statute. Why then is the clause so anxiously, and as we may think, so superfluously repeated? Plainly, because there had been some late infringements of it, which gave umbrage to the Commons.

But there is no article in which the laws are more frequently repeated during this reign, almost in the same terms, than that of purveyance, which the parliament always calls an outrageous and intolerable grievance, and the source of infinite damage to the people.10 The parliament tried to abolish this prerogative altogether, by prohibiting any one from taking goods without the consent of the owners,11 and by changing the heinous name of purveyors, which had been so often abused, nor put to death, without being brought in answer by due process of the law.12 This privilege was sufficiently secured by a clause of the Great Charter, which had received a general confirmation in the first chapter of the same statute. Why then is the clause so anxiously, and as we may think, so superfluously repeated? Plainly, because there had been some late infringements of it, which gave umbrage to the Commons.

The magnificient castle of Windsor was built by Edward III. and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him the same number of workmen, clothiers, tailors, or any other art, and give them wages, at what rate he pleased, to the owners of the goods which he laid hold of. The kingdom also abounded so little in commodities, and the interior communication was so imperfect, that, having the moneyers been strictly protected by law, they could easily have exacted any price from the king; especially in his frequent progresses when he came to distant and poor places, where the court did not usually reside, and where a regular plan for supplying it could not be easily established. Not only the king, but several great lords, insisted upon this right of purveyance.

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the king greater supplies than had ever been obtained by any of his predecessors, his great undertakings, and the necessity of his affairs, obliged him to levy still more; and after his splendid success against France had added wealth to his kingdom, those arbitrary impositions became almost annual and perpetual. Cotton's Abrégé-

ment of the Records affords numerous instances of this kind in the first year of his reign, in the thirteenth year, in the fourteenth, in the twenty-sixth, in the twenty-seventh, in the twenty-fifth, in the thirty-eighth, in the fiftieth, and in the fifty-first. The king openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleasure. At one time he replied to the remonstrance made by the Commons against these arbitrary impositions; he refused compliance. In the subsequent year they desired that the king might remove this arbitrary imposition, but his answer was, that he would levy no taxes without necessity, for the defence of the realm, and where he reasonably might use that authority. This incident passed a few days before his death. It was in a manner the last word to his people. It would seem that the famous charter or statute of Edward I. de talloquo non concedendo, though never repealed, was supposed to have already lost, by age, and in the last hours of the king, the power which it was intended to give to the commons by this act. The Commons did not possess the power of naming the tax which was to be levied, and the king had the power of revocating the statute against the arbitrary practices of the court from becoming an established part of the constitution. In so much better condition were the privileges of the people, even during the arbitrary reigns of Edward I., the previous and the succeeding ones, particularly those of the Tudors, where no tyranny or abuse of power ever met with any check or opposition, or so much as a remonstrance, from parliament.

In this reign we find, according to the sentiments of an ingenious and learned author, the first strongly marked, and probably contested, distinction between a proclamation by the king and his privy council, and a law which had received the assent of the Lords and Commons. It is easy to imagine a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward, would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the old tribute was paid during some years of his minority, he afterwards withheld it; and when the Pope, in 1309, sent a bull to cite him to court in default of payment, he laid the matter before his parliament. That assembly unanimously declared, that King John could not, without a national consent, subject his kingdom to a foreign power: and that they were therefore determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension.

During this reign, the statute of provisors was enacted, rendering it penal to procure any presents to be benefficed from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been extremely encroached on by the Pope. By a subsequent statute, every person was outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.

The laity, at this time, seem to have been extremely prejudiced against the papal power, and even somewhat against the clergy, because of the connections with the Roman pointiff. The parliament pretended that the usurpations of the Pope were the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm; were more destractive to it than all the wars; and were the reason why it contained not a third of the inhabitants and commodities which it formerly possessed: that the taxes levied by him exceeded five times those which were paid to the

king: that every thing was velai in that sinful city of Rome; and that even the patrons in England had thence learned to practise simony without shame or remorse. At another time they petition the king to employ no churchman in any office of state to be in his council in terms of expelling by force the papal authority, and thereby providing a remedy against oppressions, which they neither could nor would any longer endure. Men who talked in such a manner were not far from the truth: but Edward did not think proper to second all this zeal; though he passed the statute of provisors, he took little care of its execution; and the parliament made frequent complaints of his negligence on this head. The king, in content with the delivering such of the Romish ecclesiastics as possessed revenues in England, to depend entirely upon him by means of that statute.

As to the police of the kingdom during this period, it was certainly better than during times of faction, civil war, and disorder, to which England was so often exposed; yet were there several vicissitudes in the constitution, the bad consequences of which, all the power and vigilance of the king could not avert. The nobles were in their confederacies with those of their own order, and by supporting and defending their retainers in every misquity,; were the chief abettors of robbers, murderers, and ruffians of all kinds; and in their absolute and unbridled power, the nobility were brought to give their promise in parliament, that they would not allow, retain, or support any felon or breaker of the law; yet this engagement, which we may suspect was not seen exacted, from which the king was never regarded by them. The Commons made continual complaints of the multitude of robbers, murderers, rapists, and other disorders, which, they say, were become numberless in every county, and brought, and which the Commons always ascribe to the protection that the criminals received from the great. The King of Cyprus, who paid a visit to England in this reign, was robbed and stripped on the highway, and his subsequent one, which was brought to him, was never exacted by the king.

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Commerce and industry were certainly at a very low ebb during this period, The bad policy of the country alone affords a sufficient reason. The only exports were wool, wine, Manufactures, and woolen manufactured goods, of which wool was by far the most considerable. "Nayghton has asserted, that 100,000 sacks of wool were annually exported, and sold at twenty pounds a sack; a sack being valued at four hundred marks. But he has added, that the English have never contributed to this dissolution of law, by his facility in granting pardons to felons from the solicitation of the courtiers. Laws were made to retrace this prerogative, and remonstrances of the Commons were presented against the abuse of it; but to no purpose. The gratifying of a powerful nobleman continued still to be of more importance than the protection of the people. The king also granted many franchises, which interrupted the course of justice and the execution of the laws, to those who could influence the king's court.

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ment to foreign weavers, and by enacting a law which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of Eng-
lish fabric. The parliament prohibited the exportation of woollen goods, which was not so well judged, especially
while the exportation of unwrought wool was so much allowed and encouraged. A like injudicious law was made
for the prohibition of manufactured iron, &c. 1
It appears from a record in the Exchequer, that in 1354,
the exports of England amounted to 294,184 pounds
seventeen shillings and twopence; the imports to 38,970
pounds, one shilling. This was a great balance, consid-
ering that it arose wholly from the exportation of raw
wool and other rough materials. The import was chiefly linen and fine cloth, and some of these goods seem to have been extremely drained at this time by Edward's foreign expeditions and
foreign subsidies, which probably was the reason why the
exports so much exceed the imports.

The first toll we read of in England for mending the
highways was that for repairing the road between St. Gile's
and Temple-bar. 2

In the first of Richard II. the parliament complained ex-
tremely of the decay of shipping during the preceding
year, and assented that one thousand formerly mentioned
ships and vessels than were then to be found in the whole kingdom. This calamity they ascribe to the arbitrary seizure of ships by Edward for the service of his frequent expeditions. 3 The parliament, after the passage of Richard's complaint, 4 and we likewise find it made in the forty-
sixth of Edward III. So false is the common opinion,
that this reign was favourable to commerce. There was not one of this king directed to the mayor
and sheriffs of London, to take up all ships of forty ton
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nor till the middle of the subsequent, that they sailed to the
Mediterranean.

Luxury was complained of in that age, as well as in
others of more refinement; and attempts were made by
parliament to restrain it, particularly on the head of apparel,
where surely it is the most obviously innocent and inof-
sensive. No man under a certain fine was allowed to
wear gold, silver, or silk in clothes: servants also were
prohibited from eating flesh-meat or fish above once a day. 7
By another law it was ordained, that no one should be
allowed, either by the king, or by the queen, to wear
more than one suit, or to wear a suit in each course, and not above two courses: and it is likewise
expressly declared, that saved meat to count as one of
these dishes. 8 It was easy to foresee that such ridiculous
laws must prove ineffectual, and could never be executed.

The use of the French language in pleadings and public
deeds was abolished. 8 It may appear strange that the
nation should so long have worn this badge of Conquest:
but the king and nobility seem never to have become
thoroughly English, or to have forgotten their French
extraction, till Edward's wars with France gave them an
antipathy to that nation. Yet still it was long before the
use of the English tongue came into fashion. The first
English paper which we meet with in Rymers was in the
year 1386, during the reign of Richard II. 9 There are
Spanish papers in that collection of more ancient date: 10
and the use of the Latin and French still continued.

We may judge of the ignorance of the Saxons at this
epoch by a story told by Robert of Aylesbury. Pope Clement
VI. having, in 1344, created Lewis of Spain Prince of the
Fortunate islands, meaning the Canaries, then newly dis-
covered; the English ambassador at Rome, and the returns
were seized with an alarm that Lewis had been created
King of England; and they immediately hurried home, in
order to convey this important intelligence. Yet such
an error, as of the year 1344, when the Chronicle, informs us there were then 30,000 students in the
university of Oxford alone. What was the occupation of
all these young men? To learn very bad Latin, and still
worse logic.

In 1364 the Commons petitioned, that in consideration of
the preceding peticlence, such persons as possessed
manors holding of the king in chief, and had let different
leases without obtaining licences, might continue to exer-
cise the same powers, till the country were more become
populous. 9 The Commons were sensible that this security
of possession was a good means for rendering the king
dom prosperous and flourishing; yet durst not apply all
at once for a great augmentation of the amount of the

There is not a reign among those of the ancient English
monarchs which deserves more to be studied than that of
Edward III., nor one where the domestic transactions will
better discover the genius and principles of the British
government which was then established in England. The
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.  
[A. D. 1377.—CHAP. XVII.]

CHAPTER XVII.

RICHARD II.


A. D. 1377.

Government during his accession—The parliament which was summoned so soon after the king's accession, was both elected and assembled in tranquillity; and the great change, from a sovereign of consummate wisdom and experience, to one of eleven years of age, was not immediately felt by the people. The habits of order and obedience which the barons had been taught during the long reign of Edward, still influenced them; and the authority of the king's three uncles, the Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress, for a time, the turbulent spirit to which that order, in a weak reign, was so often subject. The dangerous ambition too of these princes themselves was checked by the plan and undeniable title of Richard, by the declaration of it made in parliament, and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young sovereign upon the throne. The different characters also of these three princes rendered them a counterpoise to each other; and it was natural to expect, that any dangerous designs which might be formed by one brother, would meet with no less inconvenience from the others. Lancaster, whose age and experience, and authority under the late king, gave him the ascendant among them, though his integrity seemed not proof against great temptations, was neither of an exalted spirit, nor of a popular character. York was indolent, inactive, and of slender capacity. Gloucester was turbulent, bold, and popular; but being the youngest of the family, was restrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers. There appeared, therefore, no circumstance in the domestic situation of England which might endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.

But as Edward, though he had fixed the succession to the crown, had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behoved the parliament to supply this defect; and the House of Commons distinguished themselves by taking the lead on this subject. The House, which had been rising to consider the whole course of the late reign, naturally received an accession of power during the minority; and as it was now becoming a scene of business, the ministers, or at worst some of them, for the first time, might preserve order in their debates, and maintain those forms which are requisite in all numerous assemblies. Peter de la Mare was the man pitched on; the same person that

had been imprisoned, and detained in custody by the late king, for his freedom of speech in attacking the ministers and the ministers of that prince. But though this election discovered a spirit of liberty in the Commons, and was followed by further attacks both on these ministers and on the king himself, the king was too loud in the assertion of his great inferiority, to assume at first any immediate share in the administration of government, or the care of the king's person. They were content to apply by petition to the Lords for the redress of these grievances, to appoint a council of nine, who might direct the public business, and to choose men of virtuous life and conversation, who might inspect the conduct and education of the young prince. These councils, as they laboured more especially, ventured to proceed a step further in their applications. They presented a petition, in which they prayed the king to check the prevailing custom among the barons, of forming illegal combinations with each other, and supporting such barons as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and justice. They received from the throne a general and an obliging answer to this petition: but another part of their application was fully met in the immediate calling into the king's minority, by Parliament, which seemed to require the concurrence of the Commons, as well as that of the Upper House, in the nomination, was not complied with: but Lords alone assumed the election, and chose those officers: the Commons tacitly acquiesced in the choice; and thought that, for the present, they themselves had proceeded a sufficient length, if they but advanced their pretentions, though rejected, of interposing in these more important matters of state.

On this footing then the government stood. The administration was conducted entirely in the king's name: no regency was expressly appointed; the nine counsellors and the great officers, named by the peers, did their duty, each in his respective department; and the whole system was for some years kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncle, especially of the Duke of Lancaster, who was himself the first leader of the commons.

The parliament was dissolved, after the Commons had represented the necessity of their being re-assembled once every year, as appointed by law; and after having elected two cavils or dissensions in the king's household, the produce of the fifteenth and tenths, which they had voted to the crown. In the other parliaments called during the minority, the Commons still discover a strong spirit of freedom, and a sense of their own authority, which, without breaching any disturbance, tended to secure their independence and that of the people.

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was now filled by Robert Stewart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, maintained such close connection with France, that they were engaged with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct acquired him the surname of wise, as he had already baffled all the experience and wisdom of his predecessor, was no longer a dangerous enemy to a minor king: but his genius, which was not naturally enterprising, led him not, at present, to give any disturbance to his neighbours: he laboured,
besides, under many difficulties at home, which it was necessary for him to surmount before he could think of making conquests in a foreign country. England was master of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Boulogne; and lately acquired possession of Cherbourg from the ransom of the King of Navarre, and of Brest from that of the Duke of Brittany; and having thus an easy entrance into France from every quarter, was, even in its present situation, to have done much for himself, were it not for the fact that Charles could remove the English from these important posts, be died in the flower of his age, and left his kingdom to a minor son, who bore the name of Charles VI.

A. D. 1370.

The first imposition which was care- ried on in a manner somewhat languid, and produced no enterprise of great lustre and renown. Sir Hugh Calverley, governor of Calais, making an incursion into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, set fire to Boulogne.\(^4\) The Duke of Lancaster conducted an arms into Brittany, but returned without being able to perform any thing memorable. In a subsequent year the Duke of Gloucester marched out of Calais with a body of 2000 cavalry, and 8000 infantry; and scurped not, with his small army, to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Bre, the Beauvais, the Oinosus, the Or- landois, till he had burning his allies in the province of Brit- tany.\(^5\) The Duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more considerable army, came within sight of him; but the French were so overawed by the former successes of the English, that they desisted from the project to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the Duke of Brittany, soon after the arrival of these succours, formed an accommodation with the court of England, this enterprise proved in the end unsuccessful, and made no durable impression upon the enemy.

The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament, besides meeting all the extraordinary expenses above mentioned, to grant a new and unusual tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying this tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition produced a mutiny, which was singular in its circumstances. All history abounds with examples where the great tyranny over the meaner sort; but here the lowest populace rose against their rulers, committed the most cruel ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppressions.

A. D. 1380.

The faint dart of the arts and of good government in that age excited the minds of the people of different states of Europe, to wish for a better condition, and to mould upon those models, which the laws, enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry, had so long imposed upon them. The commotions of the people in Flanders, the mutiny of the peasants in France, were the natural effects of this growing spirit of independence; and the report of these events being brought into England, where personal slavery, as we learn from Froissart, was more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitudes for an insurrection. One John Ball also, a sediscton preacher, who affected low popularity, went about the country, and incited on his audience the principles of the first origin of all unequal laws, and one common stock, their equal right to liberty and to all the goods of nature, the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the nation, and toranscend their slaves in insolent and insolent rules.\(^6\) These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the multitude; and scattered the sparks of that sedition, which the present tax raised into a conflagration.\(^7\)

When Adam died and Eve span, Where was then the gentleman?\(^8\)

\(^5\) Wallace, p. 599.
\(^6\) Froissart, vol. ii. chap. 50. Wallang, p. 239.
\(^7\) Let. v. chap. 74.
\(^8\) Ibid. chap. 74. Wallangham, p. 475.
\(^9\) There were two verses at that time in the mouths of all the common people: in case of precide, was quibled but regard with some degree of approbation:
along Smithfield, very slantly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of these nobles, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner, feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself, as always, with the utmost respect and politeness; the Mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, drew his sword, and struck him so violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the Londoners. The men who had risen, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and thus the whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and unperturbed countenance, he asked them, "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are you angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king: I will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him; he led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city: being, then, joined by Sir Robert Knollis, and a body of well-armed veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the nobles, and such other of those who had been insulted and murdered upon them, and he peaceably dismissed them with some charters which had been granted to their followers. Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they perceived a reproach to London with their neglect and reticence: and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 strong. It then behoved all the rebels to submit: the charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament; the low people were reduced to submission by prudent councils before; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished for the late disorders. Some were even executed without process or form of law. It was pretended that the intentions of the majority had been to seize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head, to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to despatch afterwards the king himself, and having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure. It is not impossible, but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects: but of all their sanguinary schemes, those of transferring the popular franchise, and in time, raising a body of 30,000 men expected to be the salvation of England, were greatest. A youth of sixteen, (which was at this time the king's age,) who had discovered so much courage, presence of mind, and address, and had so dexterously eluded the vigilance of this tumult, raised great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope, that he would, in the course of his life, equal the glories which he had so uniformly attended his father and his grandfather in all their undertakings. But in proportion as Richard advanced in years, these hopes vanished; and his want of capacity, at least of solid judgment, appeared in every enterprise which he attempted. The Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had been for some time occupied in the reconquest of Charles VI.; and John de Vienne, Admiral of France, had been sent over with a body of 1500 men at arms, to support them in their invasions against the English. The danger was now deemed by the king's uncle somewhat serious; and a requisition of 50,000 men was levied: and they marched into Scotland, with Richard himself at their head. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force: they abandoned without scruple their own dominions to the enemy, and crossed into England; and when de Vienne expressed his surprise at this plan of operations, they told him, that all their crew was driven into the forests and fastnesses; that their houses and other goods were of small value; and that they well knew how to compensate any losses which they might sustain in that respect, by making an incursion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwick and Dunbar, on the east coast of the country, where the French were attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the west, and carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, collected a rich booty, and burnt and molested almost every town and village. Richard meanwhile advanced towards Edinburgh, and destroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each side of him: he reduced that city to ashes: he treated in the same manner, Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low country; but when he was advised to direct his march towards the west coast, to await the return of the enemy, and to take revenge on them for their devastations, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements, overcame every consideration; and he led back his army without effecting any thing by all these mighty preparations. The Scots, soon after, finding the heavy bodies of French cavalry very useless in that desolate kind of war, by which they reduced the bounds of their country, treated their allies so ill, that the French returned home, much disgusted with the country, and with the manners of its inhabitants. And the English, though they regretted the want of safety and leisure of their king, saw themselves for the future secured against any dangerous invasion from that quarter.

But it was so material an interest of the French to be possessed of the sea-port towns

A.D. 1385.

of the hands of the enemy, that they resolved to attempt it by some other expedient, and found no means so likely as an invasion of England itself. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluise; for the Flemings were now in alliance with the English; and being in this condition, several of the chief commanders of the English fleet and army were engaged in this enterprise: the English were kept in alarm; great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders; and though the dispersion of the French ships by a storm, and their being in many of them by the English, before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the present danger, the king and council were fully sensible that this perilous situation might every moment return upon them. There were two circumstances, chiefly, which engaged the French at this time to think of such attempts. The one was the absence of the Duke of Lancaster, who had carried into Spain the flower of the English army, and was in possession of all the titles and claims to the crown of Castile, which he engaged in this enterprise; and so much promising success, he was finally disappointed: the other was, the violent dissensions and disorders which had taken place in the English government. The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the Duke of Gloucester, a prince of ambition and genius, though it was not unsuitable to his years and slender capacity, was a extremely disagreeable to his violent temper; and he had at once attempted to shake off the yoke imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendancy over him, and governed him with an absolute authority. The king set so little bounds to his affections, that he first created his favourite Marquis of Dublin, a title before the highest in the land, to the Duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire sovereignty for life of that island. He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Courcy, Earl of Bedford; but soon after he permitted him to marry the daughter of an English family, of an exceptionable character, and to marry a foreigner, a Bohemian, with whom he had become enamoured. These public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole nation, and disturbed the peace of the kingdom passed


q Wallingham, p. 507.

r Freeman, vol. ii. cap. 77. as quoted in the Observations on ancient Statutes, p. 590.

s Wallingham, p. 554.
through his hands: access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation; and Richard seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority, but so far as it enabled him to lead with favours and titles and dignities this object of his affections.

Discontent of the barons.

The jealousy of power immediately produced an animosity between the munition and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other; and the usual complaints against his excesses of cruelty and rapacity were soon renewed and greedily received, in every part of the kingdom.

Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, the Mareschal, Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, Fiery Earl of Northumberland, Montague, and other captains of the army, whose hands were all connected with each other, and with the princes, by friendship or alliance, and still more by their common antipathy to those who had eclipsed them in the king’s favour and confidence. No longer kept in awe by the personal character of the prince, they frowned to submit to his ministers: and the method which they took to redress the grievance complained of, well suited the violence of the age and proved the desperate extremity to which every opposition was sure to be instantly carried.

Michael de la Pole, the present chancellor, and lately created Earl of Suffolk, was the son of an eminent merchant; but had risen by his abilities and valour during the reign of Edward II., and was preferred to the seat of that monarch, and was esteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the Duke of Ireland and the king’s secret council. The late removal of such an intimate friend of Commons at his devotion, impelled them to exercise that power, which they seem first to have assumed against Lord Latimer, during the declining years of the late king; and an impeachment against the chancellor was carried up by them to the House of Peers, which was no less at his devotion. The king foresaw the tempest preparing against him and his ministers. After attempting to rouse the Londoners to his defence, he withdrew from parliament, and retired with his court to Elyham. The parliament sent a deputation, inviting him to return, and threatening that, if he persisted in absenting himself, they would immediately dissolve, and leave the nation, though at that time in imminent danger of a French invasion, without any support or supply for its defence. At the same time, a member was encouraged to call for the record containing the parliamentary deposition of Edward II.; a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reason to expect from them. The king, finding himself unable to resist, was content to stipulate that, except finishing the present impeachment, and removing the cause of the late attack, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers; and on that condition he returned to the parliament.

Nothing can prove more fully the ins sufficiency of Suffolk, than the frivolities of the crimes which his enemies, in the present plenteitude of their power, thought proper to object against him. It was alleged that being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to consult the king’s profit, he had purchased lands of the crown below their true value: that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of 400 marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was assigned upon the customs of the port of Hull, for lands of an equal income; that having obtained for his son from the king a patent of marriage with a Frenchwoman, he was possessed by a Frenchman, an enemy, and a schematist, and a new prior being at the same time named by the Pope, he had refused to admit this person, whose title was not legal, till he made a composition with his son, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; that he had purchased from one Tudeman, of Lambourch, an old and forefeited annuity of fifty pounds a year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that debt and that, when Lord of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of five hundred pounds a year, to support the dignity of that title.

Even the proof of these articles, frivolous as they are, was found very sufficient upon the trial: it appeared that Suffolk had made to the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind were made before he was advanced to that dignity. It is almost needless to add, that he was condemned notwithstanding the false of Suffolk was approved of by the office.

Gloucester and his associates observed their stipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers: but they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission after the model of which had been attempted almost in every reign since that of Richard I., and which had always been attended with extreme confusion. By this commission, which was ratified by parliament, a council of four persons was appointed, all of Gloucester’s faction, except one, Archbishop of York: the sovereign power was transferred to these men for a twelvemonth: the king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality deposed; the power of the royal person was suspended; though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to foresee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual, and that power would with great difficulty be wrested from those who held the chief hands which were once committed. Richard, however, was obliged to submit: he signed the commission which violence had extorted from him; he took an oath never to infringe it; and though at the end of the session he publicly entered a protest, that the prerogatives of the crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should still be deemed entire and unimpaired, the new commissioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exercise of their authority.

The king, thus dispossessed of royal power, A.D. 1297, was soon sensible of the contempt into which civil commotions had fallen. His favourites and ministers, who were as yet allowed to remain about his person, failed not to aggravate the injury, which, without any detriment on his part, had been offered to him. And his eager temper was of itself sufficiently inclined to seek the revenge, both of recovering his authority, and of revenge, on those who had invaded it. As the House of Commons appeared now of weight in the constitution, he secretly tried some expedients for procuring a favourabe election; he sent for the returning officers, and engaging them at that time both the returning officers, and magistrates of great power in the counties, had naturally considerable influence in elections. But as most of them had been appointed by his uncles, either during his minority, or during the course of the present commission, he found them, in general, adverse to his enterprise. The sentiments and inclinations of the judges were more favourable to him. He met at Nottingham Sir Robert Tressilian, chief justice of the King’s Bench, Sir Robert Belknap, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Carew, chief barg of the Exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior justices, and Lockton, serjeant-at-law; and he proposed to them some terms. He showed them the laws, with the influence of his authority, or of reason, made no scruple of answering in the way he was desired. They declared that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that those who pro-
cured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who necessitated and compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should perseverance in maintaining it; that the king had the right of dissolving parliaments at pleasure; that the parliament, while it sits, must first proceed upon the king's business; and that this assembly cannot, without his consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges. Every one of these points stands on its own rights; but the latter two, with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all these determinations, except the two last, appear justifiable: and as the great privileges of the Commons, particularly that of impeaching the king and his ministers, and supporting their proceedings in law, are not the object of the present statement, there are not plausible reasons to justify these opinions of the judges. They signed therefore their answer to the king's queries before the Archbishops of York and Dublin, the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and two other counselors of inferior quality.

The Duke of Gloucester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it. They saw the king's intentions; and they determined to prevent the execution of them. As soon as he came to London, which they knew was very disposed to them, they secretly assembled their forces, and appeared in arms at Haringey park, near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his ministers were not able to resist. They sent him a message by the Archbishops of Canterbury, and the Lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devonshire, informing him that it was necessary to prevent his being reduced by their pernicious counsel, and were tractors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them. A few days after they appeared in his presence, armed and in arms, with armed forces; and they accused, by name, the Archbishops of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the realm, and the subjects of the kingdom. They were all before the king, and freely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The persons accused, and all the other obstreperous ministers, had withdrawn or had concealed themselves.

The Duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king from the violence of the nobles. Gloucester encountered him in Oxfordshire with much superior forces, routed hastily dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after.

A.D. 1388. The lords then appeared at London with an army of forty thousand men; and having obliged the king to summon a parliament, which were entirely at their devotion, they held full power, by observing a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies.

Population of the period.

Five great peers, men whose combined influence and abilities were able at any time to shake the king's government, the throne, the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle; the Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster; the Earl of Arundel; the Earl of Warwick; and the Earl of Nottingham, Mareschal of England, entered before the parliament an accusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not ashamed to impose an oath on all their members, by which they bound themselves to live and die with the appellees, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes.

The other proceedings were well suited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge consisting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellees; and, as none of the accused counsellors, except Sir Nicholas Brembre, was in custody, the rest were cited to appear; and upon their absenting themselves, the House of Peers, after a very short interval, without hearing a witness, without examining a fact, or deliberating on one point of law, declared that the actions and opinions of these counsellors with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all these determinations, except the two last, appear justifiable; and as the great privileges of the Commons, particularly that of impeaching the king and his associates, and that the king's person was afterwards detained in custody by rebels, many of the articles will appear, not only to imply no crime in the Duke of Ireland, and his adherents, but supported, which were laudable, and which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of these ministers before that commission, which subverted the constitution, and annihilated all justice and legal action, were delivered in by the commons, and after crossing the king's favour, keeping his barons at a distance from him, obtaining unreasonable grants for themselves or their creatures, and dissipating the public treasure by useless expenditure, by any criminal and particular illegal act, either of any statute; and their administration may therefore be concluded to have been so far incompetent and ineffective. All the disorders indeed seemed to proceed from the character of those who had refused to follow the king in his own course, and the few who had ever adhered to him, and had attended his master from the earliest infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him: yet all these considerations could not save him from falling a victim to Gloucester's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impression on the mind of Richard: his queen too, (for he was already married to the sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia,)
interested herself in behalf of Harley; she remained three hours on her knees before the Duke of Gloucester, pleading for that gentleman's life; but though she was became extremely popular by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of the good Queen Anne, her petition was sternly rejected by the incorruptible tyrant.

The parliament concluded this violent scene, by a declaration that none of the articles, decided on these trials to be treason, should ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were still to consider the statutes and the practice of the House of Lords as the only rule of decisions. The House of Lords seem not, at that time, to have known or acknowledged the principle, that they themselves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and Commons, had established in their legislature. 1 It was also enacted, that every one should swear to the perpetual maintenance and support of the forfeitures and attainted, and of all the other acts passed during this parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication, as a further security to these violent transactions.

A. D. 1320.

It might naturally be expected, that the king, being reduced to such slavery by the combination of the princes and chief nobility, and having appeared so unable to defend his servants from the cruel effects of their resentment, would long remain in subjective exile; yet he continued in his power without the most violent struggles and convulsions: but the event proved contrary. In less than a twelvemonth, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council, that he had been appointed by the king of Castile, and feudal overlord, to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, to resolve to exercise his right of sovereignty; and when no one ventured to contradict so reasonable an intention, he deprived Fitz-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high office on William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; the Bishop of Hereford was displaced from the other offices which had been the personal property of the king; and, even the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick were removed for a time from the council; and no opposition was made to these great changes. The history of this reign is imperfect, and little else is depended on; except where it is supported by public records: and it is not easy for us to assign the reason of this unexpected event. Perhaps some secret anxieties, naturally to be expected in the situation, had crept in among the great men, and had endeavoured to betray the king into the same errors. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had lost them the affections of the people, who soon repented of any cruel extremities to which they were carried by their leaders. Henry III. was now come to the full possession of the authority which he had resumed. He seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncle and the other great men, of whom he had so much reason to complain: he never attempted to recall from banishment the Duke of Ireland, whom he found so obnoxious to them: he confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon which the parliament had passed for all offences: and he courted the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted him; a remarkable and almost singular instance of such generosity.

After this composure of domestic differences, and this restoration of the government to its natural state, there passes an interval of eight years, which affords not many remarkable events. The Duke of Lancaster returned from Spain; having resigned to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Castile, upon payment of a large sum of money, and having married his daughter, Philippa, to the King of Portugal. The authority of this prince served to cool the terribleness of that of the Duke of Gloucester, and secured the power of Richard, who paid great court to his eldest uncle, by whom he had never been offended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the voutier.

He made a cession to him for life of the lutchy of Guineo, 2 which the inclinations and changeable humour of the Gascons had restored to the English government; but as they remonstrated loudly against this deed, it was finally, with the Duke's consent, nullified. Richard suspended an incident, which produced a disension between Lancaster and his two brothers. After the death of the Spanish princess, he espoused Catherine Swinford, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whose death, he and Gloucester thought the dignity of their family much injured: but the king gratified his uncle, by passing in parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had born him both marriage, and by creating the eldest Earl of Somerset.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard bad inherited with his crown, still continued; though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from the rivalry between the two great powers than from any national quarrel; a fierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterborne, in which young Piercy, surnamed Bapogue, from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Piercy's eldest son, who was his heir, and John of Lancaster, was killed. 3 Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered, in some degree, by this enterprise, his character of conqueror, which had suffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. A. D. 1325.

At last, the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace; but found it so difficult to adjust their differences of opinion, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years. 4 Hereford and Cherbourg were restored, the former to the Duke of Brittany, the latter to the King of Navarre: both parties were left in possession of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce: and to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was allied to Isabella, the daughter of Charles. 5 This princess was only seven years of age; but the king of Navarre, who had married her in order that he might fortify himself by this alliance against the enterprises of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.

The administration of the king, though it was not, in this interval, sullied by any unpopular act, except the seizing of the charter of London, which was soon after restored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his personal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government appeared, in a good measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, addicted to low pleasures; he spent his whole time in feasting and pollity, and disrupted, in idle show, or in bounties to favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see employed in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank by admiring all men to his familiarity; and he was not sensible that their acquaintance with the qualities of his mind was not able to impress them with the respect which he neglected to preserve from his birth and station. The Earls of Kent and Huntington, his half-brothers, were

1 In general, the parliament in these days never paid a proper regard to Edward's nature of treason. Though one of the most extraordinary laws for the subject that has ever been enacted. In the 17th of the King, the great business of the day was the trial and execution of the Bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, and some others among them, for alleged high treason: and the plea of the crown was nothing but the letter of a statute, by which the judges were not allowed to try their own causes. It is true, the statute is the subject of the question, but, on the other side, there was a great deal of reasoning that the parliament may judge of its own cause. Wherein, on the one hand, Tiberius, the emperor, was found guilty of treason, and on the other, they argued two texts, the one to the sheriff of York, and the other to the mayor of London, who was the executor of the law. For the sheriffs of the three towns were the executors of the law. And it is true, that the sense of the town of York was very strong against the king's French, on the mouth of January then coming. And the house of commons were altogether for the king, and on the last meeting in the end, they sent a petition with the key to excommunication; and all such as should receive him after the proclaimation, J. Cotton, p. 544. It is to be observed, that this extraordinary act was passed in a time of tranquillity. Though the advice of Edward III. was to persuade the parliament to declare any war which the king should undertake, as a war of justice, and not as a war of ambition, yet it is not to be supposed that this power was received in the House of Lords, or that it was granted without some discretion. At least, if such be the meaning of the statute, it may be observed that men were at this time very ignorant of the first principles of law and


4 Cotton, p. 544.

5 Cotton, p. 544.
his chief confidants; and favourites; and though he never devoted himself to them with so profuse an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the Duke of Ireland, it was easy for men to see, that every grace passed through their hands, and that they formed an essential part of his government. The small regard which the public bore to his person, disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive, with greedy ears, every complaint which the discontented on either side suggested to their fancy.

A.D. 1397. Gloucester saw that this dissolution conduct gave him; and finding that both resentment and jealousy on the Duke of York's part, and the prudent step of his nephew, had prevented him from acquiring any ascendancy over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himself on those who eclipsed him in favour and authority. He seldom appeared at court or in council; he never declared his opinion but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man whom disposition or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Gloucester took care to encourage and popularise York's ideas, which tracked that spirit throughout the resentments which attended the English arms during the later years of Edward, he made a musing comparison between the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the present, and he lamented the fact that the nation had been deprived of so much from his father's and his grandfather's distinguished. The military men were inflamed with a desire of war, when they heard him talk of the signal victories formerly obtained, and of the easy prey which might be made of French riches by the superior valour of the English: the populace readily embraced the same sentiments; and all men exclaimed that this prince, whose conduct had been so much neglected, was the English honour, and alone able to raise the nation to its former power and splendour. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of constable; all these advantages, not a little assisted by his want of court-favour, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and his ministers.

From this a contemporary writer, and a very impartial, but what was ultimately preferred by his want of exactness in material facts, ascribes to the Duke of Gloucester more desperate views, and such as were totally incompatible with the government and domestic tranquillity of the kingdom. According to that historian, his nephew, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, whom Richard had declared his successor, to give him immediate possession of the throne, by the deposition of a prince so unworthy of power and authority; and when Mortimer had declined the project, he resolved to make a partition of the kingdom between himself, his two brothers, and the Earl of Arundel; and entirely to dispossess Richard of the crown. The king, it is said, being informed of these designs, saw that either his own ruin, or that of Gloucester, was inevitable; and he resolved, by a hasty blow, to prevent the execution of such destructive projects. This is certain, that Gloucester, by his own confession, had but one appeal to speak contemptuously of the king's person and government; had deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even borne part in a secret conference, where his deposition was pro-

posed, and talked of, and determined: but it is reasonable to think, that his schemes were not so far advanced as to make him resolve on putting them immediately in execution. The danger, probably, was still too distant to render a desperate remedy entirely unnecessary to the security of government. But the public opinion we may form of the mind of Richard, from Gloucester's conspiracies, his aversion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, pushed him to overrule his own safety in the choice of so judicious a design of his uncle. The resentment against his former acts of violence revived; the sense of his refractory and uncompliant behaviour was still recent; and a man, whose ambition rendered him incapable of any such premeditated, and who had murdered all the faithful servants of the king, was thought capable, on a favourable opportunity, of renewing the same criminal enterprises. The king's precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation; he ordered Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested; to be hurled on board a ship which was lying in the river; and to be carried to Calais, where alone, by reason of his numerous partisans, he could safely be detained in custody. The Earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time: the malcontents, so suddenly deprived of their leaders, were astonished and overawed; and the concurrence of the Dukes of York and Lancaster, which preceded, with the Earls of Derby and Rutland, the old foes of these princes, beseized them of all possibility of resistance. A parliament was immediately summoned at Westminster; and the king doubted not to find his will in the will of the people, very compliant with his will. This House, had, in a former parliament, given him very sensible proofs of their attachment; and the present suppression of Gloucester's party made him still more assured of a favourable election. As a further expedient for that purpose, he is also said to have employed the influence of the sheriffs; a practice which, though not unusual, gave umbrage, but which the established authority of a parliament, once this premeditated and more familiar to the nation. Accordingly the parliament passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them: they annulled for ever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority; and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any such similar commission; they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's ministers, and which that parliament wise passed them, and the whole nation, had sworn to maintain; a general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free consent of the king. Though Richard, after he resumed the government, and lay no claim to the kingdom, he was permitted to propose in parliament, confirmed that general indemnity; this circumstance seemed not, in their eyes, to merit any considerations. Even a particular pardon, granted six years after to the Earl of Arundel, was annulled by parliament, on the evidence that it had been procured by surprise, and that the king was not then fully apprised of the degree of guilt incurred by that nothman.

The Commons then preferred an impeachment against Fis-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attaining the king's ministers. The principal accusation, had already been published in the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was satisfied with a sentence, which banished him the kingdom, and sequestered his temporalities. An appeal or accusation was presented against the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of the state of the nation were voted: In which, among other things, the House recommended the king to the king; and for that purpose declared that the court should not be so much frequented as formerly by bishops and lords. The king was afterwards prevailed on. John Wick- Rickhill, who brought it over from Calais, was tried on that account, and acquitted; but his acquittal, notwithstanding his innocence, may even appear favourable to the accusation. In the same year Cotesworth was hanged.

B T Rayner, vol. vii. p. 130. 2 Livy, iv. chap. 66. 3 Cotton, MS. p. 210. 4 Arch. de Ant, i. vol. iii. part. g. p. 97l, from the records. 5 Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 477. That this confession was genuine, or, at least, very nearly true, seems to have been acknowledged. 6 Constitution, iv. chap. 95. Walsingham. p. 524. 7 Prouost, liv. iv. chap. 295. From the main points in the article: By the preceding passage the Commons had shown a disposition very contrary to the king; for that party, before the Commons declared their views, had been supported by the king, and the latter's policy, which did not correspond with the Commons, was only sustained by the former. In the same year, or rather in 1395, 8 Cotton, MS. p. 940.
of Arundel and Warwick, by the Earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerset, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the Lords Spencer and Scrope, and they were accused of the same crimes which had been imputed to the archbishops, as well as of their appearance against the king, in a hostile manner, at Haringay park. The Earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wisely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but he was condemned and executed. The Earl of Warwick, who was also convicted of high treason, was, on account of his submissive behaviour, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the isle of Man. No new trial was granted against his adherents; but the king proved his intention in the destruction of their heads, by a warrant to the fiscal to proceed with the indicted persons; and he was conducted to the place of execution, and there hanged. The only crimes, for which they were condemned, were the old attempts against the crown, which seemed to be obliterated, both by the distance of time and by repeated pardons. The reasons of this method of proceeding it is difficult to conjecture. The recent conspi- racies of Gloucester seem certain from his own confession: but, perhaps, the king and his ministry had not at that time in his hands many satisfactory proofs of their reality; perhaps, it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwick of any participation in them; perhaps, an inquiry into these conspiracies would have involved in the guilt some of those great lords who object to the crown, and, consequently, whom it was necessary to cover from all imputation; or, perhaps, the king, according to the genius of the age, was indifferent about maintaining even the appearance of law and equity, when the end was to extirpate the persons and heads of that party, a misunderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution; and the king wanted either authority sufficient to appease it, or foresight to prevent it. The Duke of Hereford appeared in court accused of the Duke of Norfolk in having spoken to him, in private, many slanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of subverting and destroying many of his principal subjects. But the king employed the public prosecutor to prove this as a negligence or delusion, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of combat were appointed; and as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interposition of legislative authority, the parliament thought it more suitable to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the session beyond the usual time which custom and general convenience had prescribed to it.

The Duke of Hereford was certainly very little delicate in the point of honour, when he revealed a private conversation to the run of the person who had intrusted him; and we may infer that he was as well disposed to the Duke of Norfolk's denials, than the other's averments. But Norfolk had in these transactions betrayed an equal neglect of honour, which brings him entirely on a level with his antagonist. Though he had publicly joined with the Duke of Gloucester and his party in all the former acts of violence against the king; and his name stands among the appellants who accused the Duke of Ireland and the other ministers: yet was he not ashamed publicly to impute his former associates for the very crimes which he had concurred with them in committing; and his name increases the list of those appellants who brought them to a trial. Such were the principles and practices of those ancient knights and barons during the prevalence of the aristocratical government, and the reign of chivalry.

The lists for this decision of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king: all the nobility of England bands together; and, as was the case of one duke or the other: the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event: but when the two champions appeared in the field, accorded for the combat, the king interposed, to prevent both the present effusion of such noble blood, and the future consequences of
quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners he stopped the duel; and to show his im
timacy, he ordered, by the same authority, both the
combatants to leave the kingdom;  

Asuming one country for the place of Normandy, he declared perp

mental; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to

Hereford was a man of great prudence and command of
talent, whose name had been long linked with so much submiss
in those delicate circumstances, that he, before his de

side, promised to shorten the term of his exile four

years; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the

interval accrue to him, to enter immediately in possession,

and to postpone the doing of homage till his return.

The weakness and fluctuation of Richard's

That same day of 1503, it was agreed by the couns

Hereford".

A.D. 1399.

his cousin in foreign countries; and he was sent

over the Earl of Salisbury to Paris with a commission for that purpose. They treated with the Duke of

Lancaster, which happened soon after, called upon him to

take new resolutions with regard to that opulent succes

The present duke, in consequence of the king's

petition, desired to be put in possession of the estates and jurisdic

of his father; but Richard, afraid of streng

then the hands of a man whom he had already so much offende

red, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and

presented their affair was but an appendage to that business which the parliament had then before them.

By their authority he revoked his letters patent, and

reclaimed possession of the estate of Lancaster; and by the

same authority he seized and tried the Duke's attorney,

who had procured and insisted on the letters, and had

him condemned as a traitor, for faithfully executing that

trust to his master.  

An extravagant act of power! even

though the king changed, in favour of the attorney, the

remedy of death provided to the transgressor interested, which

Henry, the new Duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by

his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; and

having served with distinction against the叛乱s in

Lancashire, he was entitled to his title. The people of that

province, knowing him to be of a just and valour, virtues which have at all times a great influence

over mankind, and were, during those ages, the

qualities chiefly held in estimation.  

He was connected with the Duke of Gloucester, a principal nobility

of the realm; and as the injury done him by the king

might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily

brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part

in his resentment. The people, who must have an object

of affection, who found nothing in the king's person which

they could love or revere, and who were even disgusted

with many parts of his conduct,  

easily transferred to Henry that attachment which the death of the Duke of Gloucester had left without any fixed direction. His

misfortunes were lamented; the injustice which he had

suffered was complained of; and all men turned their

eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the

lost honor of the nation, or redress the supposed abuses in the government.

Return of

Despite the dispositions of the

people, Richard had the imprudence to em

bird for Ireland, in order to secure his son, his

cousin, Roger, Earl of March, the presumptive heir of the

crown, who had lately been slain in a skirmish by the

natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open

to the attempts of his provoked and ambiti

The King, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of some persons, among whom were the Arch

bishop of Canterbury, and the young Earl of Arundel, for the purpose of that, he landed at Havre on the  

and was immediately joined by the Earl of Northumber

land and Westmorland, two of the most potent barons in

England. Here he took a solemn oath, that he had no other

purpose in this invasion, than to recover the dukedom of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him; and he invited

all his friends in England, and all lovers of their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension.

Every place was in commotion; the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; London discovered the strongest

symptoms of its disposition to mutiny and rebellion; and

Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon

amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants.

The Duke, therefore, very readily a message from Henry, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble

petition in the recovery of his legal patrimony; and the

guardian even declared publicly that he would second his nephew in so reasonable a request. His army

embarked with consolations the same voyage; and the Duke of Lancaster, reinforced by them, was now entirely

independent. He hastened to Bristol, in which some of the king's ministers had thrown themselves; and soon

obliged that place to surrender, he proceeded to the popular cities, and without giving them a trial, ordered the Earl of Waltheof, Sir John Bussey, and Sir Henry Green, whom he there took

prisoners, to be led to immediate execution.

The king, recovering intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, hastened from France and landed at

Milford Haven with a body of 20,000 men; but even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed

by the general combination of the kingdom, or seized with the same partial policy which had alienated his people. He

seized, till he found that he had not above 6000 men who followed his standard. It appeared, therefore, neces

sary to retire secretly from this small body, which served to

the Duke, after his departure, as a means of delivering the

island of Anglesey, where he proposed to embark either for

Ireland or France, and there await the favourable oppor

unities which the return of his subjects in a sense of duty,

The King, therefore, transferred the dukedom to the new Duke of Leicestershire, and appointed him

Recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city, entered him, for the public safety, to put Richard to death, with all his

adherents who were prisoners;  

but the duke prudently de

ferring a trial, and landed at Dover, he could not fail to proceed to those extremities. For this purpose, he

issued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of a parliament at Westminster.
Such of the peers as were most devoted to the king, were either fled or imprisoned; and no opponents, even among the barons, dared to appear against Henry, amidst that scene of outrage and violence, which commonly attends revolutions, especially so in England during those tumultuous ages. It is also easy to imagine, that a House of Commons, elected during this universal ferment, and thus triumph of the Lancastrian party, would be extremely attached to that cause, and ready to act against every suggestion, which, whether it could have a remote tendency to settling their affairs, being as of little weight to stem the torrent, was always carried along with it, and served only to increase the violence, which the public interest required it should endeavour to control. The conduct of Henry, therefore, may, we may observe, that a law, in the 13 Edw. I, had been enacted against the peers for any change having afterwards appeared from experience, the Commons, in

and inquisitorial, and violent, than usual, or were only laid hold of and exaggerated by the faction to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able, at this distance, to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumstance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandfather: he is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax, without consent of parliament, during his whole reign; scarcely a year passed Edward the reign in which the Commons did not make complaints with regard to this dangerous exaction of authority. But perhaps the ascendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other rare prerogatives: and reduced them a smaller grievance to his hands, than a less absolute authority in those of his grandson. This is a point which it would be rash for us to decide positively on either side; but it is certain, that a charge, drawn up by the Duke of Lancaster, and assented to by a parliament situated in those circumstances, forms no manner of presumption with regard to the unusual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular.

When the charge against Richard was presented to the parliament, though it was liable almost in every article to objections, it was not canvased, nor examined, nor disapproved in either of the two sessions that were held universal approbation. One man alone, the Bishop of Carlisle, had the courage, amidst this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the presiding party. That such commendable virtuous prelate may seem to favour too much the doctrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a sacrifice of the rights of mankind, he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his admiration of the present government; its authority and constitution, in many of its circumstances, was fully supported by authority of parliament, and was but a copy of the violence which the princes and barons themselves, during their former triumph, had exercised against him and his party. The detestation of Lancaster's estate, was properly speaking, a revocation, by parliamentary authority, of a grace which the king himself had formerly granted him. The murder of Gloucester (the secret execution, however merited, of that prince no more sanctified a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any usurped or arbitrary power of the crown, which could justly give magnitude to the people. It really proceeded, not from the king's manner of acting different from that of his ambition; and proved, that instead of being dangerous to the constitution, he possessed not even the authority necessary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the second accusation, as it mostly consists of general facts, was framed by Richard's inverte enemies, and was never allowed to be answered by him or his friends, it is more difficult to form a judgment. The greater part of these grievances, imputed to Richard, seems to be the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives; such as the dispensing power, levying purveyances, employing the marshal's power to extort sums, granting protections from law; all of which are prerogatives, and on which when once declined, or, from his, had not himself imposed any arbitrary taxes; even the former two, in Richard's time, were, in a certain manner, the result of the present state; and that these two, after that they were imposed illegally, or by arbitrary will.

We learn from Cotes, p. 609, that Becket, by his chancellor, told the Commons, that they gave formerly power to him, and namely the power to change them with others, and afterwards, to which he was bound to make no change; and that it was granted that they dealt freely with the commons, and not to make laws for the future; which was a very proper thing, and which he desired that the Commons should know. It is certain, that Richard, by his chancellor, obtained a charter to lease the law, and that he was not granted any arbitrary taxes; even the latter, after that they were imposed illegally, or by arbitrary will.

But while Richard was furnishing the means of change having afterwards appeared from experience, the Commons, in

the twentieth of this king, applied by petition that the sheriffs might be continued; though that petition had not been enacted into a statute, by reason of other disagreeing placards, which attended it. See Litt., p. 732. It was certainly a very moderate exercise of the dispensing power in the king to continue for some time the sheriffs, which were not acceptable to his subjects, and had been applied for by one House of parliament; yet it is made an act of change against him by the present parliament. See art. 98. It is styled, speaking of a period early in Richard's reign, that it was by the authority of the privy council, and by a mandamus to that effect; that the king, by the advice of the privy council, had made an order in order to alter the salaries of the sheriffs; and that the commission had been ordained in parliament. If Richard, therefore exercised the dispensing power, and a mandamus to that effect, he was a party to the change, and indeed of all his predecessors from the time of Henry I, inclusively.
on the throne: and the people had an opportunity, by their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence which they had committed against his predecessor. That a descendant of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late Duke of Lancaster, had been declared in his will to succeed to the crown if the aged king had left children, and that their title, however it might be overpowered by present force and faction, could never be obliterated from the minds of the people. That if the turbulent dispositions of the town had not restrained the word of the established throne of so good a prince as Richard; what bloody commotions must ensue, when the same cause was united to the motive of restoring the legal and undoubted heir to his succession! That new governments, intended to be established, would stand on no principle; and would scarcely retain any pretence by which it could challenge the obedience of men of sense and virtue. That the claim of Lineal descent was so gross as scarcely to deserve the most ignorant of the populace; conquest could never be pleaded by a rebel against his sovereign: the consent of the people had no authority in a monarchy not derived from consent, but established by hereditary right; and however the nation might be justified in deposing the misguided Richard, it could never have any reason for setting aside his lawful heir and successor, who was plainly innocent. And that the Duke of Lancaster would give them back the whole of the legal monarchical which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion, the guilt of excluding the family, which, both by right of blood, and by declaration of his predecessor, had, in case of Richard's demise or voluntary resignation, been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy. All the circumstances of this event, compared to those which attended the last revolution, shew the great difference between a great and civilized nation, deliberately vindicating its established privileges, and a turbulent and barbarous anarchy, plunging headlong from their own destruction. All the scenes of another. All the events of 1269, and 1740, the noble freedom of the Bishop of Carlisle, instead of being applauded, was not so much as tolerated: he was immediately arrested by order of the Duke of Lancaster, and sent a prisoner to the Tower. Not for the debate was attempted: thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted against Richard; and voted unanimously by the same peers and prelates who, a little before, had voluntarily and unanimously authorized those very acts of violence which they now complained. That prince was deposed by the suffrages of both Houses; and the throne being now vacant, the Duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and arms, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words, which we shall give in the original language, because of their singularity:

In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this revoc of England, and the crown, with all the members, and the appurtenances; as I am descendit by right line of the blood, coming fro the gude king Henry therc, and throg that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of kyng, and of my frindes to recver it; the whiche revoc was in poeet to be ondowe by defavt of governacne, and ondouyng of the gude laces.

In order to understand this speech, it must be observed, that there was a silly story, received among some of the lowest vulgar, that Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, son of Henry the 3d, was really the elder brother of Edward 1; but that by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been posthumously in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present Duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmund by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy; and it is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech: but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or by the parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a

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2 m Cotton, p. 369.
3 a Knighton, p. 472.
4 a Knyvett, p. 230.
5 a Otterburn, p. 270.
6 a Cotton, p. 360.
7 a Henry IV, cap. 14.
body was exposed in public, and that on marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

All the writers who have transmitted to us the history of Richard, lived during the reigns of Lancastrian princes; and candour requires, that we should not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. But, after making all proper allowances, he still appears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity, than of solid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper; profuse in his expenditures; prone to indolence; and addicted to the pleasures of dissipation. The manners, indeed, of the age were the chief source of such violence: laws, which were feebly executed in peaceable times, lost all their authority during public convulsions: both parties were alike guilty: or if any difference did exist, it was that the people sought to establish the authority of the crown, being more legally, was commonly carried, when it prevailed, to less desperate extremities than was that of the aristocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign with those of the preceding, we shall find equal reason to admire Edward, and to blame Richard; but the circumstance of opposition, surely, will not lie in the strict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of small abilities, as he felt his want of power, seems to have been more moderate in this respect than the other. Every parliament assembled during the reign of Edward, remonstrated against the ecclesiastical antiquities and innovations of his successors or others: we hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard, till the assembling of his last parliament, which was summoned by his inveterate enemies, which was composed of men who were in the interest of the doctrine of the reformed church, and at the time of the most furious convulsions, and whose testimony must therefore have, on that account, much less authority with every equitable judge. Both these princes experienced the encroachments of the great upon their authority. Edward, reduced to necessities, was obliged to make an express bargain with his parliament, and sell some of his prerogatives for present supply; but as they were acquainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any exorbitant concessions, or such as were incompatible with regal and sovereign power: the weakness of Richard tempted the parliament to extort a commission, which, in a manner, determined the prince, and transferred the sceptre into the hands of the nobility. The events of these encroachments were also suitable to the character of each. Edward had no sooner gotten the supply, than he departed from the engagement which had induced the parliament to grant it; he openly told his people, that he had but dissolved

2 Persons, in this view, the shibboleth of the records, by Sir Robert Cotton, during these two reigns.

3 Introductory to his history of the reigns of Edward's Abolishment, p. 106. shows a strange prejudice against the church and churchmen. The Commons afterwards repented of this, and the parliament, and making their apology, threatened some good words against the king's person, so he housed, in all his course, twenty men in his bedchamber, seven in the chamber, and twenty others were ready to put, and nothing appeared against the Commons, and that it should shortly de-

4 Whereupon the king appointed several bishops, lords, and others of the noble army of the king, to keep a watch over the Commons, and that if they should continue, the Commons must be set at the head, and go at the report of the Commons, they, on the

5 Presumption of the king, charged his confessor not to come into the court but upon the four principal festivala. We should little expect that a popular pri-

6 It is the maxim of the school, in order to prove a man's guilt, his innocence must be shown. He was led at a distance from the court, his insolence increased, and his proof imperfect; but in these respects the publick, and the majority of the sacred college were Frenchmen, this circumstance naturally biased the judgment of the Frenchmen, and the sentence of the court against the English clergy could not be accounted for from that cause.


8 J. Dymond, p. 606. "He treated all with a mixture of severity and humanity; his corrections were, in the latter part of this reign, in the bosom of his subjects, and his last was most tenderly felt in the bosom of his subjects, and his last was most tenderly felt
ected him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors, who screened him from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Duke of Lancaster, who then governed the kingdom, encouraged the principles of Wickliffe; and he made no scruple, as well as Lord Percy, the Mareschal, to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial: he even insisted that Wickliffe should sit in the bishop's presence, while his principality was enlarged. Countess-冈terex, under the insult: the Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and mareschal, who escaped from their hands with some difficulty. And the populace, soon after, broke into the houses of bishops that had adhered to the prelates, and plundered their goods. The Bishop of London had the merit of appeasing their fury and resentment.

The Duke of Lancaster, however, still continued his protection to Wickliffe during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer had so far propagated themselves, that, when the Pope sent to Oxford a new bull against these doctrines, the university deliberated for some time, whether they should receive the bull; and they never took any vigorous measures in consequence of the papal orders. Even the populace of London were at length brought to entertain favourable sentiments of this reformer: when the Papal bull was received at Lambeth, they broke into the assembly, and so overawed the prelates, who found both the people and the court against them, that they dismissed him without any further censure.

The clergy, we may well believe, were more willing in particular to meet the Prebendaries than to publish heresy, which struck at all their credit, possessions, and authority. But there was hitherto no law in England by which the secular arm was authorized to support orthodoxy; and the ecclesiastics were forced to supply the defect by extraordinary and unwarrantable artifices. In the year 1381, there was an act passed, requiring sheriffs to apprehend the preachers of heresy and their abettors; but this statute had, before the year 1385, expired. The prelates, and by them the monks, had the formality of an enactment without the consent of the Commons. In the subsequent session, the lower House complained of the fraud; affirmed that they had no intention to bind the realm, but only to prosecute the prelates further than their ancestors had done before them; and required that the pretended statute should be repealed; which was done accordingly. But it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this vigilance of the Commons, the clergy had so much art and influence, that the repeal was superseded; and this act, which never had any legal authority, remains to this day upon the statute book: though the clergy still thought proper to keep it in reserve, and not proceed to the immediate execution of it.

But, besides this defect of power in the church, which saved Wickliffe, that reformer himself, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, seems not to have been actuated by the spirit of martyrdom; and, in all subsequent trials before the prelates, he so explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings, as to render it quite innocent and inoffensive. Most of his followers imitated his cautious disposition, and saved themselves either by recantations or explanations. He died of a pulse, in the year 1385, at his retory at Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; and the clergy, mortified that he should have escaped their vengeance, took care, besides accusing the people of his sedition, to last his latest distress, with a visible judgment of heaven upon him for his multiplied heresies and impurities.

The prelates, however, of Wickliffe's opinion still continued in England; some monkish writers represent one-half of the kingdom as infected by those principles: they were carried over to Bohemia by some youth of that nation, who studied at Oxford; but though the age seemed strongly disposed to receive them, they were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution; and the finishing blow to ecclesiastical power was reserved to a period of more curious literature, literature, and inclination for novelty.

Meanwhile the English parliament continued to check the clergy and the court of Rome by more sober and more legal expedients. They enacted anew the statute of *prœtorum*, and affixed higher penalties to the transmission of it, which, in some instances, was even made capital. The court of Rome had fallen upon a new device, which increased their authority over the prelates: the Pope, who found that the expedient of arbitrarily depriving them was too violent, introduced a more gentle one; the non-薪liciting of such as they were too obnoxious to poorer sees, and even to nominal sees, in *partibus infidelium*. It was thus that the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, had the king's consent to the making a new dispensation to the church, which was treated after the prevale of Gloucester's faction: the Bishop of Carlisle met with the same fate after the accession of Henry IV. For the Pope always joined with the prevailing powers when they did not thwart his pretensions. The parliament, in the reign of Richard, enacted a law against this abuse: and the king made a general remonstrance to the court of Rome, against all those usurpations which he calls *horribles causes of that court.*

It was usual for the church that they might elude the mortmain act, to make their territories leave hands in trust to certain persons, under whose name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest; the parliament also stopped this practice. But a new expedient was resorted to, by which the Commons prayed, that remedy might be had against such religious persons as cause their vassals to marry free women irreconcilable, whereby the estate comes to those religious hands by collateral succession, which was a new development of the law of primogeniture.

The papacy was, at this time, somewhat weakened by a scism, which lasted during forty years, and gave great scandal to the devout partisans of the holy see. After the Pope had reigned many years at Avignon, Gregory XI. was persuaded to give way to a recommendation of his, by which happened in 1380, the Romans, resolve to fix, for the future, the seat of the papacy to Italy, besieged the cardinals in the conclave, and compelled them, though they were not yet elected to the see, to accept the position into that high dignity. The French cardinals, as soon as they recovered their liberty, fled from Rome, and protesting against the forced election, chose Robert, son of the Count of Genoa, to whom the name of Clement V. was given, and resided at Avignon. All the kingdoms of Christendom, according to their several interests and inclinations, were divided between these two pontiffs. The court of France adhered to the latter, and was followed by the King of Castle, and the King of Scotland: England, of course, was thrown into the other party, and declared for Urban. Thus the appallance of Clementines and Urbanists distressed Europe for several years; and each party blamed the other for the schism, which was afterwards esteemed a signal advantage of Christ. But this circumstance, though it weakned the papal authority, had not so great an effect as might naturally be expected. Though any king could easily at first make his kingdom embrace the party of one Pope or the other, or even keep it some time in suspense between them, he could not so easily transfer his obedience at pleasure: the people attached themselves to their own party, as to a religious opinion; and conceived an extreme abhorrence to the opposite party, whom they regarded as little better than Saracens or infidels. Crusades were ever undertaken in this quarrell; and the zealous Bishop of Norwich, in particular, was so heated, that he erected himself into Flanders against the Clementines; but after losing a great part of his followers, he returned with disgrace into England. Each Pope, sensible, from this prevailing spirit among the people, that the kingdom which once embraced his cause would always adhere to him, boldly maintained all the pretensions of his see, and stood not much more in awe of the temporal sovereigns, than if his authority had not been endangered by a rival.

We come now to the very beginning of this reign: * Whereas divers persons of small garrison of land or other possessions, do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of others, in many

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*HISTORY OF ENGLAND* [A.D. 1399.—CHAP. XVII.]
parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other livery of one suit by year, taking again towards them the value of the same livery, or percase the double value, by such covenant and assurance that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great maintenance and oppression of the people, &c.  

This preamble contains a true picture of the state of the kingdom. The laws had been so feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigilant reign of Edward III. that no subject could . . . themselves, under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defense. They were public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished.  

These supported each other in all quarrels, inequities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself; and their own band was more connected with them than their country. Hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times; hence the small regard paid to a character or the opinion of the public: hence the large discretionary prerogatives of the crown, and the danger which might have ensued from the too great limitation of them. If the king had possessed no arbitrary powers, while all the nobles assumed and exercised them, there must have ensued an absolute anarchy in the state.

One great mischief attending these confederacies, was the frequent pillage and pursuit of the king parsons for the most enormous crimes. The parliament often endeavoured, in the last reign, to deprive the prince of this prerogative; but in the present, they were content with an abridgment of it. They enacted, that pardon for rapes or for murder from malice prepense should be held unjust, unless done were particularly specified in it. 1 There were also some other circumstances required for passing any pardon of this kind; an excellent law, but ill observed, like most laws that thwart the manners of the people, and the prevailing customs of the times.

It is easy to observe, from these voluntary associations among the people, that the whole force of the feudal system was in a manner divided from that of the people; for which English had nearly returned, in that particular, to the same situation in which they stood before the Norman conquest. It was, indeed, impossible that that system could long subsist under the perpetual revolutions to which landed property is everywhere subject. When the great feudal baronies were first erected, the lord lived in opulence in the midst of his vassals: he was in a situation to protect and cherish and defend them: the quality of patron naturally united itself to that of landlord and protected the persons of authority mutually supported each other. But when, by the various divisions and mixtures of property, a man's superiors came to live at a distance from him, and could no longer give him shelter or countenance; the tie gradually became more fictitious than real; new connections from viciny or other causes were formed; protection was sought by voluntary services and attachment; the appearance of valour, spirit, abilities, in any great man, extended his interest very far; and if the sovereign were deficient in these qualities, he was no less, if not more, exposed to the usurpations of the aristocracy, than even during the vigour of the feudal system.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holte was the first peer that was advanced to the House of Lords in this manner. The practice of giving benedictions is also first mentioned in the present reign. This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predecessors or successors. His household consisted of 10,000 persons; he had 300 in his kitchen; and all the other offices were furnished in proportion. 2 It must be remarked, that this enormous train had tables supplied them at the king's expense, according to the former from the king. Such prodigality cost probably the source of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reason of the public discontents.

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1 Houbr. Hist. cap. 7.  
2 15 Rich. cap. 1.
bury and Lord Lumley, for raising an insurrection, and for seizing the king's person at Windsor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He suddenly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windsor with a body of 360 horse, found that they had missed this blow, on which all their plans of raising their followers in the several counties which were the seat of their interest. But the adherents of the king were hot in the pursuit, and every where opposed themselves to their progress: and he and his party withdrew to the castle of Carisbrooke, at the citizens, and were next day beheaded without further ceremony, according to the custom of the times. The citizens of Bristol treated Spencer and Lumley in the same manner. The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely, who were also taken prisoners, suffered death with many others of the conspirators, by orders from Henry. And when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops and thirty-two minor abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation.

But the spectacle the most shocking to every one who regarded with the least element of human pity, was that remained. The Earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of Lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he presented in triumph to Henry, as a testimony of his loyalty to the commonwealth, whom he had seen after Duke of York by the death of his father, and first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester; he had then deserted Richard, by whom he was trusted, had conquered against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance; had betrayed his associates, whom he had seduced into this enterprise; and now displayed, in the face of the world, these badges of his multiplied dishonour.

A. D. 1483.

The insurrection of these conspirators might seem to give security to his throne, the animosities which remain after such bloody scenes, are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increase, by any hazardous enterprise, those numerous enemies with whom he was every where environed. While a subject, he was believed to have strongly imbued all the principles of his father, the Duke of Lancaster, and to have adopted the principles which the Lollards inspired against the abuses of the established church; but, finding himself possessed of the throne by so preposterous a title, he thought superstition a necessary implement of public authority; and in order to every expedient to pay court to the clergy. There were but few no penal laws enacted against heresy; an indulgence which had proceeded, not from a spirit of toleration in the Romish church, but from the ignorance and simplicity of the people, which had rendered them unfit either for starting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be restrained by rigorous penalties. But when the learning and genius of Wycliffe had once broken, in some measure, the fetters of prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and the king, who was very little scrupulous in his conduct, was easily induced to sacrifice his principles to his interest, and to acquire the favour of the church by that most effectual method, the gratifying of their vengeance against opponents. He engaged the parliament to pass a law for that purpose: it was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his scriveners, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of one: William Sauer, rector of St. Osmund's in London, had been convicted of heresy by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the House of Peers; the king issued his writ for the execution of the unhappy man stoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This is the first instance of that kind in England; and thus one horror more was added to those dismal scenes which at that time were already too familiar to the state.

But the utmost precaution and prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquests which assailed him from every quarter. The confessions of Richard of York once made that court exert its activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death; but though the confessions in England tempered the French to engage in some enterprise by which they might do him honour and revenge the death of their king, which they experienced at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, laid aside his preparations, and renewed the truce between the kingdoms. The attack of Guise was also an inviting attempt, which the present faculties that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Guiscards, attachent to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him; and the appearance of a French army on their frontiers would probably have tempted them to change masters. But the Earl of Worcester, arriving with some of the most indigent of Henry's family, who offered to suffer the fate of Henry, and overcame their opponents. Religion too was here found a cement with their union with England. The Guiscards had been engaged, by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the union of the kings of France and England; and it was believed that, if they submitted to France, it would be necessary for them to pay obedience to the Pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to detest as a schismatic. Their principles on this head were too fast rooted to admit of any sudden or violent alteration.

The revolution in England proved like- wise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Gwilym, descended from Glendour's ancestors of that country, who had become notorious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald Lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was closely connect- ed with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to Gray; the Welch took part with him, and he appeared a powerful leader of the people, which, after being thus exalted, Glendour long sustained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country, and the untamed spirit of its inhabitants.

As the predominance of this movement was promiscuously on all the English, he invested the estate of the Earl of March; and Sir Edmond Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welch chief; his troops were routed, and he was taken prisoner; at the same time, the earl himself, who had been allowed to retire to his castle of Wigmore, and who though a mere boy took the field with his followers, fell also into Glendour's hands, and was carried by him into Wales. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of March, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; and though that young nobleman was nearly allied to the Fiennes, to whose assistance he himself had hitherto counted, he refused to the Earl of hereditary permission in trust of his ransom with Glendour.

The uncertainty in which Henry's affairs stood during a long time with France, as well as the confusions incident to all great changes in government, prevented him from making incursions into England, and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering his new government unpopular by requiring great supplies from his subjects, summoned a parliament at Westminster, to the Commons, and, laid before them the state of his affairs. The military part of the feudal con-
stition was now much decayed: there remained only so much of that false as affected the civil rights and properties of men; and the peers were too weak, but voluntarily to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers.

Henry conducted this army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master, and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for his crown. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this useless bravo: and he disbanded his army.

A.D. 1403.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Douglas, at the head of 12,000 men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Piercyes at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner, as was Morrice, Earl of Fife, son of the Duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king, with the Earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the Earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But his policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Piercy.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on the other. The sovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not easily satisfied in the returns which he thought so great a prince should make. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life, and conferred other gifts on that family, these favours were regarded as due; the officer and many other requests were deemed an injury. The impenitent spirit of Harry Piercy, and the factious disposition of the Earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontent of that nobleman: and the precipitate title of Henry seemed to leave no doubt that the prince had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendouer. He gave liberty to the Earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. Before that movement, and soon after, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendouer. The king had happily a small army on foot, with which he had intended to act against the Scots; and, knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewsbury, but the latter was joined by Glendouer; and the policy of one leader, and impotence of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

The evening before the battle, Piercy sent a manifest to Henry, in which he returned his thanks for that almsgiving that delighted his heart, and charged him to bear his guilt, when on landing at Ravenspur he had sworn upon the Gospels, before the Earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to King Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first denouncing,

then murdering that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal succession, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young Earl of March, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his prayers permission to treat of his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon the people. Indeed, he had repeatedly employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that prince's arraignment and deposition. This manifesto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties: the bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement: and the equality of the armies, being each about 12,000 men, a number which was unmanageable by the commanders, gave reason to expect a great effusion of blood on both sides, and a very doubtful issue to the combat.

We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight: his gallant son, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed a signal service for his father, was wounded on his father's footstep, and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Piercy supported that fame in which he had acquired in many a bloody combat. Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible: he seemed determined that the king should that day fall by his arm: he sought him all over the field of battle: and as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his presence everywhere, had accorded several captains in the royal garb, the sword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royals prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day, on both sides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction were on the king's side: the Earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gauze, Sir Hugh Murtun, Sir John Maister, Sir John Caverly. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two-thirds were of Piercy's army. The Earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners. The former was pressed to ransom: the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit.

The Earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the Earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted his pardon for his offence: all the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the Earl of Worcester and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief actors in the plot, no person was punished. This generous enterprise seems to have perished by the hands of the executioners.

But Northumberland, though he had been so much trusted, and that he was too powerful to be cordially given by a prince, whose situation gave him such reasonable grounds of jealousy. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow graces of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them.
them; they rose in rebellion one after another; and thereby afforded him an opportunity of suppressing many of those insurrections, which, had they been united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The Earl of Nottingham, son of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Archbishop of York, brother to the Earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, when Duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, though they had remained quiet while Percy was in the field, still harboured in their breast a violent hatred against the enemy of their families, and they determined, in conjunction with the Earl of Northumberland, to seek revenge against him. They betook themselves to arms that powerful nobleman was prepared to join them; and publishing a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with having sacrificed the lives of many of the late king, they required that the right line should be restored, and all public grievances be redressed. The Earl of Northumberland, whose power lay in the neighbourhood, approached them with an inferior force at Shipton, near York; and, being afraid to hazard an action, he attempted to subdue them by a stratagem, which nothing but the greatest folly and simplicity on their part could have rendered successful. He designed a conference with the archbishop and earl between the armies: he heard their grievances with great patience: he begged them to propose the remedies: he approved of every expedient he suggested; and neither trusted them to their demands: he also engaged that Henry should give them entire satisfaction; and when he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he observed to them, that since amity was now in effect, restored between them, he could not rely on their fidelity, which otherwise would prove an insupportable burden to the country. The archbishop and the Earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpose: their troops disbanded upon the field; but Northumberland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to his army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with hasty marches to suppress them. The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have proved a troublesome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an opposition to form itself against that unusual measure; but the execution alone could not render it safe and prudent. Finding that Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, made some scruple of acting on this occasion, he appointed Sir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced his sentence upon the death of which he presently executed. This was the first instance in England of a capital punishment inflicted on a bishop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, however small, were likely to pass without impunity. The Earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner: but though many other persons of condition, such as Lord Falconberg, Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others seem to have fallen victims to Henry's severity.

The Earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with Lord Bardolf; and the king, without opposition, reduced all the castles and fortresses belonging to these noblemen. He then turned his arms against Glendour, over whom his son, the Prince of Wales, had obtained some advantages; but the progress of his troops was stopped by the enemy, who, with greater numbers, had formed means of defending himself in his fastnesses, and of eluding, though not resisting, all the force of England. The Duke of Burgundy, in a subsequent season, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered the north in hopes of raising the people to arms; but found the country in such a posture as rendered all their attempts unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Redack, in the course of securing his fastnesses, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were slain. This prosperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, fired Henry from all his domestic

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mentary are somewhat more memorable, and more worthy of our attention. During the two last reigns the elections of the Commons had appeared a circumstance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accused of placing unanswerable members in his pockets, in order to procure a seat in that House. This practice formed one considerable article of charge against him in his deposition; yet Henry scrupled not to try in his footsteps, and to encourage the same arbitraries by the example of the king. Lord was his answer, with such due influence, and even a sheriff was punished for an iniquitous return which he had made; but laws were commonly at that time, very ill executed; and the liberties of the people, such as they were, were on a sure foundation; and the laws and elections. Though the House of Commons was little able to withstand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and the aristocracy, and though that House might easily be brought, at a particular time, to make the most unwarrantable concessions to either; the general institutions of the state still remained inva-

ible; the interests of the several members continued on the same footing; the sword was in the hands of the subject; and the government, though thrown into temporary disorder, soon settled itself on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign, the king was obliged to court popularity; and the House of Commons, seeing the elections to be more in favor of the king, which had not usually been exercised by his predecessors. In the first year of Henry, they procured a law, that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measure, should be excused by the interest of the king, and, even the danger of his own life from the menaces of the sovereign. In the second year, they insisted on maintaining the practice of not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions; which was a tactful manner of bargaining with the prince. In the fifth year, they desired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased them, among whom was his own cousin, and he refused it. A law was passed that no offence which these men had committed, yet in order to gratify them, complied with their request. In the sixth year they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the House. In the eighth year they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and the king was obliged to appoint treasurers of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household, to swear to the observance of them. The abridge of the records marks the unusual liberties taken by the speaker and the House. During the latter years, the Commons were but a temporary advantage, arising from the present situation. In a subsequent parliament, when the speaker made his customary application to the throne for liberty of speech, the king, having now overcome all his domestic difficulties, plainly told him, that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But on the whole, the limitations of the government seem to have been more sensibly felt, and more carefully maintained, by Henry, than by any of his predecessors.

During this reign, when the House of Commons were, at any time, brought to make unwary concessions to the crown, they would never yield without the representation of them. Henry, though he entertained a perpetual and well-grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parlia-

ment. He was even at this time one of the principal counselors of the Earl of March king, he never attempted to procure, what would not have been refuse him, an express declaration against the claims of that nobleman; because he knew that, in a free present, the king did not have no authority, and would only serve to revivify the memory of Mortimer's title in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpose after a more artful and covert manner. He procured a settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs-male, thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the Salic law into the English government. He thought, that though the house of Plantagenet had at first derived their title from a female, this was a remote and uncertain title, compared with one title by the people; and if he could once acconunt them to the prac-
tice of excluding women, the title of the Earl of March would gradually be forgotten and neglected by them. But, in every attempt. During the king contests with Fauvo, the injuries against the law which had been so much exclaimed against by the nation, that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men; and it was now become impossible to enfranchise it. The same House of Commons therefore, in a subsequent session, apprehensive that they had overturned the foundations of the English government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might ensue even from the irregular elevation of the house of Lancaster, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princes of his family. A certain proof, that nobody was in his heart satisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to rest it.

But though the Commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown, their efforts against the church were still more extraordinary, and, indeed, were proposed to him by the clergy, of which he had become so general in a little more than a century afterwards. I know that of the credit these passages rests entirely on one ancient historian; but that historian was not a cleric, and it was not the interests of his order to preserve the memory of such transactions, much more to force precedents, which posterity might, some time, be tempted to imitate. This is a truth so evident, that the most likely way of accounting for the silence of the records on this head, is by supposing, that the authority of some churchmen was so great as to procure a miracle, with regard to these circumstances, which the indication of one of that order has happily preserved to us.

In the sixth of Henry, the Commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed in plain terms to the king, that he should seize all the temperatures of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to avert the exigencies of the state. They insisted that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burthen; and that their revenues tended only to disqualify them from performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy were not in past times, but that their vessels and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves, who stood at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayer for the king's happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and answered, without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute; the king discouraged the application of the Commons; and the Lords rejected the bill which the Lower House had framed for stripping the church of her revenues.

The Commons were not discouraged by this repulse; in the eleventh of the king they renewed to the charge with more zeal than ever they had ventured before. Their anxiety was the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to 483,500 marks a year, and consisted 18,400 ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new hospitals, and among one hundred hospitals; besides 20,000 pounds a year, which the king might take for his own use: and they insisted, that the clerical functions would be better performed at present, by 45,000 marks a year, than by seven marks a piece of yearly stipend. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, which shows from what source the address came. The king gave the Com-
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1412—CHAP. XIX.

The King's former disorders.—His reformation.—The Lollards.—Penalty of Lord Cobham.—State of France.—Execution of the King.—Battle of Agincourt.—State of France.—Assassination of the Duke of York.—Battle of Agincourt.—State of France.—Marriage of the King.—His death—character—Miscellaneous transactions during the reign.

The many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situation of late had been exposed, had so much heightened his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown, which, he thought, might form dangerous amusements for him. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagances of every kind; and the riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind, better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions, whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humour, he indulged and seconded; and he was detected in many sallies, which, to severer eyes, appeared to tally unworthily of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition, that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scurried not to accompany his notions associates in attacking the passengers on the street, was continually employed in despising them of their goods; and he found an amusement in the incidents which the terror and regret of those defenceless people produced on such occasions. This extreme of dissoluteness proved equally disagreable to his father, and the eager application to business which had at first gained him occasion of jealousy; and he saw, in his son's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, the same attachment to low company, which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation, in general, considered the young prince with more indulgence; and observed so many grains of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity in his conduct, which, it is said, were haunted, render him an object of our pity, even when seated upon the throne. But it must be owned, that his prudence and vigilance foresawt, in maintaining his power, were admirable: his command of temper, irresistible: his courage, both military and political, without blemish: and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation of it, though pernicious in after-times, rather salutary during his own reign, to the English nation.

Henry was twice married; by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Hereford, he had four sons; Henry, his successor in the throne; Thomas, Duke of Exeter; John, Duke of Cambridge; and Philip, Duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the Duke of Bavaria, the latter to the King of Denmark. His second wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the King of Navarre, and widow of the Duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

By an act of the fifth of this reign, it is made felony to cut out any person's tongue, or put out his hand, and Henry, in a rage, the act says, were very frequent. This savage spirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though, perhaps, it was increased by the prevailing factions and commotions.

Commerce was very little understood in this reign, as in all the preceding. In particular, a great jealousy prevailed against merchant strangers; and many restraints were, by law, imposed upon them; namely, that they should lay out in English manufactures or commodities all the money acquired by the sale of their goods; that they should not buy or sell with one another; and that all their goods should be disposed of three months after importation. This last clause was found so inconvenient, that it was soon after repealed by parliament.

It appears that this king's household amounted to the yearly sum of 19,500l. money of that age.

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HENRY V.

The king's former disorders.—His reformation.—The Lollards.—Penalty of Lord Cobham.—State of France.—Execution of the King.—Battle of Agincourt.—State of France.—Assassination of the Duke of York.—Battle of Agincourt.—State of France.—Marriage of the King.—His death—character—Miscellaneous transactions during the reign.

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Geseigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws, which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to the sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career.

His reformation. many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. Those who had opposed the sentiments of the minister in those for which he had been actuated, acknowledged his amends. He had put an end to those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence; and he thus dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his rest, found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him; and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the throne for the flames for which he was reproached for his past conduct, and was exhortcd to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour, augmented their satisfaction; and the character of the new prince appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or the necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did justice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obsequies; and, in his address to the body of the king, gave occasion to all those who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and attachment towards him. Instead of continuing the restraints which the jealousy of his father had imposed on the Earl of March, he received that young nobleman with singular courtesy and favour; and by this unexampled so gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his minister, that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him, and gave him no disturbance in his future government. The family of Arundel, who had been his intimate friends, were now promoted to a high station in the state; and by the means of the birthright and honours. The king seemed ambitious to bury all party distinctions in oblivion; the instruments of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind test, were of such number pardoned that the_Paramount authority of those who had queued place every where to men of more honourable characters: virtue seemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itself: the exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement: there was not one who was unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

There remained among the people only one party distinction, which was derived from religious differences, and which, as it is of a peculiar, and commonly a very obstinate nature, the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards were every day increasing; they were restive to their established hierarch, gave an alarm to Henry; who, either from a sincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from the fear of misadventures, to which the established hierarchy was exposed, when they were all numbered together, or from the watchfulness with which the prince attended all important changes, was determined to execute the laws against such bold innovators. The head of this sect was Sir John Oldcastle, (Lord Cobham,) a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and his military talents, and had, on many occasions, acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and his zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity; whose punishment would strike a terror into the whole people, and teach them that they must expect no mercy under the present administration. He applied to the primate for the execution; Lord Cobham; but the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion. He represented to the primate, that reason and conviction were the best expedients for supporting truth; that all gentle means ought first be tried; that he would not consent to the execution of men from error; and that he himself would endeavour, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined not to sacrifice truths of so intimate moment to his compliancy for sovereigns.

Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no further; and he then gave full rents to ecclesiastical severity against the inflexible heresarch. The prince induced Cobham; and, with the assistance of his three suffragans, the Bishops of London, Wenchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the most sanguinary opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the Tower, made his last day appointed for his execution. The bold spirit of the man, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the most criminal enterprises; and his unlimited audacity seemed to defy the power of the most well merited the attention of the civil magistrate. He formed in his retreat very violent designs against his enemies; and despatching emissaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous of the party, in order to seize the person of the king at Eltham, and put their persecutors to the sword. Henry, apprized of A. D. 1414. their intention, removed to Westminster; but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's: the king, having shut the gates of the city, to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night time, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards had hold of the several parties who were basing to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy; the rest implicitly followed their leaders: but upon the trial of the persons brought to court, the treasonable designs of the sect were rendered certain, both from evidence, and from the confession of the criminals themselves. Some were executed; the greater part of them remitted; Cobham himself, after he had made his escape by flight, was not brought Lord Cobham. to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor; and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic. This criminal design, which was perhaps somewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought discredit upon the party, and checked the progress of that sect, which had embraced the speculative doctrines of Wycliffe, and at the same time aspired to a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses.

These two points were the great objects of the Lollards; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the same degree as the day increased; and so obvious a reformation had discovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline; but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy. This, however, the Lollards endeavored to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of heresy alarmed the generality of the people; innovation in fundamental principles was insupportable; the spirit of contradiction not as yet a sufficient counterpoise to authority; and even many, who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses, were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the
Wickliffsites, which they feared threw disgrace on so good a cause. This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the parliament which was summoned immediately after the death of Cnoblas's conspiracy. That assembly was procured by the king, and his brother the Duke of Burgundy, was cast against the new bishops. They enacted, that whoever was convicted of Lollardy before the ordinary, besides suffering capital punishment, according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the archbishop, bishop, chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two banco, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates in every city and borough, should take an oath to use their utmost endeavours to procure for the king, in this very parliament, when the king demanded supply, renewed the offer formerly pressed upon his father, and nominated to seize all the ecclesiastical revenues, and convert them to the use of the king. They were also to provide, that the king could give the king no bridle which was equivalent: they only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien, which depended on capital abbots in Normandy, and had been bestowed on them by letters which were renewed united to England: and Chekele, the Archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the blow, by giving occupation to the king, and by persuading him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover his lost rights, and to help to the king.

It was the dying injunction of the late king to his son, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in some foreign expedition, wherein the princes might acquire honour; the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person; and all the restless spirits might find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of the English people was sufficiently inclined to follow their king, and the civil disorders of France, which had been prolonged beyond those of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

A.D. 1414. The death of Charles V., which followed the death of Edward III., and the youth of his son, Charles VI., put the two kingdoms for some time in a similar situation; and it was not to be apprehended, that either of the two powers would be able to make much advantage of the weakness of the other. The jealousies also between Charles's three uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, had distracted the affairs of France rather more than those between the Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, Richard's three uncles, disordered those of England; and had carried off the attention of the French nation from any vigorous enterprise against foreign states. But in proportion as Charles advanced in years, and his faction his uncle's party, the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, deceased; and the king himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his country people. This promising state of affairs was not of long duration: the unhappy prince fell suddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired, and no steady plan of government could be pursued by him. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis, Duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John, Duke of Burgundy: the propinquity to the crown pleased in favour of the former: the latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extensive dominions, derived a hostile from his superior power. The people were divided between these contending princes; and the king, now resuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of one party.

At length, the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, seeming to move by the cries of the nation, and by the interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into this unity; they swore before the altar the sincerity of their friendship; the priest administered the sacrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed sacred among men; but all this solemn preparation was only a cover for the basest treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the Duke of Burgundy. He was the first to urge on the king, and to set on; he endeavoured for some time to conceal the part which he took in the crime; but being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal and more dangerous to society, by the art of ambition determined to this moment of Paris, he announced to the baronage of the duke's advocate in defence of assassination, which he termed tyrannicide; and that assembly, partly induced by the avowal of guilt, partly overawed by power, pronounced no sentence of condemnation against this detestable doctrine. The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feasible decision, in out of the dispute, was procured from these fathers of the church, the ministers of peace and of religion. But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywise doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the present incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation.

The princes of the blood combining with the young Duke of Orleans, and his brother the Duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority, and the possession of civil government. The princes' predictions: assassinations were everywhere committed from the animosity of the several leaders; or what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal trial; and no man was safe, or free to go about his business, the kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; so the adherents of the young Duke of Orleans were called, from the Count of Armagnac, father of the latter; that prince, by which pretended, the same as a perpetual scene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were often detained captive in the hands of the populace; those faithful ministers were butchers or imprisoned before their face; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst such enraged factions, to be distinguished by a strict obedience to the principles of propriety and honour.

During this scene of general violence, there rose into some consideration a body of men, which usually makes no figure in public transactions, even during the most peaceful times; and that was the university of Paris, whose only object was the furtherance of the sciences; and which was frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the universities, had added the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connexion between literature and superstition had bestowed on the former a weight, to which reason and knowledge are not, of themselves, anywise entitled among men. But there was still a certain sort of society whose sentiments were much more decisive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers, who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the Duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance their power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters; the populace ranged themselves on one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of one party.

The advantage which might be made of these confusions, was easily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined in the hope of the favourable opportunity, the late king, who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; but the present sovereign, impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, determined to throw his advantages to a greater length, and to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom. But while he was
making preparations for this end, he tried to effect his purpose by negotiation; and he sent over ambassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance; but demanding Catharine, the French king's daughter in marriage, two millions of crowns for her portion, and six hundred thousand as the reversion of King John's ransom, and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which the French king, his father, or his grandfather, had possessed in his time. Philip Augustus; together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders. Such exorbitant demands show that he was sensible of the present miserable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior to the other, were certainly not dishonourable. They were willing to give him the princess in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thousand crowns, to resign the entire sovereignty of Guinée, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, V豪 tense, Angoumois, and other territories. As Henry rejected these conditions, and scarcely hoped that his own demands would be complied with, he never intermitted a moment his preparations for war; and having assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory and of conquest, he came to the sea, and took part in the operations on his expeditions. But while Henry was meditating considerable on his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy at home, which was happily detected in its infancy. The Earl of Cambridge, second son of the late Duke of York, was the leader of the conspirators, and March, had zealously embraced the interests of that family; and had held some conferences with Lord Spero of Mas- sham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of driving the English army away from their camps, and entering on no further enterprise, and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his trans- ports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts; and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Custer, and there to face the army of safety. A numerous French army of 14,000 men at arms, and 40,000 foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy under the Constable d' Albret; a force which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the Eng- lish in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small army, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his contempt of the gallant age of Calais; but this proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way by valour and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys, till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Bm- quetouge, the same place where Edward, in a like situa- tion, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank; and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to reach for Calais; his army, however, was more than four miles distant from the coast; and the enemy, which was competent to prevent his landing a party to oppose every attempt; his provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue; and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation; if he was not so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded; and he safely carried over his army, he then bent his march northwards, and by the Battle of Azincour, and his immense victory, (which is now celebrated as the greatest in history,) he acquired a name of immortality. After his death, the French, in order to give it a great advantage in the world, and have that the prince, who had the misfortune to perish in that battle, was more illustrious than any of his ancestors, have of old maintained that Henry of France, when a child, had been rescued from the jaws of death; and that his soldiers had, by their heroic conduct, made a complete victory over the French army, which had disembarked at Harlebur; and that they laboured under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy

1 Rymer, vol. iv, p. 206. 2 Hist. p. 251. It is not reported by some historians, (See Hist. Creyl. vol. iii, p. 156.) that Henry of France, in this battle, was supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as these circumstances concurred at favo- favor their enterprise, they had reason to expect from it a proportionate success. The Duke of Bur- 

2 Rymer, vol. iv, p. 206. 3 Hist. p. 251. It is not reported by some historians, (See Hist. Creyl. vol. iii, p. 156.) that Henry of France, in this battle, was supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as these circumstances concurred at favo-
was four times more numerous; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and he had the same fortune at Poitiers, and the menaces of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king likewise observed the same prudence that the prince had been followed by these great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank, and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy.

Thus, before the attack, the kings took advantage of the situation. But the immeasurable vour of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French formed on horseback and in their men-at-arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed paleslades in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who secretly flung them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows and comatoes. The French commanded by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks; the number of the dead and the wretched were thrown from recovering any order; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay: and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and flexible, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence: theylewed them down without resistance. And being wounded by the men at arms, who also rushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had reduced the French pressers; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they saw the remains of the French rear guard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time, they heard an alarm from behind: some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about 600 peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, seeing the enemy of his honor, ordered some gentlemen to apprèhend them from his prisoners; and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death; but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number. No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and usuality slain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the constable himself, the Count of Nevers, and the Duke of Brabant, brothers to the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Alençon, the Duke of Barre, the Count of Urk. The most eminent prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts d'Eu, Vende, and Richmond, and the Mareschal de Bourgogne. An Archibishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the slaughter chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of these, eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of 14,000 prisoners. The person of chief note, who fell among the English, was the Duke of York, who perished fighting by the feet of an enemy and an outcast worse than the rest. He was succeeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, son of the Earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the English who were slain escaped very few; though some writers, with greater probability, make the number more considerable.

The three great battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt, bear a singular resemblance to each other in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them, there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who, without a respite of moments, merely appealed to the art of plunder, venturing so far into the enemy's country as to leave themselves no retreat; and unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very number, far to be expected. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable; these advantages afforded them more or less advantage, with the enemies; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of the French kings, did not allow to the enemy the usual interruptions in their hostilities; and though the maxims of war were in general destructive, their military operations were mere incursions, which, without any settled plan, either severe or useful, were attended with the least lustre, however, attending the victory of Azincourt, procured some supplies from the English parliament, though still unequal to the expenses of a campaign. They granted Henry an annual pension, under the name of the seven-eighths of his income, for life, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsides on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II., by his last parliament, and which was afterwards, on his deposition, made as great an article of charge against him.

But during this interruption of hostilities State of France. from England, France was exposed to all the ills of civil war; and the several parties became day every day more enraged against each other. The Duke of Burgundy, confident that the French ministers and generals were entirely discredited by the misfortune at Azincourt, and that the French army amounted to no system to retain himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king. But his partisans in that city were overthrown by the count, and kept in a state of dissatisfaction, and he was deprived of his forces, which he immediately disbanded in the Low Countries. He was soon after invited to A.D. 1417. make a new attempt, by some violent guarrs which broke out in the royal family. The queen, Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable spirit of that princess was never to forgive. The public necessities obliged the Count of Armaignac (created constable of France, in the place of d'Albret) to some the great treasures which Isabella had amassed: and when she expressed her displeasure at this injury, he promised to give her a sufficiently large indemnity. And thus did the success of the king some jealousies concerning her conduct, and pushed him to seize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Blous-bourbon, her favourite, whom he accused of her death, and had her body exposed on the gallow. She herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard; and, after suffering those multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy, and all the family of his children were brought to the utmost of disgrace, and the person of sixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armaignac,

e St. Remi, chap. 60.
3 La Laboureur, liv. 35. chap. 60.
she extended her animosity to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural project effectual. The Duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a great army: he made himself master of Amiens, Abbeville, Douai, Montreuil, and other towns in Picardy; Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themselves of his party. He got possession of Beauvois and Pontoise, and of many other towns in the Montfliers, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, pursuing further his progress towards the west, he seized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses; and was at last able to defy the king, to take Troye, and openly declared against those ministers who, she said, detained her husband in captivity.  

Meanwhile the partisans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Flanders, which always inclined to that faction. Lille-Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the insurrection of the people, which in a moment became so tumultuous that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized: the dauphin made an escape with difficulty; but great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered: the count himself, and many persons of note, were thrown into prison: murders were daily committed. The dauphin, with the count of Armagnac and the populace not satiated with their fury, and deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke into the prisons, and put to death the Count of Armagnac, and all the leading persons in that faction. While France was in such furious commotion, and was so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry, having collected some treasure, and levied an army in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evreux and Caen submitted to him; the dauphin, and Henry, having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men from England, formed the siege of Rouen, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants, to the number of twelve thousand. The Cardinal de Ursins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretensions. But the king replied to him in such terms, as showed that he was far from sensible of all his present advantage: "Do you not see," said he, "that God has led me hither as by the hand! France has no sovereign: I have just pretensions to that kingdom: every thing is here in the utmost confusion: no power can dispute with me the right of succession. There is no more probable proof, that the Beug, who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"  

But though Henry had opened his mind to this scheme of ambition, he had the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarch, was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true interests of their country. The court of Burgundy now persisted on a continual negociation with his brother, and endeavoured to obtain more secure, though less considerable, advantages. He made, at the same time, offers of peace to both parties; to the queen and Duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarch, was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true interests of their country. The court of Burgundy now persisted on a continual negociation with his brother, and endeavoured to obtain more secure, though less considerable, advantages. He made, at the same time, offers of peace to both parties; to the queen and Duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarch, was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true interests of their country.
of Burgundy, profited extremely by the distractions of
France, and was daily making a considerable progress
in Normandy. He had taken Honen after an obstinate siege, 1
he had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors: he
even threatened Paris, and by the terror of his arms, had
obliged the court to remove to Troye: and in the midst
of his successes, he was agreeably surprised to find his
enemies, instead of combing against him for their mu-
nual defence, determined to run against each other, and to return
him the instrument of their vengeance upon each other.
A league was immediately concluded at Arras between
him and the Duke of Burgundy. This prince, without
stipulating for himself except the possession of
his father's murder, and the marriage of the Duke of Bed-
ford with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom
to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made
by that monarch. In order to finish this
astonishing treaty, which was to transfer
the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troye, ac-
accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and
Gloucester; and was there clothed by the Duke of Burgundy.
The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him
incapable of seeing any thing but through the eyes of those
who attended him; as they, on their part, saw every thing
through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being
already stipulated for, and the terms of the Duke's
marriage drawn, and signed, and ratified; Henry's will seemed to
be a law throughout the whole negotiation: nothing was
attempted but to his advantages.

Treaty of Troye.
that Henry should espouse the Princess
Catharine: that King Charles, during his life-time, should
enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: that Henry
should be declared and acknowledged heir of the mon-
archy, and be intreusted with the present administration
of the government: that that kingdom should pass to his
heirs general; that France and England should for ever
be united under one king; but should still retain their
several usages, customs, and privileges; that the prin-
cesses, vassals, and communities of France should swear,
that they would both adhere to the future succession of
Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent: that
this prince should unite his arms to those of King Charles
and the Duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the
adherents of Charles the pretended dauphin: and that these
three princes should make no peace or truce with him but
by common consent and agreement. 2

Such was the tenor of this famous treaty; a treaty which,
as nothing but the most violent anxiety could dictate 3,
so nothing but the power of the sword could carry into
execution. And therefore it is not surprising to say what
had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to
England or to France. It must have reduced the former
kingdom to the rank of a province: it would have entirely
destroyed the distinction of the latter, which have brought
on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family;
as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Alencon, Brittany, Bourbon,
and of Burgundy itself, whose titles were preferable
to that of the English princes, would, on that account,
have been exposed to perpetual jealousy and persecution
from the sovereign. There was even a palpable deficiency
in Henry's claim which no art could palliate. For be-
sides the insuperable objections to which Edward IIId.'s
pretensions were exposed, he was not heir to the monarch
if female succession were admitted, the right had devolved
on the house of Mortimer: allowing that Richard II.
was a tyrant, and that Henry IVth's merits in depositing
himself upon his son, to be the lawful heir of England, to jus-
tify that nation in placing him on the throne; Richard had nowise
offended France, and his rival had merited nothing of that
kingdom: it could not possibly be pretended that the
former had been entitled to the crown of France;
and that a prince who by any means got pos-
session of the latter, was, without further question, en-
titled to the former. So that, on the whole, it must be
allowed that Henry's claim to France was, if possible,
still more unassailable than the title by which his father
had mounted the throne of England.

But though all these considerations were overthrown,
amidst the hurry of passion by which the courts of France
and Burgundy were actuated, they would necessarily revive
during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry
in his present advantages, and allow men no lesson for
reason or reflection. In a few days after, Marriage of
he espoused the Princess Catharine; he
the king.
carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in pos-
session of that capital, which he obtained from the parliament
and the three estates a ratification of the treaty of Troye; he
supported the Duke of Burgundy in procuring a sen-
tence against the murderers of his father; and he imme-
diate!ly took possession of arms, with success, against the adherents
of the dauphin, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of
Troye, took on him the style and authority of regent, and
appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of
his title.

The first place that Henry subdued was Sens, which
opened its gates after a slight resistance. With the same
facility he made himself master of Montereau. The de-
ference of Melun was more obstinate; Barbasson, the go-
vernors, held out for the space of two thousand
of the besiegers; and it was famished alone which obliged him to
 capitulate. Henry stipulated to spare the lives of all the
garrison, except such as were accomplices in the murder
of his father. But when some were suspected to be of the number, his
punishment was demanded by Philip: but the king had the generosity to
intercede for them, and to prevent his execution.3

The next article providing superiority of
men and money, obliged Henry to go
over to England; and he left the Duke of Exeter, his un-
cle, governor of Paris during his absence. The au-
thority which naturally attends success procured from
the English parliament a subsidy of a fifteenth; but if we
may judge by the scantiness of the supply, the nation was
nowise surmised on their king's victories; and in propor-
tion as the prospect of their union with France became
nearer, the more they opened their eyes, and to see the dan-
gerous consequences with which that event must neces-
sarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry, that he
had other resources besides pecuniary supplies from his
native subjects. The provinces which he had already
conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of fur-
ther advantages allured to his standard all men of
ambitious spirits in England, who desired to signalize them-
1's. 247.

3 T. Ll. i. p. 69. Monstrelet, chap. 262.
5 Hollinshed, p. 572.
6 Monstrelet, chap. 280.
encountered at Bauge: the English were defeated; the duke himself was slain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men at arms: and the Earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon, were taken prisoners. 8 This was the first act that turned the tide of success against the English; and the Ilimiament that he might both attach the Scotch to his service, and reward the valour and conduct of the Earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of constable.

He next applied himself to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the fifty-first psalm was read, build thou the walls of Jerusalem, he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his secret resolution after he had fully subdued France, to conduct a crusade against the infidels, and recover possession of the Holy Land. 9 So ingeniously are men in deceived themselves, that Henry forgot, in those moments, all the good and just ambition; and no less comfort from this late and feeble resolve, which, as the mode of these enterprises was now past, he certainly would never have carried into execution. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

This prince possessed many eminent and character of virtues: and if we give indulgence to am

tho king.

Druck.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all parts of his actions; not only by his birth, but by his conversation, his character, and the success of his enterprises. He was of a great and brave spirit; and his speeches were so full of spirit and eloquence, that his very words were the voice of the king. To speak in short, he was a prince in whom all the virtues of a king were concentrated.

This is a true character of Henry V., the most illustrious of all the kings of France, who was, indeed, a king in every particular; not only by his authority, but by his personal conduct, which was so perfect that it made him a model for his subjects. He was a prince of the most upright and just principles; and his government was so just and equitable, that it was esteemed a model of excellence. His subjects were happy under hisrule, and his kingdom was prosperous and flourishing.

But I am digressing from my subject. I shall now proceed to a more particular description of the life and reign of Henry V., and the remarkable events that occurred during that period.

He was succeeded by his son, John, who was a dissolute and profligate prince, and soon after his accession, the French people rose in rebellion against him. He was compelled to resign the crown, and theEnglish,under the command of the Duke of Bedford, took possession of Paris. The Duke of Bedford, who was a brave and valiant general, marched into the city with a large army, and proceeded to Cádiz, where he was joined by a fleet of English ships. The English fleet was dissatisfied with their general, and mutinyed; but they were subdued by force of arms, and the Duke of Bedford was appointed their commander.

The Duke of Bedford, with a large army, proceeded to the relief of the city of Paris, which was besieged by the French. The French were defeated, and the Duke of Bedford took possession of the city. He then returned to England, and was received with great the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the summit, was stopped short by the hand of nature, and all his mighty projects vanished into smoke. He was seized with a fever, a malady which the King was not prepared to encounter. He was at last sensible that his distemper was mortal, and that his end was approaching. He sent for his brother the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and a few noblemen more, whom he had honoured with his friendship, and he delivered to them, in great tranquility, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue, towards his infant son, the same fidelity and attachment which they had always professed to himself during his life-time, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He expressed his indifference on the approach of death; and, though he regretted that he must leave unfinished what he had attempted, he declared his confident that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother the Duke of Bedford; that of England to his second son, the Duke of Bedford; and the care of his son's person to the Earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy; and advised them to show gratitude to the French princes taken at Aincourt, till his son were of age, and could himself bold the reins of government. And he enjoined them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place

young Henry on the throne of France, never, at last, to make peace with that kingdom, unless the enemy, by the cession of Normandy, and its annexation to the crown of England, made compensation for all the hazard and expense of his enterprise. 6

6 This name was John, and he was afterwards created Duke of Suffolk. He was grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The Earl of Dorset was brother to Somerset, and succeeded him in that title.


C S. R. M. chap. 3.
tillage laws to limit and confine it. The Duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Richard II., possessed a revenue of 60,000 crowns, (about 30,000 pounds a year of our present money,) as we learn from Froissart, and was, consequently, richer than the king himself, if all circumstances are considered.

It is remarkable that the city of Calais alone was an annual expense to the crown of 19,119 pounds; that is, above a third of the common charge of the government in time of peace. This fortress was of no use to the defence of England, and only gave that kingdom an inlet to annoy France. Ireland cost two thousand pounds a year, over and above its own revenue; which was certainly very low.

Every thing comprises to give us a very mean idea of the state of Europe in those ages.

From the most early times, till the reign of Edward III., the denomination of money had never been altered: a pound sterling was still a pound troy; that is, about three pounds of our present money. That conqueror was the first that imitated in this important article. In the twelfth of his reign he coined twenty-two shillings from a pound troy; in his twenty-seventh year he coined twenty-five shillings. But I Henry VI., who was also a conqueror, raised still further the denomination, and coined thirty shillings from a pound troy: his revenue, therefore, must have been about 110,000 pounds of our present money. That was a vast surplus of provisions, was equivalent to above 350,000 pounds.

None of the princes of the house of Lancaster ventured to impose taxes without consent of parliament: their predecessors had been obliged to do so, either by force of arms or by some other advantage to its advantage in the ecclesiastical government. But as the English nation had little or no concern in these great transactions, we are here the more concise in relating them.

The first commission of array which we meet with, was issued in this reign.5 The military part of the feudal system, which was the most essential circumstance of it, was entirely dissolved; and could no longer serve for the defence of the kingdom.

Henry, therefore, when he went to France in 1415, empowered certain commissioners to take, in each county, a review of all the free-men able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy. This was the arras militia in England. He gave place to one, which was, perhaps, still less orderly and regular.

We have an authentic and exact account of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign; and it amounts to about 14 pence 10 shillings and 10 pence a year.6 This is nearly the same with the revenue of Henry III. and the kings of England had neither become much richer nor poorer in the course of so many years. The ordinary expenses of the government amounted to 42,507 pounds 16 shillings and 10 pence: so that the king had a surplus only of 12,206 pounds 14 shillings for the support of his household; for his wardrobe; for the expense of embassies; and other articles. This sum was nowise sufficient: he was therefore obliged to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were attended with a great expense, which neither the prince's ordinary revenue, nor the extraordinary supplies, were able to bear; and the sovereign was always reduced to many miserable shifts, in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels; sometimes the crown itself; 7 he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midst of his career of victory, and to sell a part of his jewels, to which he was soldiers agreed very ill with this low income. All the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament to Henry during the course of his reign, were only seventeenths and fifteenths, about 203,000 pounds. If it is easy to compute how soon this money must be exhausted by armies of 24,000 archers, and 6000 horse; when each archer had six-pence a day, 8 and each horseman two shillings. The most splendid successes proved common- fruitless, when supported by so poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred, made him pay dear for his victories. The civil administration likewise, even in time of peace, could never be very satisfactory: the government was still enabled to support itself. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted while Prince of Wales; 9 it was in vain that the parliament pretended to reduce them. The familiar artifices and practices, by which he was reduced to such necessities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for instance, had been expressly guarded against by the Great Charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the Commons, it was found absolutely impracticable, by which it was reduced to such necessities. Henry VI. was enabled to support itself. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted while Prince of Wales. 9 It was in vain that the parliament pretended to reduce them. The familiar artifices and practices, by which he was reduced to such necessities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for instance, had been expressly guarded against by the Great Charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the Commons, it was found absolutely impracticable, by which it was reduced to such necessities. Henry VI. was enabled to support itself. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted while Prince of Wales. 9 It was in vain that the parliament pretended to reduce them. The familiar artifices and practices, by which he was reduced to such necessities.

During the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the authority of parliament seems to have been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more highly respected, than during any former period: and the two preceding kings, though men of great spirit and abilities, abstained from such exertions of prerogative, as even weak princes, whose title was undisputed, were tempted to think they might venture upon with impunity. The long minority of which there was now the prospect, encouraged still further the Lords and Commons to extend their influence, and without paying much regard to the verbal destination of Henry V. they assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of Regent with regard to England: they appointed the Duke of Bedford Protector or Guardian of that kingdom, to which they supposed to imply less authority: they invested the Duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother; 10 and, in order to limit the power of both these prudential councils, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. 11 The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Ileary Beauffort, Bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Lancaster; Duke of Lancaster; a prelate, who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown,
might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge. The two princes, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who seemed injured by this plan of government, yet, being persons of great integrity and honour, were in no circumstances which tended to give security to the public; and as the wars in France appeared to be the object of greatest moment, they avoided every dispute which might throw an obstacle in the way of foreign confederate. When the state of affairs between the English and French kings was considered with a superficial eye, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the former; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared, at least, to be a matter easily to be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the administration was devolved on the Duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age; whose experience, prudence, valour, and generosity, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. The whole power of England was at his command: he was at the head of armies inured to victory: he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, the Earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Fastolf; and besides Guisane, the Duke of Normandy was of English birth, master of the capital, and of almost all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furnish him with supplies both of men and money, and to assist and support his English successes, whenever occasion required it. But Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages, derived partly from his situation, partly from his personal character, which promised him success, and served, first, to counteract, then to overbalance, the superior force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy: all Frenchmen, who knew the interests or desires of the nation, inclined their eyes towards him as its sole resource: the exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate consent of the states, had plainly no validity: that spirit of faction, which had blinded the people, could not long hold them in so gross a delusion: their national and inveterate hatred against the English, the authors of all their calamities, must soon revive, and inspire them with indignation at bending their necks under the yoke of the English. It was, moreover, stipulated, that he should be enabled to maintain an independence against their native sovereigns, would never endure a subjection to strangers: and though most of the princes of the blood were, since the death of Louis, either engaged in foreign wars, or domestic in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends, their vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themselves in resisting the violence of foreign invasion.

Charles himself, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments; and, perhaps, from the favour which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native subjects. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous, understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he appeared, from affection, the services of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their interest to desert him; and the benity of his temper could pardon in them those salutes of disapprobation which are paid in the hands of sovereigns who have been long exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved, that his general remissness, proceeded not from the want either of a just spirit of ambition, or of personal valour.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay some time in obscurity, the Duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite, ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France; an enterprise which, however it might seem to be much advanced, was still exposed to many and great difficulties. The chief advantage to be derived from the present advantages, was the resentment of the Duke of Burgundy against Charles, and as that prince seemed intent rather on gratifying his passion than consulting his interests, it was of some use for the regent, by demonstrations of respect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He sent therefore all his endeavours to that purpose: he gave the duke every proof of friendship and regard; he even offered him the regency of France, which Richemont, declined; and he proposed to corrobore the national connexions by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the Princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

Being sensible that next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendship of the Duke of Brittany was of the greatest importance towards forwarding the English conquests; and that, as the provincies of France, already subdued, lay between the dominions of these two princes, he could never hope for any security, without preserving his connexions with them; he was very intent on strengthening himself also from that quarter. The Duke of Brittany, having received many base and treacherous communications from them, gave up all hope of their return, and had, with other vassals of the crown, done homage to Henry V. in quality of heir to the kingdom: but as the regent knew that the duke was engaged in a power by his brother, the Count of Richemont, he endeavoured to fix his friendship, by paying court, and doing services to this haughty and ambitious prince.

Arthur, Count of Richemont, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour, had been treated with great indulgence by the late king, and had been permitted on his parole to take a journey into Brittany, where the state of affairs rendered his presence useful. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and this prince pretended, that, as his word was given personally to Henry V. he was not bound to fulfil it towards his son and successor: a chicanery which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was settled at Amiens between the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany, at which the Count of Richemont was also present. The alliance was renewed between these princes; and the regent persuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldest sister, widow of the deceased dauphin, Lewis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus the Duke of Burgundy, the regent, and the Duke of Burgundy, and seemed engaged by interest to prosecute the same object, in forwarding the success of the English arms.

While the vigilance of the Duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming these alliances, whose vicissitude rendered them so important, he did not overlook the state of more remote countries. The Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, had died; and his power had devolved on Murdock, his son, a prince of a weak understanding and indolent disposition; who, far from possessing the talents requisite for the government of that fierce people, was not even able to maintain authority in his own family, or restrain the pretensions and insolence of the Stewarths of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of constable, broke all order in the administration; new successes daily came over, and filled the armes of the Scottish king: the Earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of 3000 men to his assistance: and it was justly to be dreaded that the Scots, by commencing open hostilities in the North, would occasion a diversion still more considerable of the English power, and would ease Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at present so grievously oppressed. The Duke of Bedford, therefore, persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James their
prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with England by marrying him to a daughter of the Earl of Somerset and cousin of the young king. As the Scotch regent, tired of his present dignity, which he was not able to support, was now become entirely sincere in his applications for James's liberty, the treaty was soon concluded; a ransom of forty thousand pounds was stipulated; and the King of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered, in 1437, by his traitorous kinman the Earl of Athole. His affections inclined to the cause of France; but the English had not reason during his time to complain of any breach of the truce by Scotland.

Military operations. But the regent was not so much employed in these political negociations as to neglect the operations of war, from which alone he could hope to succeed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief seat of Charles's power lay in the southern provinces, beyond the Loire, his partisans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even in the neighborhood of Paris; and it behooved the Duke of Bedford first to clear these countries from the enemy, before he could think of attempting more distant conquests. The castle of Noyelle, after a siege of six weeks; those of Rouen and Ypre, the town of Morlaix, in Brittany, the castle of Gaillon, the Earl of Suffolk, the Lord of Estoues, had formed the siege of Crevant in Burgundy; the Earl of Salisbury and Suffolk, with the Count of Toulouse, were sent to its relief; a fierce and well-directed action was fought; the English and their allies were defeated; the Constable of Scotland, and the Count of Vendome, were taken prisoners; and above a thousand men, among whom was Sir William Hamilton, were left on the field.

The following day, the King of France, upon the Seine, and of Le Charité upon the Loire, was the fruit of this victory: and as this latter place opened an entrance into the southern provinces, the acquisition of it appeared on that account of the greater importance. He pressed the Duke of Bedford, and seemed to promise a successful issue to the war.

A.D. 1432. The more Charles was threatened with an invasion in those provinces which adhered to him, the more necessary it became that he should retain possession of every fortress which he still held within the quarters of the enemy. The Duke of Bedford had besieged in person, during the space of three months, the town of Meaux, very strongly fortified; and unable to make any further defence, was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to surrender the town, if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He collected, with some difficulty, an army of 14,000 men, of whom one half were Scots; and he sent them thither under the command of the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France; who was attended by the Earl of Douglas his countraman, the Duke of Alençon, the Marschal de la Faye, the Count of Aumale, and the Viscount of Normandy. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvr, he found that he was cut off too late, and took the place by assault. The brave garrison, unable to make any further resistance, was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to surrender the town, if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He collected, with some difficulty, an army of 14,000 men, of whom one half were Scots; and he sent them thither under the command of the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France; who was attended by the Earl of Douglas his countraman, the Duke of Alençon, the Marschal de la Faye, the Count of Aumale, and the Viscount of Normandy. When the constable arrived within

\[\text{Hall, fol. 86.}
\[\text{Shaw, p. 261.}
\[\text{Graffen, p. 508.}
\[\text{f. Brewer, vol. i. p. 296.}
\[\text{N. 296.}
\[\text{Hall, fol. 88.}
\[\text{Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 16.}
\[\text{Helmstedt, p. 258.}
\[\text{Graffen, p. 508.}
\[\text{Graffen, p. 304.}
\[\text{c. Hall, fol. 88, 99, 90.}
\[\text{Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15.}
\[\text{Stowe, p. 585.}
\[\text{d. Holmstedt, p. 258.}
\[\text{E. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15.}
England, and threw herself under the protection of the Duke of Gloucester. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by an impetuous temper and vehement passions; and he was rashly indulged, as well by the charms of the countess herself, as by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband.

Without waiting for a papal dispensation; without endeavouring to reconcile the Duke of Burgundy to the marriage without his consent. The Duke of Brabant died; and his widow before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the Duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to contract a new marriage. The marriage with Jaueline was terminated thus by the satisfaction of Philip, it left a disagreeable impression on his mind; it excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interest; and as nothing but his anxiety against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which in the end became prevalent, and brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connections with his family and his native country.

About the same time the Duke of Brittany began to withdraw himself from the English alliance. His brother, the Count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the Dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French interest; and he was willing to be instrumental to all the advantages which Charles made him for obtaining his friendship. The staff of conference was thereby consequently allowed to enter to him; and as his martial and ambitious temper aspired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the Duke of Bedford, he not only accepted the offer of that office, but brought the other brothers to an alliance with the French monarch. The new constable, having made this one change in his measures, firmly adhered, ever after, to his engagements with France. Though his pride and enmity, which were not without some degree of success, and even permitted him to assassinate his other favourites, had so much disgusted Charles, that he once banished him the court, and refused to admit him to his presence, he still acted with vigour for the service of that monarch, and, in his capacity, the pardon of all past offences.

In this situation, the Duke of Bedford, on his return, found the affairs of France, after passing eight months in England. The Duke of Burgundy was much disgusted. The Duke of Brittany had entered into engagements with Charles, and had done homage to that prince for his duchy. The French had been allowed to recover from the astonishment into which their frequent disasters had thrown them. An incident too had happened, which served extremely to raise their courage. The Earl of Warwick had besieged Montargis, which the Earl of Burgundy, impatient of the impotency of his brother's temper, was still the chief obstacle to all accommodation. For this reason, instead of pushing the victory gained at Vincennes, he found himself obliged to take a journey into England, and to try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of the Duke of Gloucester.

There had likewise broken out some differences among the English ministry, which had proceeded to great extremities, and which required the regent's presence to compose them. The Bishop of Winchester, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been intrusted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an impetuous and unruly character; and as he was averse to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with his nephew, the protector; and he gained frequent advantages over the vehement and impulsive temper of the regent. The Duke of Gloucester, who was actuated by the authority of parliament to reconcile them; and these rivals were obliged to promise, before that assembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion. Time also seemed to open expedients for composition; and promised to the regent the duchy of Cornwall. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the Pope; by which not only Jaueline's contract with the Duke of Gloucester was annulled; but it was also declared, that even in case of the Duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The Duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the Duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to contract a new marriage. The marriage with Jaueline was thus terminated by the satisfaction of Philip, it left a disagreeable impression on his mind; it excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interest; and as nothing but his anxiety against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which in the end became prevalent, and brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connections with his family and his native country.

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\[1\] Montefelt. vol. ii. p. 10, 20, 21.  
\[2\] Ibid. p. 18.  
\[3\] See Shaw, p. 596.  
\[4\] Ibid. p. 289.  
\[5\] Ibid. p. 289. Hollingshead, p. 593.  
\[6\] Poliphile Virgil.  
\[7\] Oxford. p. 512.  
\[8\] Ibid.
the balance between the two nations, and propose the way for the final conquest of France.

The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either, and as the Duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the south of France, it behoved him to begin with this place, which was the key of the kingdom, and become the nearest in importance in the kingdom. He conducted the conduct of the enterprise to the Earl of Salisbury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of six thousand men from England, and who had much distinguished himself, by his able conduct during the course of the present war. Salisbury, passing the Loire, made himself master of several small places, which surrounded Orleans on that side; and as his intentions were thereby known, the French king used every expedition to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and enable it to maintain a long and obstinate siege.

The Lord of Gacour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor: many officers of distinction threw themselves into the place; the troops which they conducted were issued to war, and were determined to make the most obstinate resistance; and even the inhabitants, disciplined by the long continuance of hostilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to second the efforts of the most veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene; where, it was reasonably supposed, the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy and the rights of their sovereign.

The Earl of Salisbury at last approached the place with an army, which consisted only of ten thousand men; and not being able, with so small a force, to invest so great a city, he commanded a bridge over the Loire, he stationed himself on the southern side towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beauce, still open to the enemy. He there attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance of that bridge, and, after a long and obstinate warfare, he carried several of them; but was himself killed by a cannon-ball as he was taking a view of the enemy. The Earl of Suffolck succeeded to the command; and being reinforced with great number of English, and Burgundians, he passed the river with the main body of his army, and invested Orleans on the other side. As it was now the depth of winter, Suffolk, who found it difficult, in that season, to throw intrenchments all around, contented himself, for the present, with erecting redoubts at different distances, where his men were lodged in safety, and were ready to intercept the supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. Though he had several places in his camp, (and he was among the first sieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance,) the art of engineering was hitherto so imperfect, that Suffolk trusted more to famine than to force for subduing the city; and he prepared in the spring to render the circumvallation more complete, by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberless feats of valour were performed both by the besiegers and besieged during the winter: bold sallies were made, and repulsed with equal boldness: convoys were sometimes introduced and often intercepted: the supplies were still unequal to the consumption of the place; and the English seemed destined, though slowly, to be advancing towards the completion of their enterprise.

A.D. 1429. But while Suffolk lay in this situation, the French parties ravaged all the country around; and though he was obliged to choose his provisions from a distance, were themselves exposed to the danger of want and famine. Sir John Fastolfe was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of stores, which he was to be joined with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men, and he was joined by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the Counts of Clermont and Dunois. Fastolfe drew up his troops behind the wagons; but the French generals, afraid of

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tion: a young prince expelled his throne by the sedition of native subjects, and by the arts of strangers, could not fail to move the compassion of all his people, whose hearts were uncorrupted by faction; and the peculiar character of this prince was composed of the fiercest passions, naturally rendered him the hero of that sex whose generous minds know no bounds in their affections.

The siege of Orleans, the progress of the English before that town, the greater distress of that garrison and inhabitants, the importance of saving this city and its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, infamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild determination to do her utmost to relieve her present distresses. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mustop the inspirations of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders.

An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and thinking herself destined by Heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity so natural to her sex, her years, and her low station. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admission to Baudoinecourt the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions; and was received by him with the most open and frankness. He spoke to her; but to second those heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprise. Baudoinecourt treated her at first with some neglect; but on her firmness and extraordinary representations of her reasons, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make so easy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had discernment enough to perceive that great use might be made with the vulgar of so uncommon an engine; or, what is more likely, in that credulous age, was himself a convert to this visionary; but he adopted at last the schemes of Joan; and he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

It is the business of history to distinguish between the miraculous and the marvellous; to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human; to doubt the second; and when obliged by unquestionable testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is consistent with the known facts and circumstances. It is pretended, that Joan, imbued with the visions, had seen the king, though he had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside every thing in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him from any other person. He had been, by the Supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed; and on his expressing doubts of his mission, revealed to him, before some confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected.
banishing these vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he wasted till the soldiers should recover from the pain; and he thereby gave leisure for their prepossessions to sink still deeper in their minds. The military maxims which are prudent in common cases, deceived him in these unaccountable events. The English felt their courage daunted and overwhelmed; and thence inferred a divine vengeance hung over them. The French drew the same inference from an inactivity so new and unexpected. Every circumstance was now reversed in the opinions of men, on which all depends; the spirit resulting from a long interrupted success was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished.

The maid called loud, that the garrison should remain no longer on the defensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of Heaven in attacking those redoubts of the enemy which had so long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to insult. The generals seconded her ardent: an attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved successful? all the English who defended the intrenchments were put to the sword, or taken prisoners; and Sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some troops to bring them relief, durst not appear in the open field against so formidable an enemy.

Nothing, after this success, seemed impossible to the maid and her enthusiastic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the English in their intrenchments, still in despair, and the British, by their success, hazard the failure of the French, by too great temerity, and sensible that the least reverse of fortune would make all the present visions evaporate, and restore every thing to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and proposed to her first to expel the enemy from their forts on the other side of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before she attempted any more hazardous enterprise. Joan was persuaded, and these were vigorously assailed. At one attack the French was repulsed; the maid was left almost alone; she was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but displaying her sacred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, her exhortations, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their intrenchments.

In the attack of another fort, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retained a moment behind the assailants; she pulled out the arrow with her own hands; she had the wound quickly dressed; and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

By degrees the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side: they had lost above six thousand men in these different actions; and, what was still more important, their wonted courage and confidence was broken and gone, and had given place to an inactivity and despair. The maid restored triumphantly over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing such miracles, she convinced the most obdurate incredulity of her divine mission: men felt themselves animated as by a superior energy, and thought nothing impossible to that divine hand which so visibly conducted them. It was in vain even for the English generals to oppose with their soldiers the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence; they themselves were probably moved by the same belief: the utmost they dared to advance was, that Joan was not an instrument of God; she was only the implement of the devil; but the French that day, the English had felt, and the sad experience was, that the devil might be allowed sometimes to prevail, they derived not much consolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

It might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk, with such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy; he therefore raised the siege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable. The French resolved to push their conquests, and to force the English no leisure to recover from their construction. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to attack Jeregou, whither Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The siege lasted ten days; and the place was obstinately defended. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity on this occasion. She descended into the foss in leading the attack, and she there received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was confounded and beaten to the ground: but she soon recovered herself, and pursued her disability. Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; but before he submitted, he asked his adversary, whether he were a gentleman! On receiving a negative answer, he concluded the Frenchman was a knight; Renaud replied, that he had not yet attained that honour. Then I make you one, replied Suffolk: upon which he gave him the blow with his sword, which doubled him into that fraternity; and he immediately surrendered himself his prisoner.

The remainder of the English army was commanded by Fastolfe, Scales, and Talbot, who thought of nothing but making a great retreat, as soon as possible, into a place of safety; while the French esteemed the overtopping them equivalent to a victory. So much had the events which passed before Orleans altered every thing between the two nations. The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xav several times attacked the remnants of the enemy at the village of Paty. The battle lasted not a moment: the English were disconcerted and fled; the brave Fastolfe himself showed the example of flight to his followers. He was sentenced by a court martial, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice: Two thousand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

In the account of all these successes, the French writers, to magnify the wonder, represent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of the maid of Orleans) as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swareing the revolutions in all councils of war. It is certain, that the policy of the French court endeavored to maintain this appearance with the public: but it is much more probable, that Dunois and the other commanders prompted her in all her measures, than that a country girl, without experience or education, could, on a sudden, become expert in a profession which requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life. It is sufficient praise, that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgment she might rely; that she could seize their hints and suggestions, and on a sudden, deliver their opinions as her own; and that she could curb, on occasion, the most impetuous and enthusiastic spirit with which she was actuated, and could temper it with prudence and discretion.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's enterprise, which Charles could not praise; the crowning of him at Rheims was the other: and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons; and no man could be so sanguine as to imagine, that such an attempt could so soon come within the bounds of possibility. But it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English, he resolved to send against them the utmost forces of the army presented; and to lead his army upon this promising adventure. Hitherto he had kept remote from the scene of war: as the safety of the state depended upon his person, he had been persuaded to restrain his military ardor; but observing those prosperous turn of affairs, he was now determined to appear at the head of his armies, and to set the example of valour to all his soldiers. And the French nobility saw at once their young sovereign assuming a new and more brilliant character, seconded by fortune, and protected by the hand of Heaven; and they caught fresh zeal to exert themselves in replacing him on the throne of his ancestors.
Charles set out for Rheims at the head of twelve thousand men; he passed by Troye, which opened its gates to him; Chalons imitated the example: Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it: and he scarcely perceived, as he was passing along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed with the holy oil, which was consecrated at Rheims; Sens, Laon, and Orleans were brought from heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy: the Maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often disdained and confounded his fiercest enemies; and the people shouted with the most ardent demonstrations of joy, viewing such a combination of wonders. After the completion of the ceremony, the maid threw herself at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and, with a flood of tears, pleaded and tenderly extorted from her, she congratulated him on this singular and marvellous event.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects, and seemed, in a manner, to receive ane, from a heavenly commission, his title to their allegiance. The inclinations of men swaying their belief, no one doubted of the inspirations and prophetic spirit of the maid: so many incidents, which passed all human comprehension, were attributed to a superior influence: and the red and undoubted facts brought credit to every exaggeration, which could scarcely be rendered more wonderful. Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Beauvais, and many other towns and castles, surrendered, at once, to the Maid of Orleans, immediately after Charles's coronation, submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

The Maid of Orleans, therefore, finding the nation so disposed to her, undertook the conquest of the country. She advanced with a higher idea of the power, address, and resolution of the Duke of Bedford. Duke of Bedford, than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve his army, without firing a single shot, from many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that contemptuous example. This prince seemed present everywhere by his vigilance and foresight; he employed every resource which fortune had yet left him: he put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence: he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an insurrection: he retained the Parliaments in obedience, by alternately employing caresses and severity; and knowing that the Duke of Burgundy was already wavering in his fidelity, he acted with so much skill and prudence, as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with that prince; an alliance of the utmost importance to the credit and support of the English government.

The small supplies which he received from England set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. The ardour of the English for foreign conquests was now extremely obviated by time and reflection: the parliament seems even to have become sensible of the danger which might attend their further progress: no supply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greatest distresses; and men enlisted slowly under his standard, or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England, of the magic, and sorcery, and desolative power of the Maid of Orleans. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the Bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

The extraordinary conduct of the Maid of Orleans and of the Duke of Bedford appeared also in his military operations. He attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing; to the face of the enemy; but he chose his posts with so much caution and carelessness, that two of his generals, who were ordered to cover him, were easily taken by the French. He still attended that prince in all his movements, covered his own towns and garrisons; and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudence or false step of the enemy. The French army, which consisted mostly of volunteers, who served at their own expense, 1000 after retired and was disbanded: Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his residence, but not till he made himself master of Compiègne, Beaufrais, Senlis, Abbeville, the neighbourhood of Paris, the affections of the people had put into his hands.

The regent endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young King of England, and having him confirmed as Duke of Burgundy. All the French vassals of the crown who lived within the provinces possessed by the English, swore a new allegiance, and did homage to him. But this ceremony was cold and insipid, compared with the issue, which had attended the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the Duke of Bedford expected more effect from an accident, which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

The Maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the Count of Dunois, that her wishes were now fully gratified, and that she had no further desire than to maintain the state, and preserve the condition and course of life which became her sex: but that nobleman, sensible of the great advantages which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere, till, by the final expulsion of the English, she had brought all the French towns to their full completion. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compiègne, which was at that time besieged by the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by the Earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and Charles, animating her, on her appearance, believed himself therefor invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The maid, next day, after her arrival, headed a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg: she twice drove the enemy from their intrenchments; finding their numbers to increase every moment, she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again retreat; but being here deserted by her friends, and surrounded by the enemy, she was at last, after exerting the utmost valour, taken prisoner by the Burgundians. The common opinion was, that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory ascribed to her, had in envy to her renown, by which they themselves were so much eclipsed, willingly exposed her to this fatal accident.

The entry of her friends, on this occasion, was not a greater proof of her merit than the triumph of her enemies. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the English and their partizans. The service of Te Deum, which has so often been professed by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The Duke of Bedford fancied, that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blasted all his successes, he should again recover his former ascendant over France; and to push further the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a prosecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from reason or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonourable.

There was no possible reason why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and to be entitled to all the courtesy and good usage which civilized nations practise towards enemies on such occasions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited, by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment: she was unsubdued by any civil crime: even the virtues and the very decencies of her sex had ever been rigidly observed by her; and she, with her grace and fertility, leading armies to battle, may seem an exception, she had thereby performed such signal service to her prince, that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity; and was, on that very account, the mark of an object of more admiration than was necessary, therefore, for
the Duke of Bedford to interest religion some way in the prosecution; and to cover, under that cloak, his violation of justice, and humanity.

The Bishop of Beverley, a man wholly devoted to the English interests, presented a petition against Joan, on pretence that she was taken within the bounds of his diocese; and he desired her tried by an ecclesiastical court. Mercy, impuity, and magic: she, however, regarded the victory of Pope and King as the joint request: several prelates, among whom the Cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges: they held their court in Rouen, where the young King of England was resident; and the Bishop, in her formal military apparatus, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

She first desired to be eased of her chains: her judges answered, that she had once already attempted an escape, by throwing herself from a tower; she confessed the fact, maintained the justice of her intention, and owned that, if she could, she would still execute that purpose. All her other speeches showed the same firmness and intrepidity: though harassed with interrogatories during the course of near four months, she never betrayed any weakness or womanish submission; and no advantage was gained over her. The point which her judges pushed most vehemently, was her visions and revelations, and intercourse with departed saints; and they asked her, whether she would submit to the church the truth of these, and said she did, but they would submit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed, that she was a heretic, and denied the authority of the church. She appealed to the Pope: they rejected her appeal.

They asked her, why she put trust in her standard, which had been consecrated by magical mountations? She replied, that she put trust in the Supreme Being alone, whose image was impressed upon it. They demanded that the curule was consecrated in her hands. In the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims? She answered, that the person who had shared the danger was entitled to share the glory. When accused of going to war without authority, and contrary to the laws and custom of her sex, and of assuming the government and command over men; she scrupled not to reply, that her sole purpose was to defeat the English, and to expel them the kingdom. In the issue, she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm.

Joan, so long surrounded by inveterate enemies, who treated her with every mark of contumely; brow-beaten and overawed by men of superior rank, and invested with the ensigns of a sacred character, which she had been taught to cherish, and felt her spirit at last subdued; and those visionary dreams of inspiration, in which she had been buoyed up by the triumphs of success and the applause of her own party, gave way to the terrors of that punishment to which she was condemned. She publicly declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected; and she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

Enough was now done to fulfill all political views, and to convince both the French and the English, that the opinion of divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was entirely without foundation. But the horrid vengeance of Joan's enemies was not yet finished with this victory. Suspecting that the female dress which she had now taken on, and which was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel; and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the sight of a dress, in which she had never before in her life, she at first cried out, that she never before in her life, she at first cried out, and then went away and sat down. But her heart, when it recovered itself, was at last persuaded, and she rose up, and said she had been mistaken. And then she asked, whether she were so far in error, and she rose up, and said she had been mistaken. And then she asked, whether she were so far in error, she asked, whether she were so far in error, she asked, whether she were so far in error, she asked, whether she were so far in error, she asked, whether she were so far in error, her servitors and passions revived; and

* Ibid. p. 67.  
* Source, p. 373.  
* Graaf, p. 504.  

the venture in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burned in the market-place of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accomplished: she was executed the next day, in heramber, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the sacred service which she had rendered to her prince, and to her native country.

The affairs of the English, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay: the great abilities of the regent were unable to resist the strong inclination, which had seized the French, to return under the obedience of their rightful sovereign, and which that act of cruelty was fitted to remove. Chartrres was surprised by a stratagem of the Count of Donon: a body of the English, under Lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin, upon the Sartre; the fair in the suburbs of Lien, seated to the midst of the English. The unfortunate was pillaged, with all his effects, by the English, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent sustained, was by the death of his duchess, who had hitherto preserved some balance of friendship between him and his brother the Duke of Burgundy; and his marriage soon afterwards, with Jaquetine of Luxembourg, was the beginning of a breach between them. Philip complained, that the regent had never had the civility to conform to the marriage; and suddenly a marriage was a slight on his sister's memory. The Cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought both of them to St. Omer's for that purpose. The Duke of Bedford here expected the first visit, both as he was son, brother, and uncle to a king, and because he had already made such advances as to come into the Duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him: but his approach of ten great power and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent: and the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonials, parted without seeing each other. A bad prognostic of their cordial intentions to renew past favours.

Nothing could be more repugnant to the De spite of interests of the house of Burgundy, than to the Duke of Bedford, to unite the crowns of France and England under the same head; an event, which, had it taken place, would have reduced the duke to the rank of a petty prince, and have rendered his situation entirely dependent and precarious. The title also to the crown of France, which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his posterity, had been sacrificed by the treaty of Troye; and strangers and enemies were thereby irrevocably fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into these impolite measures; and a point of honour had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But as it is the nature of passion gradually to decay, while the sense of interest maintains a permanent influence and authority, the duke had, in some years, a pretense sensibly to relent in his animosity against Charles, and to hearken willingly to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late Duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favour; his incapacity to judge for himself was pleaded; the ascendant greatness over him by his ministers; and his inability to resent a deed, which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by those under whose guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the prince's new humbleness, he was commanded from his court and presence Tanevru de Chatel, and all those who were concerned in that assassination; and had
offered to make every other atonement which could be required of him. The distress which Charles had already suffered, had tended to gratify the duke's revenge; the misery, to which France had been so long exposed, had begun to move his compassion; and the cries of all Europe admonished him, that his resentment, which might hitherto be deemed pious, would, if carried further, be unpopular, dangerous, and contagious. While the duke was in this disposition, every disgust which he received from England made a double impression upon him; the entreaties of the Count of Richemont and other persons of high rank, appeared as ambassadors from France; and the English having also been invited to attend, the Cardinal of Winchester, the Bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the Earl of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with others, received from the protector and council a commission to negotiate.

The conferences were held in the abbey of August.

St. Vaast; and began with discussing the proposals of the two crowns, which were so wide of each other, that the French ambassador was offered to cede Normandy with Guernsey, but both of them loaded with the usual homage and vassalage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were universally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offer of Cæsar a proposal too extravagant to be taken with the other English ambassadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congress. There remained nothing but to discuss the mutual demands, and concessions, which were easily adjusted; the vassal was in a situation to give law to his superior; and he exacted conditions, which, had it not been for the present necessity, would have been deemed, to the last degree, dishonorable, and disadvantageous to the crown of France. Besides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles was obliged to cede all the towns of Picardy, which had been between the Somme and the Low Countries; he yielded several other territories; he agreed, that these and all the other dominions of Philip should be held by him, during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing fealty to the present king; and he freed his subject from all feudal vassalage. He also stipulated, that the title of Duke of Burgundy should not be granted to any one, who should not have been born under the blood of the house of Bourgogne, and that his son-in-law, the Counts of Artois, should be admitted into that title.

A.D. 1435.

Such were the conditions upon which France purchased the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy.

The friend of Burgundy wrote to the Duke of Gloucester with a letter, in which he notified the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, and apologized for his departure from that of Troyes. The council received the herald with great coldness: they even assumed him his lodgings in a shoemaker's house, by way of insult; and the populace were so incensed, that the Duke of Gloucester had not given him guards, his life had been exposed to danger, when he appeared in the streets. The Flemings, and other subjects of Philip, were insulted, and some of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing seemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations. These violences were not disagreeable to the Duke of Burgundy; as they afforded him a pre- tence for the further measures which he intended to take against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

A few days after the Duke of Bedford died, the English received intelligence of this event, so far as the Duke of Bedford, to the interests of England, he died at Rouen; a prince of great abilities, and of many virtues; and whose memory, except from the barbarous execution of the Maid of Orleans, was unassailed by any consider-

able klenish. Isabella, Queen of France, died a little before him, despaired by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her later years to regard, with an unnatural horror, the progress and success of her own son, in recovering possession of his kingdom. This period was also signalized by the death of the Earl of Arundel, a great English general, who, though he commanded three thousand men, was deserted by the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

The violent factions which prevailed between the Duke of Burgundy and the Cardinal of Winchester prevented the English from taking the proper measures for repairing these multiplied losses, and threw all their affairs into confusion. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the contest which he often lost by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to struggle with the politic and interested spirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of these parties, kept every thing in suspense; foreign affairs were much neglected: and though the Duke of York, son to that Earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the Duke of Bedford, it was seven months before his commission passed the seals; and the English remained so long in an enemy's country without a proper head or governor.

The new governor, on his arrival, found the capital already plundered, and the state of the kingdom always been more attached to the Burgundian than to the English interest; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, their affections, without any further control, universally led them to return to their allegiance under their native sovereign.

When together with Lord Adam, the same person who had before put Paris into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens: Lord Adam, who, according to an English writer, had only a small garrison of 1500 men, was expelled: this nobleman dis- covered valour and presence of mind on the occasion; but unable to guard so large a place against such multitudes, he retired into the castle, and being there invested, he delivered up that fortress, and was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops into Normandy.

In the same season the Duke of Burgundy openly took part against England, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Calais, the only place which now gave the English any sure hold of France, and still rendered them dangerous. As he was beloved among his own subjects, and had acquired the epithet of Good, from his popular qualities, he was able to interest all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the success of this enterprise; and he invested that place with an army, formidable from its numbers, but without experience, discipline, or military spirit. On this plan of this siege, the Duke of Gloucester assembled some forces, sent a deputation to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which was promised to him, as soon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius of the English had at that time rendered them terrible in all the northern parts of Europe; especially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms; and the Duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in some attempts before Calais, and observing the discontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raise the siege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy.

The English were still masters of many fine provinces in France; but retained possession, more by the extreme weakness of Charles, than by the strength of their own garrisons, or the force of their armies. Nothing indeed can be more surprising than the feeble efforts made, during the course of several years, by these two potent nations against each other; while the one struggled for independence, and the other aspired to a total conquest of its rival. The general want of industry, commerce, and policy, in
that age, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no less than the others, unfit for bearing the burthen of war, when it was prolonged beyond one session; and the continuance of hostilities had long ere this time, exhausted the force and patience of both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field, on either side, without all the operations and treachery of the present age, which were performed by small bodies, assembled on a sudden from the neighbouring garrisons. In this desperate state of the affairs of war, the French king had before used so much advantage: the affections of the people were entirely on his side; intelligence was early brought him of the state and motions of the enemy: the inhabitants were ready to assist, upon the approach of the English army, and being assayed by the valor of Lord Talbot, soon after created Earl of Shrewsbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of posterity. It would have been well, had this feeble war, sparing the blood of the people, prevented likewise all other oppressions; and had the fury of men, which reason and justice cannot restrain, thus happily received a check from their impotency and inability. But the French and English, though they exerted in this war all the most destructive engines of war, were soon sensible of the wasteful, ruinous, and destitute consequences of these hostilities which decided nothing, seemed at last disastrous of peace, and they set on foot negotiations for that purpose. But the proposals of France, and the demands of England, were such to many each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vanished. The English ambassadors demanded restitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final cession of Calais and its district; and required the possession of these extensive territories without the burden of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the usual burdens. It appeared in the balance of these negotiations, that the French had the most promising little prospect of agreement. The English were still too haughty to stoop from the vast hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more suitable to the present diminution of the two kingdoms. The Duke of York soon after resigned his government to the Earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demise of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and during his administration, a truce was concluded between the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, which had become necessary for the commercial interests of their subjects. The war with France continued in the same languid and feeble terms. The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken prisoners in the battle of Azincour, was a considerable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this superiority was entirely lost by the death of these princes who had died; some had been ransomed; and the Duke of Orleans, the most powerful among them, was the last that remained in the hands of the English. He offered the English nobles a truce; and when his last proposal was laid before the council of England, as every question was there an object of faction, the party of the Duke of Gloucester, and that of the Cardinal of Winches-

### Notes

2. For an account of this truce, see a letter from the Duke of Buckingham to the Duke of Burgundy, in the Roxburghe Club, vol. i. p. 134.
3. The truce was fixed by Edward III. at 14,000 pounds, which, in the reign of the Duke of York, was considered a mean. The Duke of York, in order to retain the truce, granted only one moiety during the course of seven years, from 1372 to 1377.
6. Ibid., p. 58.
but had not credit to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, and afterwards the Count of Mortain, brother of Charles V, who had left these magnificent titles, but without any real power or possessions, to his posterity.

This princesse was the most accomplished of her age both in body and mind; and seemed to possess those quick and vivid perceptions, together with her father's ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. Of a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not wanted ability to develop these great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reasonable to expect, that when she should mount the throne, they would break out with still superior lustre. The Earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, besides pre-occupying the princesse's favour, by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to unite himself with her and her family by a very extraordinary cessions: though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured of gift Anjou, himself, without any direct authority from the council, but with the assent of the council, and the ruling members, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, whom he pretended to have received as a natural, the French king, and who had already received from his master the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the seals of parliament, and the favours of the English court in concluding it. The princesse fell immediately into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, the Dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham; who, fortified by her new income, and by her engagement, resolved on the final run of the Duke of Gloucester.

A D. 1447. This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not suited; but possessing, in a high degree, the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating public peace, but which it was impossible that a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. For a duke, the daughter of Regnier, Lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, Sir William Scrope, and others, had made in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to paralyse belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of this crime, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence: the princesse were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; the others were executed. But, as these violent proceedings were ascribed only to the production of the duke's enemies, they were in contrary to their usual practice in such most marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers; and increased their esteem and affection towards a prince, who was thus exposed, without protection, to those mortal injuries.

These sentiments of the public made the Cardinal of Winchester and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous, and whose kingdom was a source of national prosperity and hind. In order to effect their purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet, at not London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmonds-

b Grafton, p. 507.

c Cotton, p. 630.


e Grafton, p. 517.
HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [A.D. 1448.—CHAP. XXI.

Surrey's disobedience, refused to admit him: and this adventurer, not daring to commit depredations on the territories either of the king of France or of England, marched into Brittany, seized the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. James de Beavron, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised on that whole province.1 The Duke of Brittany complained of his proceedings to the king of France, his humble lord: Charles renounced with the Duke of Somerset: that nobleman replied, that the injury was done without his private, and that he had no authority over Surrey and his companions.2 Though this answer ought to have appeased the anger of Charles, who had often felt severe the licentious, independent spirit of such mercenary soldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He still insisted that these plunderers should be recalled, and that reparation should be made to the Duke of Brittany for the damage he had sustained: and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he made the estimation of damages amount to no less a sum than 1,600,000 crowns. He was sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England; and he determined to take advantage of it.

No sooner was the truce concluded between the two kingdoms than Charles employed himself, with great industry and judgment, in repairing those numerous ills to which France, from the continuance of wars, both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He restored the course of public justice; reformed the discipline of his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he reformed the languid state of agriculture and arts; and, in the course of a few years, he rendered his kingdom Bourbon to itself, and formed public wealth. Meanwhile, affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged against each other: the people were discontented with the government; congregations in France, which were an object more of glory than of interest, were overlooked amidst domestic incidents, which engrossed the attention of all men: the governor of Normandy, ill supplied with military forces, was able to dispute the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous: and the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient master, and of contracting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce. Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies; one of them, the king himself, secondly by the Duke of Brittany; a third by the Duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the Count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almost as soon as the enemy appeared before them: Vernon, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Pont de Men, Gisors, Maine, Vernon, Argentan, Lisseux, Fecamp, Coutances, Besenes, Pont de l'Aarch, fell in an instant into the hands of the enemy. The Duke of Somerset, so far from having an army which could take the field, and relieve these places, was not able to supply them with the necessary garrisons and provisions. He retired with the few troops of which he was master into Rouen; and thought it sufficient, till the arrival of succours from England, he could save that capital from the general fate of the province. The King of France, at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, presented himself before the gates: the dangerous example of revolt had infested the inhabitants; and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerset, unable to resist at once both the enemies within and without, retired with his garrison into the palace and castle, which being placed inaccessible, he was obliged to surrender; he parleyed a short time to Harfleur by the payment of 56,000 crowns, by engaging to surrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Harfleur, and the town of the bay, by delivering hostages for the performance of articles.1 The governor of Harfleur refused to obey his orders; upon which the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the hostages, was detained prisoner; and the English were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation. Harfleur made a better defence under Sir Thomas Curson the governor; but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Succours at last appeared from England under Sir Thomas Knyvett.1 But Harfleur, the last place of Normandy, which remained in the hands of the English, being delivered up, the conquest of that important province was finished in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom.2

Alike rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; though the inhabitants of that province were, from long custom, believed to the English government. Dunois was despatched thither, and The English met with no resistance in the field, and very little from the towns. Great improvements had been made, during this age, in the structure and management of artillery, and none of France, which, and the art of defence was by that means more unequal, than either before or since, to the art of attack. After all the small places about Bourdeaux were reduced, the city agreed to submit, if not relieved by a certain time; and as no one in England thought seriously of these distant concerns, no relief appeared; the place surrendered; and Havonne being taken soon after, this whole province, which had remained united to England, was deserted by the English in a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

Though no peace or truce was concluded between France and England, the war would be monotonous, at an end: The English, torn in pieces by the civil dissensions which ensued, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne: and Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government, and fending against the intrigues of his factious son, Louis the dauphin, scarcely ever attempted to invade them in their island, or to retaliate upon them, by availing himself of their intestine confusions.

CHAP. XXI.

HENRY VI.


A weak prince, seated on the throne of England, had never failed, good howsoever, ignorant and innocent, to be infected with faction, discontent, rebellion, and civil commotions; and as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a tuller light, these dangerous consequences began, from past experience, to be universally and justly apprehended. Men also of unquiet spirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, whence they were now excluded by the situation of the neighbouring states, were more likely to court internal disorder, by their emulation, rivalry, and animosities, to tear the bowels of their native country. But though these

1 Montalet, vol. iii. p. 6.
causes alone were sufficient to breed confusion, there con-
cluded another circumstance of the most dangerous nature: a
pretender to the crown appeared: the title itself of the weak
prince, who enjoyed the name of sovereignty, was dis-
tracted; and the English were too pay the severe, though
late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II.
and of their levity in violating, without any necessity or
just reason, the lineal succession of their monarchs.
Claim of the Duke of York to the Crown of England. The first line and the
wife, themselves, the title.
ancient causes of those mighty kinsmen of the former occupat
rendered the people incapable of any regular system of
government.
But the Duke of York, besides the family of Nevil, had
many other partisans among the great nobility. Conway,
Earl of Devonshirr, descended from a very noble family
of that name in France, was attached to his interests:
Mowbray, Duke of Norfolik, had, from his hereditary
hatred to the family of Lancaster, embodied the same
party: and the discontent, which universally prevailed
among the people, rendered every combination of the great
the more dangerous to the established government.
Though the people were never willing to grant the sup-
plies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered
provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of
these boasted acquisitions; and fancied, because a sudden
irruption could make conquests, that without steady
expenditure, it was vain to maintain them. The voluntary
cession of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss
of Normandy and Guienne. They still considered Mar-
borough, Duke of Marlborough, and a latent enemy to the
kingdom. And when they saw her father and all her rela-
tions active in promoting the success of the French, they
could not be persuaded that she, who was all-powerful
in the English council, would very zealously oppose them
in their enterprises.
But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of
the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was
by the assassination of the virtuous Duke of Gloucester,
whose character, having been alive, would have intimi-
dated the partisans of York; but whose memory, being
extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an
odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning
family suffered a double prejudice: it was deprived of its
firmest support; and it was loaded with all the infamy of
that imprudent and barbarous assassination.
As the Duke of Suffolk was known to have had an
active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred
attending it; and the clamours, which necessitated his
assistance against him, as prime minister, and declared favourite
of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch,
and became absolutely uncontrollable. The great
notoriety and popularity of the Duke of Suffolk was not
much more one who was only great grandson to a mer-
chant, and who was of a birth so much inferior to theirs.
The people complained of his arbitrary measures; which
were, in some degree, a necessary consequence of the
irregular power then possessed by the prince, but which
the least disaffection easily magnified into tyranny. The
great acquisitions which he daily made, were the object of
envy; and as they were gained at the expense of the
crown, which was itself reduced to poverty, they appeared,
that account, to all indifferent persons, the more excep-
tional and invidious.
The revenues of the crown, which had long been dispro-
portioned to its cost and dignity, had been extremely
dilapidated during the minority of Henry, both by the
rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncle could
not control, and by the necessary expenses of the French
war, which had always been very ill supplied by the grants
of parliament. The royal revenues were disipated; and
at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of
372,000 pounds, a sum so great, that the parliament could
never think of supplying it. This necessity forced the
ministers upon many arbitrary measures: the
household itself could not be supported without stretching
to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a
kind of universal robbery upon the people: the public
clamour rose high upon the occasion, and no one had th
equity to make allowance for the necessity of the king's situation. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and oppression.

This nobleman, sensible of the public's hatred toward him which he laboured, and foreboding the consequences of seeing an attack from the Commons, endeavoured to secure his interests by boldly yielding to the charge, and by insisting upon his own innocence, and upon even his merits, and those of his family, in the public service. He rose in the House of Peers; took notice of the clamours propagated against him; and complained, that after serving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the wars with France; after being himself a prisoner, and purchasing his liberty by great ransom; it should yet be suspected, that he had been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever opposed with such zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his services by the highest honours and greatest offices that it was in his power to confer. This speech did not answer the purpose intended. The Commons, rather provoked at his character, threw the whole charge against him to the Peers in accusation of high treason, divided into several articles. They insisted, that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to make him king, and to marry his own son, John de la Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John, Duke of Somerset, and to whom, heimagined, he would have a secure title; and that he had contributed to the release of the Duke of Orleans, in hopes that his prince would assist King Charles in expelling the English from France, and recovering full possession of his kingdom; that he had afterwards encouraged the marquis of Normandy and Guenee, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces; and that he had, without any power or connection, procured by forethought to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it; which proved, in the issue, the chief cause of the loss of Normandy.

It was a review of these articles, that the Commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamours against the Duke of Suffolk, and charged him with crimes, of which none but the vulgar could seriously believe. Nothing can be less probable, that a nobleman, so little eminent by his birth and character, could think of appropriating the crown to his family, and of deposing Henry by foreign force, and, together with him, Margaret, his daughter, to introduce into the kingdom such a spirit and penetration. Suffolk appeared to many noblemen in the house, who knew that he had intended to marry his son to one of the co-heirs of the Earl of Warwick, and was disappointed in his views only by the death of that lady; and, he observed, that Margaret of Somerset could bring to her husband no title to the crown; because herself was not so much as comprehended in the entail settled by act of parliament. It is easy to account for the loss of Normandy and Guenee, by the situation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without supposing any treachery in the English ministers; and it may safely be affirmed, that greater vigour was requisite to defend those provinces from the force of Charles VII. than to conquer them at first from his predecessor. It could never be the interest of any English minister to betray and abandon such acquisitions; much less of one who did not despise the king, and who enjoyed such high honours and ample possessions in his own country, who had nothing to dread but the effects of popular hatred, and who could never think, without the most extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability, is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle: but Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this measure was approved of by several at the council table; and it seems hard to ascribe to it, as is done by the Commons, the subsequent loss of Normandy, and expulsion of the English. Normandy lay open on every side to the invasion of the French: Maine, an inland province, must soon have fallen without resistance; and as the English possessed in other parts more fortresses than they could garrison or provide for, it seemed no bad policy to contract their forces, and to render the defence practicable, by reducing some of the lesser places.

The Commons were probably sensible, that this charge of treason against Suffolk would not bear a strict scrutiny; and they therefore, soon after, sent up against him a new charge of misdemeanors, which they also divided into several articles. They affirmed, among other accusations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper persons, had perverted justice by maintaining infamous causes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders. The articles are mostly general; but are not improbable: and as Suffolk seems to have been a bad man, and a bad minister, it will not be rash in us to think that when he had betrayed his prince, he could have been proved against him. The court was alarmed at the prosecution of a favourite minister, who lay under such a load of popular prejudices; and an expedient was taken to persuade the Commons to yield. The king summoned all the lords, spiritual and temporal, to his apartment: the prisoner was produced before them, and asked what he could say in his own defence? He denied that charge. The court inquired: He expressed himself not satisfied with regard to the first impeachment for treason; but in consideration of the second, for misdemeanors, he declared that, by virtue of Suffolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained silent: but as soon as they returned to their own house, they entered a protest, that this sentence should nowise infringe their privileges; and that if Suffolk had surrendered his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

It was easy to see, that these irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he still possessed the queen's confidence, he would, on the first favourable opportunity, be restored to his country, and be reestablished in his former situation. The command of a vessel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France: he was secur'd near Dover; his head struck off on the spot, his body thrown into the sea; and thus was put an end to the hopes of an honest man. No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The Duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon made him equally the object of their animosity and hatred. The Duke of York was absent in Ireland during all these transactions; and it was observed, that his partisans had excited and supported the prosecution against Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie against him. But there happened, soon after, an accident which restored the confidence of the court, and discovered to them the extreme danger to which they were exposed from the pretensions of that popular prince.

The rest of the people, set afoot by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of so great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but there arose one in Popular insurrection, which was attended with more dangerous consequences. A man of low condition, one John
Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontent of the people; and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at first crowned with surprising success. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is supposed, to pass himself for a son of that Sir John Murthwaite who had been sentenced to death by parliament; and he employed the men he had集合, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an induction of high treason given in against him. On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, marched out of the city, and he exalted their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redress of grievances.

The court, not yet fully sensible of the danger, sent a small force against the notables, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoaks, and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation; and sending to the court a plausible list of grievances, he promised that when these should be redressed, and when Lord Say the treasurer, and Cromer, sheriff of Kent, should be punished for the murder of his nephew, he would disband his forces, and return to the revenues.

The council, who observed that nobody was willing to fight against men so reasonable in their pretensions, carried the king, for present safety, to Kenilworth; and in the meantime the rebels laid siege to London. Their discipline was maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among their followers. He always led them into the fields during the night-time; and published severe edicts against plunder and violence of every kind; but being obliged, in the end, to leave the name upon his wrongs, his manner of proceeding was such that the rebels, by their own conduct, brought into a rich house in which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them; and being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, governor of the Tower, they routed the rebel he had met with great slaughter. The Kentish men were so discouraged by the blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon from the prince, they retired towards Rochester and thence to Exeter. The pardon was soon after annulled, as a pretext to violence; a price was set on Cade's head; he was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Snees; and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.

At the trial of Cade in court, that the Duke of York had secretly instigated Cade to this attempt, in order to try, by that experiment, the dispositions of the people towards his title and family, and as the event had so far succeeded to his wish, the ruling party had greater reason than ever to apprehend the future consequences of his pretensions. At the same time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and fearing that he meant to bring an armed force along with him, they issued orders in the king's name, for opposing him, and for debarring him entrance into England. But the duke refused his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary revenue; the precautions of the ministers served only to show his friends that they were not fearful of his intentions. They broke into a rich house in which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them; and being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, governor of the Tower, they routed the rebel with great slaughter. But the duke refused his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary revenue; the precautions of the ministers served only to show his friends that they were not fearful of his intentions. They broke into a rich house in which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them; and being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, governor of the Tower, they routed the rebel with great slaughter.
salutary to national liberty; the privileges of the people could only be maintained by the observance of laws; and if no account were made of the rights of the sovereignty, it could not be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the subject: that it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; an unjust establishment, the longer it stood, acquired the greater sanction and validity; it could, with all appearance of reason, be pleaded as an authority for a like injustice; and the maintenance of it, instead of favouring public tranquillity, tended to disjoint every principle by which human society could be preserved: the usurpers would be happy in their present possession of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miserable than the people, if all restrains on violence and ambition were thus removed, and a full scope given to the attempts of every turbulent innovator: that time, indeed, might bestow solitude on a government whose first foundations were the most infirm; but it required both a long course of time to produce this effect, and the total extirpation of those claimants, whose title was built on the original principles of the constitution: that the deposition of Richard II., and the advancement of Henry IV., were not deliberate national acts, but the result of the popularity and violence of the people, unprovided from those very defects in human nature, which the establishment of political society, and of an order in succession, was calculated to prevent: that the subsequent English monarchs were a continuation of the same wretchedness and usurpation; they were not ratified by the legislature, since the consent of the rightful king was still wanting; and the acquiescence, first of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from principles which had not provided in the constitution the pretensions necessary to be met by the king, which the restoration of the true order of succession could not be considered as a change which familiarized the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former abuse, which had itself encouraged the giddy spirit of innovation, rebellion, and disobedience: and that, as the original title of Lancaster stood only in the person of Henry IV., on present convenience, even this principle, unjustifiable as it was, when not supported by laws, and warranted by the constitution, had now entirely gone over to the other side; nor was there any comparison between a prince utterly unable to sway the sceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt ministers, or by an impious queen, engaged in foreign and hostile interests; and a prince of mature years, of approved wisdom and experience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his restoration, would replace every thing on another foundation.

So many plausible arguments could be urged on both sides of this interesting question, that the people were extremely divided in their sentiments; and though the noblemen of the north and north-east seemed to have espoused the party of York, the opposite cause had the advantage of being supported by the present laws, and by the immediate possession of royal authority. There were also many great noblemen in the Lancastrian party, who balanced the power of their antagonists, and kept the nation in suspense between them. The Earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government: the Earl of Westmorland, in spite of his connexions with the Duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the same party; and the whole north of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of these two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the interests of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and his brother Henry, were great supporters of that cause; as were also Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other noblemen.

While the kingdom was in this situation, it might naturally be expected that so many turbulent factions, possessed of so many splendid families, and independent authority, would immediately have flown to arms, and have decreed the quarrel, after their usual manner, by war and battle, under the standards of the contesting princes. But there still were many causes which retarded these desperate extremities, and made a long train of fiction, intrigue, and cabal, precede the military operations. By the gradual progress of arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of some importance; laws were beginning to be respected by them; and it was requisite that they should be taught to preserve their minds to the overthrow of such an ancient establishment as that of the house of Lancaster, ere their concurrence could reasonably be expected. The Duke of York himself, who was an innovator, an enemy to violence, and disposed to trust rather to time and policy, than to sanguinary measures, for the success of his pretensions. The very inbecility itself of Henry tended to keep the factions in suspense, and make them stand in awe of one another; it made the Lancastrian party unable to strike any violent blow against their enemies; it encouraged the Yorkists to hope, that, after banishing the king's ministers, and getting possession of his person, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without the perilous experiment of a civil war, to change the succession by parliamentary and legal authority.

The conference which appeared in a parliament assembled soon after the arrival of the Duke of York from Ireland, favoured these expectations of his partisans, and both discovered an unusual desire of settling the affairs of the kingdom, and the general disgusts which prevailed against the administration. The lower House, without any previous inquiry or examination, without alleging any other ground of complaint than common fame, ventured to present a petition against the Duke of Somerset, his associates, and retained by them, the noblemen, lordships, and estates of Chester, Sir John Sutton, Lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank; and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his person and council, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. This was a violent attack, somewhat arbitrary, and supported but by few precedents, against the ministry; yet the king durst not openly oppose it: he replied that, except the lords, he would banish all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion for their service in suppressing any rebellion. At the same time, he rejected a bill which had passed both Houses, for attainting the late Duke of Suffolk, and which, in several of its clauses, discovered a very general prejudice against the measures of the court.

The Duke of York, trusting to these symptoms, raised an army of 10,000 men, and first advanced towards London, with a view of demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the Duke of Somerset from all power and authority. He unexpectedly found the gates of the city open to him, and on his approaching into Kent, he was followed by the king at the head of a superior army; in which several of Richard's friends, particularly Salisbury and Warwick, appeared; probably with a view of mediating between the parties, and of seconding, on occasion, the Duke of York's pretensions. A parley ensued; Richard still insisted upon the removal of Somerset, and his submitting to a trial in parliament: the court pretended to offer the same with his demand; and that nobleman was put in arrest; the Duke of York was then persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge against the Duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become necessary, for his own safety, to lower his pretensions. No violence, however, was attempted against him; the court proceeding to bear the destruction of so popular a prince: he had many friends in Harry's camp; and his son, who was not in the power of the court, might still be able to revenge his disgrace. The king submitted to this disposition; he retired to his seat of Wigmure, on the borders of Wales.}

While the Duke of York lived in this retreat, there hap-
pened an incident, which, by increasing the public discontent, proved favourable to his pretensions. Several Gascon lords, affianced to the English government, and disgusted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry.\(^6\) The Earl of Shrewsbury, with a body of 8000 men, was sent over to support them. Bourdeaux, 2000 June, desir’d opened its gates to him: he made himself master of Trécesson, Castillon, and some other places; affairs began to wear a favourable aspect: but, as Charles hastened to resist this dangerous invasion, the fortunes of the English were soon reversed: Shrewsbury, a vehement war party, fell in battle; his conquests were lost; Bourdeaux was again obliged to submit to the French king; \(^7\) and all hopes of recovering the province of Gascony were for ever extinguished.

Though the English might deem themselves happy to be fairly rid of distant dominions which were of no use to them, and which they never could defend against the growing power of France, they expressed great discouragement on this occasion; and they now all the gloom of the ministry, who had not been able to effect impossibilities.

While they were in this disposition, the queen’s delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward of Prince, increased the national joy; and as it removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the Duke of York, whu, otherwise, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted since the accession of the throne, was next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counsels; and even when no visible object lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper, which so far increased his natural immensity, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of the crown. The queen and the council, desirous of this support, found themselves unable to resist the York party; and they were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed Richard, Jlanet of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament.\(^8\) That assembly, also, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during pleasure. Men who thus intrusted sovereign authority to one that had such evident and strong pretensions to the crown, were not surly averse to his taking immediate and full possession of it: yet the duke, instead of pushing them to make further concessions, appeared so perpetually engaged, either in parleying with the enemy, or in the care of the fag, that his conduct was tendered to him. He desired that it might be recorded in parliament, that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his part; he expressed his resolve that from the moment he was tendered to him in the exercise of it: he made it a condition of his acceptance, that the other lords, who were appointed to be of his council, should also accept of the trust, and should exercise it; and be required that all the powers of his office should be specified and defined by act of parliament. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet it was attended with bad consequences in the present juncture, and, by giving time to the appearance of the French fleet, and of the foreign parties, proved a source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued.

The enemies of the Duke of York soon found it in their power to make use of his weakness for their own ends. Henry, being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, they moved him to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of the queen, and to annul the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commission, would not give annulment of it, levied an army; but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king’s ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans, in which the Yorkists were superior, and without suffering any material loss, kept about 5000 men in the field. Amongst whom were the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Stafford, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Clifford, and many other persons of distinction. The king himself joined them, and the Duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness: he was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardship) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, as computed tu have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which at that time men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the virtilc spirit, which was considered as a point of honour, secured the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities; the nation was in no haste to settle any just and permanent peace, and the spirit of Queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irresistible temper. A parliament, which was soon after assembled, was plainly discovered, by the contrariness of their proceedings, the contrariness of the motives by which they were actuated. They granted the Yorkists a general indemnity; and this was the last step the protector took. He was, therefore, the duke, who, in accepting it, still persevered in all his former prerogatives; but at the same time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorship to a majority of his choice. Richard was tested with the usual dignities of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. The only decisive act passed in this parliament, was a full resumption of all the grants which had been made since the death of Henry V. and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands so little tenacious as those of the Duke of York. Margaret, availing herself of that prince’s absence, produced his husband before the House of Lords; and, as his state of health permitted him, at that time, to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of resuming the government, and of putting an end to the protectorate. This measure, as was expected, was not opposed by the contrary party: the House of Lords, who were, many of them, disgusted with the late act of resumption, assented to Henry’s proposal: and the king was declared to be reinstated in sovereign authority. Even the Duke of York acquiesced in this irregular act of the peers; and no disturbance ensued. But that prince’s claim to the crown was too well known, and the steps which he had taken to promote it were too evident, ever to allow sincere trust and confidence to have place between the parties. The court reid to Coventry, and invited the Duke of York and the Earned at Salisbury and Warwick to attend the king’s person. When they on the road they reid intelligence that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves: Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore: Salisbury to Malmesbury in Yorkshire, and York to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him the battle of St. Albans, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was chosen by Richard to support his claim to the kingdom, which was threatened; and the awe in which each party stood of the other rendered the mediation for some...
time successful. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly
reconciled. The Duke of York and his party
therefore embarked thither with numerous retinues, and
took up their quarters near each other for mutual secu-
ry. The leaders of the Lancastrian party used the
same precaution. The mayor, at the head of 5000 men,
kept up a vigilant look-out for all signs of an attack; but
was extremely vigilant in maintaining peace between them.a Terms
were adjusted, which removed not the ground of difference.
An outward reconciliation only was procured; and in order
to notify this accords to the whole province, a solemn pro-
cession in St. Paul's was appointed, where the Duke of
York led Queen Margaret, and a leader of one party
marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite. The
lessen cordiality prevailed, the mob were the exterior
demonstrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident,
that a contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably ac-
 commodated; that each party watched only for an oppor-
tunity of subverting the other; and that much blood must
yet precipitate; but when the van of the royal army
had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon
them; and partly by the surprise, partly by the division,
of the enemies' forces, put this body to rout: the ex-
ample of men was followed by the rout of the army; and Salisbury,
namning a complete victory, reached the general
rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow.b
The Earl of Warwick brought over to this rendezvous a
counsel of peers from Calais, whom it was
thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but
this reinforcement occasioned, in the issue, the immediate
ruin of the Duke of York's party. When the royal army
approached, and a general action was every hour expected,
Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, de-
serted to the king in the night-time; and the Yorkists
were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every
man suspect his fellow, that they remained next day
without striking a stroke: the duke fled to Ireland: the
Earl of Warwick, attended by many of the other leaders,
estaped to Calais: where his great popularity among all
orders of men, particularly among the military, soon drew
to him persons, and retinue, and he deserted himself,
and formed a new party. The friends of the house of York, in England, kept them-
selves every where in readiness to rise on the first
summons from their leaders.

A.D. 1465.

Warwick landed in Kent, with the Earl of
Salisbury, and the Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke
of York; and being met by the primacy, by Lord Cobham, and
person and retinue, found himself deserted by the
acclamations of the people, to London. The city imme-
dately opened its gates to him: and his troops increasing
on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condi-
tion to face the royal army, which hustened from Coventry
to attack him. At the Battle of Northampton, 10 July,
the royalists by the indefatigable Lord Grey
of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deserted to the
enemy; and Sir William Lucas, were killed in the action or pur-
pose of the king. The Parliament of the common people were spared by orders of the Earls of
Warwick and March. Henry himself, that empty shadow of
a king, was again taken prisoner; and as the innocence
and sincerity of his manners, which bore the appearance of sanctity, had procured him the leader of the peo-
ple, the Earl of Warwick and the other leaders took care
to distinguish themselves by their respectful demeanour

A parliament was summoned in the king's name, and met at Westminster, where the
duke soon after appeared from Ireland. This prince had never hitherto advanced openly any claim to the crown;
but he had had the care to insulate one of the Earl of War-
wick's: their companions on both sides took part in the
quarrel: a fierce combat ensued: the earl apprehended his
life to be aimed at: he fled to his government of Calais, and both parties in every county, openly
made preparations for deciding the contest by war
and arms. The Earl of Salisbury, marching to join
him, was taken at Blore heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by
Lord Audley, who commanded much superior forces;
and a small rivulet with steep banks ran between the
armies. Salisbury here supplied his defect in numbers
by stratagem: a refinement of which there occur few in-
stances in the English civil wars, where a headlong courage,
more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked.
He signified a retreat, and allure Audley to follow him with
the utmost precipitation; but when the van of the royal army
had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon
them; and partly by the surprise, partly by the division,
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References:
a. Falcon. Chron. anno 1468. The author says, that some lords brought
d. Stowe, p. 400.
crown, in this, and the two last reigns, should be abrogated and rescinded. The duke acquiesced in this decision: Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it; even if he had enjoyed his liberty, he would not probably have felt any violent reluctance against it; and the act was confirmed by the unanimous assent of the legislative body. Though the mildness of this compromise is chiefly to be ascribed to the moderation of the Duke of York, it is impossible not to observe in those transactions visible marks of a higher regard to law, and a more fixed authority, enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any former period of English history.

It is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, would have obtained a settlement more consistent and uniform: but as many, if not all the members of the upper House had received grants, concessions, or dignities, during the last sixty years, when the house of Lancaster was possessed of the government; they were afraid of invalidating their own titles by too sudden and violent an overthrow of that family; and in thus temporizing between the parties, they fixed the throne on a basis upon which it could not possibly stand. To the uponminent consent of the whole of a more fixed authority, enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any former period of English history.

The queen, after this important victory, divided her arms. A.D. 1640.  

The earl of Pembroke, half-brother to the king, against Edward, the new Duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the Earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke, the Duke of York, was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross. He had three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The queen, after this important victory, divided her arms. A.D. 1640.

Margaret compensated this defeat by a second battle victory, which she obtained over the Earl of Albemarle. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out a strong army, reinforced by the forces of the Londoners, who were affectionate to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Albans. While the armies were warmly engaged, Levelock, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the combat; and this unexpected event, which was the result of Margaret's promised victories in those civil wars, decided the victory in favour of the queen. About 2300 of the vanquished perished in the battle and pursuit; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was sure to be almost equally a prisoner whom ever faction had the keeping of him; and scarcely any more decorum was observed by one than by the other, in their method of treating him. Lord Bovvil, to whose care he had been intrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on assurances of pardon given him by Henry; but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered the army to be struck off by the executioner. Sir Thomas Kirtel, a brave warrior, who had signalized himself in the French wars, was treated in the same manner.

The queen made no great advantage of this victory: young Edward accepted her from the other side; and collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger, while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north. Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so much possessed of public favour, that, elated with the spirit natural to his age, he resented every thing that seemed to infringe upon those narrow limits which his father had prescribed to himself, and which had been found, by experience, so prejudicial to his cause. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and henceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors. But the war was protracted with too many delays, and attended with other inconveniences, he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obstacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to assemble...
that all such knights of any county as were returned by virtue of the king’s letters, without any other election, should be valid, and that no sheriff should, for returning them, incur the penalty of the statute of Henry IV. All the other provisions of the act are the same as those of the statute of Henry III.

because it was unlawfully summoned, and the knights and barons not duly chosen."

The parliaments in this reign, instead of relieving their vassals from the burdens of the crown, and endeavouring to enforce the former statutes enacted for that purpose, The Commons petitioned that no forefather should be capable of any church prebend, and that the patronage of the deanery of Canterbury, and lands, and other property, should be in the king’s hands. But the king was determined to keep the power of election in the hands of the clergy.

in St. John’s Fields; great numbers of people surrounded them; an harangue was pronounced in this mixed multitude, judging that the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the former asked, whether they would have Edward, or Henry of Lancaster for king? They unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late Duke of York, as a candidate. The answer was in the affirmative, and Edward received the joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard’s castle, who ratified the popular election, and the new king was solemnly crowned on the subsequent day, proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI., a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the source of civil wars; but was almost entirely unfavourable to his person, who was utterly in vain of excusing his authority, and who, provided he personally met with good usage, was equally easy, as he was equally enslaved, in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. He was the chief cause of the public calamities: but whether his queen and his ministers were not also guilty of some great abuses of power, it is not easy for us, at this distance of time, to say. There remains no record of any considerable violation of the laws, except in the assassination of the Duke of Gloucester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a punishment in the eyes of the nation, for the crimes of the times.

The most remarkable law, which passed in the reign, was that for the due election of the bishops and members of parliament in counties. After the lapse of the assize system, the election of tenors was in some measure lost; and every freeholder, as well those who held of mesne lords, as the immediate tenants of the crown, were by degrees admitted to give their votes at elections. This innovation (for such it may probably be esteemed) was indirectly confirmed by a law of Henry IV., which gave right in such a multitude of electors as was the occasion of great disorder. In the eighth and tenth of this king, therefore, laws were enacted, limiting the electors to such as possessed forty shillings a year in land, free from all burdens, within the county. This sum was equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our present money; and it were to be wished, that the spirit as well as the letter of such laws, had been observed.

The preamble of the statute is remarkable: "Whereas the elections of knaves have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrageous and excessive numbers of persons, power of them, and their other opinions, and values, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires; whereby manslaughters, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentle men, and other people of the same counties, shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf," &c. We may learn from these expressions, what an important matter the election of a member of parliament was now become in England: that assembly was beginning in this period to assume great authority: the Commons had it in their power to enforce the execution of the laws; and if they failed of success in this particular, it proceeded less from any incapacity of the assembly, than from the licentious spirit of the aristocracy, and perhaps from the rude education of the age, and their own ignorance of the advantages resulting from a regular administration of justice.

When the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, flew the kingdom upon the desertion of their troops, a parliament was summoned at Coventry in 1460, by which they were all attainted. This parliament seems to have been a very irregularly constituted, and scarcely deserves the name: much more, that an act passed in it, the second only to the Estates of Scotland, in which all the estates are represented. The third in importance, and the fourth in number of members, was that of the twelve counties of York, in which the number of members was forty-two.
ensued. The scaffold, as well as the field, necessarily streamed with the noblest blood of England, split in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party: the partisans of the house of Lancaster clothed in purple, those of York in white; these of York were denominated from the white; and the civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two races.

The licence, in which Queen Margaret had been obliged to indulge her troops, infused great terror and aversion into the city of London, and all the southern parts of the kingdom; and as she there expected an obstinate resistance, she had prudently stationed northwards and her own partisans. The same licence, joined to the zeal of faction, soon brought great multitudes to her standard; and she was able, in a few days, to assemble an army, sixty thousand strong, in Yorkshire. The king and the Earl of Warwick hastened, with an army of forty thousand men, to check her progress; and when they reached Pomfret, they despatched a body of troops, under the command of Lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took possession of the post assigned him; but was not able to maintain it against Lord Clifford, and became necessarily compelled to retreat. The Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter; and Lord Fitzwalter himself was slain in the action. The Earl of Warwick, dreading the consequences of this disaster, at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately turned his forces back, and hastened to the flanks of the army, which he stabbed before the whole army; and, kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier. And, to show the greater severity of the action, they were sentenced to die, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but meting out the severest punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle. Lord Farcet, who had prudently placed himself northwards in order to guard his rear, having fallen unexpectedly on Lord Clifford, revenged the former disaster by the defeat of the party and the death of its leader.

The hostile armies met at Touton; and a 30th of March fierce and bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow, which, driving full in the faces of their enemy, was immediately covered by a stratagem of Lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and, after having sent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, they were followed by those of the Yorkists, who, being put to flight, soon after fell back, pursued by the Earl of Northumberland, and his brother Sir John Nevill, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Dares and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The Earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward, amongst others, soon after, with the charge of murder, at York. His head was fixed on a pole, erected over a gate of that city; and the head of Duke Richard, and that of the Earl of Salisbury, were taken down, and buried with great pomp in the Greenely, and the Merchant Taylors' Hall, in the city, and the Garden of York, during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the Duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's sister, had taken part with the Lancastrians, and by Henry, Duke of Somerset, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Touton, and who was the son of that statesman killed in the first battle of St. Albans.

Notwithstanding the great animosity which prevailed between the kingdoms, Scotland into Scotland, had never exerted itself with vigour to take advantage, either of the wars between England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose between the contending families. James I., more laudably employed in civilizing his subjects, and taxing them to the satirical yoke of law and usage, than among his foreign nations; and though he seemed interested to maintain a balance between France and England, he gave no further assistance to the former kingdom, in its greatest distresses, than permitting, and, perhaps, encouraging, his subjects to enlist in the French service. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his son and successor, James II., and the distractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the same state of neutrality; and the superiority, visibly acquired by France, rendered it then unnecessary for her ally to interpose in her defence. But when the quarrel commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and between the English and the French, in the year 1460, and had provided himself with a small train of artillery for that enterprise: but his cannon were so ill framed, that one of them burst as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His successor, James III., was also deprived of his accession: the usual distractions ensued in the government: the Queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency: the family of Douglas opposed her pretensions: they were speedily ascertained, and they were all killed with thousands, in the battle of Flodden Fields, in the year 1513, when the Earl of Surrey, the king's grandson, a daughter of the Earl of Somerset; she could engage the Scottish council to go no further than to express their good wishes in her favour: but, on her offer to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to renew the engagement of her uncle, the king of France, James, she found a better reception; and the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne. But as the danger from that quarter seemed, by the success they had obtained, to be imminent, the king hastened to pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was summoned for settling the government.

On the meeting of this assembly, Edward and York found the good effects of his vigorous measures in assuming the crown, as well as of his victory at Touton, by which he had secured it; the parliament no longer hesitated between the two families, or proposed any of those ambiguous decisions which could only serve to perpetuate and inflame the animosities of party. They recognised the tule of Edward, by hereditary descent through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title; and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They expressed their assurances of the purity and security of the crown of Lancaster, particularly that of the Earl of Derby, otherwise called Henry IV., which, they said, had been attended with every kind of disorder, the murder of the sovereign, and other bloody and rampant events. They annulled every grant which had passed in those reigns; they restated the king in all the possessions which had
belonged to the crown the pretended deposition of Richard II, and though they conceived judicial devices, and the decrees of inferior courts, they reversed all attainers passed in any pretended parliament; particularly the attainder of the Earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather; as well as that of the Earls of Salisbury and Devonshire, and of Lord Lumby, who had been forfeited for adhering to Richard II.4

Many of these votes were the result of the usual violence of party; the common sense of mankind, in more peaceable times, repeated them: and the statutes of the house of Lancaster, being the deeds of an established government, and enacted by princes long possessed of authority, have always been held as valid and obligatory. The parliament, however, in substituting the foundations that had still the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural basis; but, in their subsequent measures, they were more guided by revenge, at least by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and justice. They passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, and their infant son, Prince Edward: the same act was extended to the Duke of Somerset and Exeter; to the Earls of Northumber-land, Devonshire, Pembroke, Wilts; to the Vacant Beaumont; the Lords Ros, Neville, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Gray of Rugemont, Hungerford; to Alexander Hasting, Lord

... Montague, John Heron, and many other persons of distinction. 5 The parliament vested the estates of all these attainde persons in the crown; though their sole crime was the adhering to a prince, whose deviation from the great foundation of the government, and whom that very king himself, who was now seated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful sovereign.

The necessity of supporting the government established will more fully justify some other acts of violence; though the method of conducting them may still appear exceptionable. John, Earl of Oxford, and his son Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correspondence with Margaret, who had, however, in substituting the foundations of the government, been condemned and executed. 6 Sir William Tyrell, Sir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery, were convicted in the same arbitrary court, were executed, and their estates forfeited. This usurpation of the right to law and civil government was a high strain of prerogative, which, were it not for the violence of the acts, would probably have appeared excusable to a nation so jealous of their liberties as the English. It was the last violent step, and the impossible hope, that such a great and sudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art, or in lieu of it, great violence, to extirpate them. The latter was more suitable to the genius of the age, in which the government was established.

But the new establishment still seemed precarious and uncertain; not only from the domestic discontent of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis, the eleventh of the name, had succeeded to his father, Charles, in 1460; and was led from the obvious motives of national interest, to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by giving support to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itself: having attempted to subdue the independent spirit of his own vassals, he had excited such an opposition at home, as prevented him from making all the other attempts he was offered, of the diminution of the dominions of the English. He sent, however, a small body to Henry's assistance under Vannes, seneschal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland: A. D. 1462. and got possession of the castle of Alncwik: but as the indefatigable Margaret went in person to France, where she solicited larger supplies, and promised Lewis to deliver up Calais if her family should by his means recover it: she crossed the channel, and was induced to send along with her a body of 2000 men at arms, which enabled her to take the field, and to make an interval into England. Though reinforced by a numerous body of archers from Scotland, and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster; she received a check at Hedingham-more from Lord Mauton, or Montague, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. Ten of the east Marches between Scotland and England. Montagu was encouraged with this success, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancasterians at Hexam; and he obtained a complete victory over them. The Duke of Somerset, the Lords Ros and Hungerford, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexam. The Summary Justice was in like manner executed at Newcastle on Sir Humphrey Nevil, and several other gentlemen. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold; and the utter extermination of the Lancasterians was the object of the York party; a conduct which received but too plausible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancasterians.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family after this defeat, was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despised her of her rings and jewels, and delivered her up to violence and timidity. The portion of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the midst of a forest. She wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and finding that she had no means of escape she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, "Ye wretches, near you is the son of your king's son." The man, whose humane and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and bowed down with the temptation to serve a princely princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. 7 By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate or so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Of some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancaster; where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower. 8 The safety of his person was the least amount of his enemies, than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the execution of Mar- 
garet, the execution and confiscation of all the most 
eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to 
Edward's government; whose title by blood being now 
recognised by parliament, and universally submitted to 
by the people, was no longer in danger of being im- 
peached by any antagonist. In this prosperous situation, 
the king thought it his turn to enjoy the pleasures which his youth, his high fortune, and his 
natural temper invited him to enjoy; and the cares of 
royalty were less attended to, than the disruption of 
armament and the developments of passion. He had 
unconsciously given his attention to the feroci-
ity of civil wars, was, at the same time, extremely 
depressed to the softer passions, which, without mitigating 
his severe temper, maintained a great influence over him, 
and among the rest Elizabeth, who was remarkable for 
the grace and beauty of her person, as well as the gal-
lantry of his address, which, even unassisted by his royal 
dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, 
facilitated all his applications for their favour. This easy 
and agreeable course of unalloyed every day his 
popularity among all ranks of men: he was the peculiar 
faux of the young and gay of both sexes. The dis-
position of the English, little addicted to jealousy, kept 
themselves from taking unbruised pleasure in his 
dilapidations: and while it gratified his inclination, 
was thus become, without design, a means of supporting 
and securing his government. But as it is difficult to 
confine the ruling passion within strict rules of prudence, 
the amusement of his sex, increased the little 
ill-humour and discontent which he brought to it.

In every incident now tended to widen the 
breach between the king and this powerful 
subject. The queen, who lost not her influence by mar-
rriage, was equally esteemed by the 
irritated Edward. She espoused, in second marriage, Sir Richard Woodville, a 
private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; 
and her husband being slain in the battle of St. Alban's, 
fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for 
that reason confiscated, his widow retired to live with 
her father, at her seat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. 
whence she saw, in every heart, the same 
public, and both the 
endearments, careses, and 
importunities of the young and amiable Edward, proved 
fruitless against her nag and irascible virtue. His 
passion, irritated by suppression and distress, was now 
habitually turned to such honourable sentiments, carried 
him, at last, beyond all bounds of reason; and he offered 
to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman, 
who, having no other means of adorning herself, was 
such a well to entitle her to both. The marriage was pri-

vately celebrated at Grafton. The secret was carefully 
kept for some time: no one suspected, that so libertine 

prince could sacrifice so much to a romantic passion: and 
there were, in particular strong reasons, which at that 
time rendered this step, to the highest degree, dangerous 
and imprudent. The king, desirous to secure his throne, as well by the prospect of increasing his family, as to 
his father's testament, determined to make application to some neigh-
bouring princess; and he had cast his eye on Bonn of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France, who, he hoped, 
would, by her marriage, increase the strength of 
that power, which was so strongly involved in the task of 
giving support and assistance to his rival. To render the 
negotiation more successful, the Earl of Warwick had 
been despatched to Paris, where the princes then resided; 
he had demanded Bonn in marriage for the king; his 
proposals had been accepted; the treaty was fully con-
cluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of 
the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to 
England. But when the secret of Edward's marriage 
broke out, the naughty Earl, deeming himself affronted, 
bolted from the court, in this fruitless negotiation, and 
and being kept a stranger to the king's intentions, who had 
never been consulted in the formation of that 
project, and Edward was at once 
soothing and mitigating, the influence of passion, over so young a man as Edward, 
soothing and mitigating, the influence of passion, over so young a man as Edward, 
meet have served as an excuse for his impudent con-
duct, had he deemed it a case of error, or had 
pleaded his weakness as an apology: but his 
warlike 

warlike 

warlike 

warlike
reconciled them to his superiority by his gracious and popular manners. And as Edward obtained from parliament a general resumption of all grants which he had made under colour of taxation, and which were not extinguished or impoverished the crown; this act, though it passed with some exceptions, particularly one in favour of the Earl of Warwick, gave a general alarm to the nobility, and disturbed the peace of the country. But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired to his party, was George, Duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince deemed himself no less neglected than ruined. He resented the exclusion of Southwell, the influence of the queen and her relations; and as his fortunes were still left on a precarious footing, while theirs were fully established, this neglect, joined to his unquiet spirit and ambitious schemes, made him seek the support of the malcontents. The favourable opportunity of gaining him was espied by the Earl of Warwick, who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, and coheir of his immense fortunes, a settlement which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry. Though the immediate object of the malcontents was not to overturn the throne, it was difficult to foresee the extremities to which they might be carried: and as opposition to government was usually, in those ages, prosecuted by force of arms, civil commotions and revolutions were to be soon the result of these intrigues and confederacies.

While this cloud was gathering at home, Edward carried his views abroad, and engaged his troops prepared to secure his formidable nobility by entering into foreign alliances. The dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis XI. the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbours and vassals; and as it was supported by great abilities, and unrestrained by any principle of faith or humanity, they found no security to themselves but by a jealous combination against him. Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was more active, and more extensive designs were devolved to Charles, his only son, whose marital disposition acquired him the surname of Bold, and whose ambition, more outrageous than that of Lewis, but seconded by less power and policy, was regarded with more favourable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The opposition of interests, and still more a natural antipathy of character, produced a declared animosity between these bad princes; and Edward was thus secure of the sincere attachment of them, whom he should choose to declare himself. The Duke of Burgundy being descended by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favour the house of Lancaster. They were of the same political motives; and Charles, perceiving the interests of that house to be extremely decayed in England, sent over his natural brother, commonly called the Bastard of Burgundy, to carry in his name proposals of marriage to Margaret, the king's sister. The alliance of Burgundy was more popular among the English than that of France; the commercial interests of the two nations invited the princes to a close union; their common jealousy of Lewis was a natural cement between them; and Edward, pleased with strengthening himself by so potent a confederate, soon concluded the alliance, and bestowed his sister upon Charles. A league which Edward at the same time concluded with the powerful Duke of Brittany, seemed both to increase his security, and to open to him the prospect of rivaling his predecessors in those foreign conquests, which, however short-lived and unprofitable, had rendered their reigns so popular and illustrious. But while the ambitious schemes of the Earl of Warwick might have built on these alliances, they were soon frustrated by intestine commotions, which engrossed all his attention. These disorders probably arose not immediately from the influence of Jones, but from accident aided by the turbulent spirit of the age, by the general humour of discontent which that popular nobleman had instilled into the nation, and perhaps by some remains of attachment to the house of Lancaster. Edward had brought into York, from an ancient grant of the Yorkshire, 

King Athelstan, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county; and as these charitable establishments were so extensive, he cleansed himself of the charge. It was explained that the revenue of the hospital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but was secreted by the managers, and employed to their private purposes. After long remonstrating with the administration, they refused payment. Ecclesiastical and civil censures were issued against them; their goods were dismembered, and their persons thrown into jail; till, as their ill-fame daily increased, they rose in arms, fell upon the officers of the hospital, whom they put to the sword; and proceeded in a body, fifteen thousand strong, to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in those parts, opposed himself to their progress; and having been so fortunate in a skirmish at Arbmire the Earl of Warwick, he immediately set to work the head of a body of Welchmen; and he was joined by five thousand archers under the command of Stafford, Earl of Devonshire, who had succeeded in that title to his father. As the Earl of Pembroke, Sir John Conyers, and Robert Huskisson, he entered immediately to be led to execution, to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, still continued in arms; and being soon headed by men of greater numbers and better discipline than the Earl of Warwick, as Sir John Conyers, Sir Robert Huskisson, and Pembroke, having prevailed in a skirmish, and having taken Sir Henry Nevil prisoner, ordered him immediately to be put to death, without any form of process. But this execrable deed did not satisfy the leaders of the rebels; they attacked the Welch army, routed them, put their sword without mercy; and having seized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him, as the leader, for the execution of Sir Henry Nevil. There was misfortune to the Earl of Devonshire, who had deserted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in a like summary manner. But these speedy executions, or rather open murders, did not stop there: the northern rebels, sending a party to Graffon, seized the Earl of Rivers and his son John; men who had become obnoxious by their near relation to the king, and his partiality towards them: and they were immediately executed by orders from Sir John Conyers.

There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent, as that of these years between 1460 and 1461; the particular circumstances: some events of the utmost consequence, in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records.

A.D. 1466. Edward having taken issue against all the historians, even Camden, and the minister of the ambas-
and it is remarkable, that this profound darkness falls upon us just on the eve of the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Eu-
era. All we can distinguish with certainty, through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, dishonourable conduct in all parties. There is no possibility, for instance, of accounting for the views and conduct of Sir Edward Wolsey, during the preceding reign of Edward V., not only because we have no account of his life before this, but also because we know not that he ever held any office, or that he ever exercised any public function. We may therefore presume, that the insurrection which so seriously threatened the peace of the kingdom, engaged all the powers of government, and the might of the state, to avert its consequences; and if the Duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion; and that his brother Montague, had not both together been tricked and taken prisoners, we may presume that it was not intended to proceed from any secret counsels and instigation of Warwick; though the murder committed by the rebels on the Earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a violent presumption against him. We know that he and Clarence came over to England, offered their service to Edward, were received without any suspicion, were intrusted by him with the highest commands, and still persevered in their fidelity. Soon after, we find the rebelsqueted and dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of the Earl of Warwick: but Montague was so secure of Warwick's fidelity, should have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of such violent and personal outrages against him, is not intelligible: nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, should have endeavoured to appease a rebel who had, so to speak, betrayed his master.

But it appears that, after this insurrection, there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Nevil with honours and favours of the highest nature: he made Lord Montague a viscount by the same name; he created his son George, Duke of Bedford, publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who, as he had yet no heir, was at that very time engaged to be married to Warwick. We may infer, from this, that so soon after, being invited to a feast by the Archbishop of York, a younger brother of Warwick and Montague, he entertained a sudden suspicion that they intended to secure him in a similar manner; and he abruptly left the entertainment.

So soon after, there broke out another rebellion, which is as unaccountable as all the preceding events; chiefly because no sufficient reason is assigned for it, and because, so far as it appears, the family of Nevil had no hand in exciting and fomenting it. It arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by Sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels, in their progress, hearkened to terms; and Sir Robert, for himself, far from giving countenance to them, fled into a sanctuary, in order to secure his person against the king's anger or suspicions. He was arrested from this retreat by a massacre of safety; and it is to be inferred, from his absense, headed along with Sir Thomas Dymoke, by orders from Edward. The king fought a battle with the rebels, defeated them, took Sir Robert Welles and Sir Thomas Laundae prisoners, and ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

Edward, during these transactions, had entertained so little jealousy of the Earl of Warwick or Duke of Clarence, that he sent them with commissions of army to levy forces against the rebels; but these malcontents, as soon as they left the court, raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of its omission, oppression, and bad management. The unexpected defection of Welles disconcerted all their measures; and they retired northwards into Lancashire, where they expected to be joined by Lord Stanley, who had married the Earl of Warwick's sister. But as that nobleman had been with his brother, as we have already seen, and as Lord Montague also remained quiet in Yorkshire; they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, where they embarked and made sail towards Calais.

The deputy-governor, whom Warwick had left at Calais, was one Vavasour, a Gascon, who, seeing the Earl return in this miserable condition, refused him admittance; and would not so much as permit the Duchess of Clarence to land; though a few days before she had been delivered on ship-board of a son, and was at that time extremely distressed by sickness. With difficulty he would allow a few flagons of wine to be carried to the ship for the use of the ladies: but as he was a man of sanguinary temper, and well acquainted with the revolutions which England had recently endured, he resolved to seize Warwick for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as proceeding entirely from zeal for his service. He said, that the fortress was ill supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garrison; that the inhabitants, who lived by the English commerce, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place was at present unable to resist the power of England on the one hand, and that of the Duke of Burgundy on the other; and that, by seeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when it should please him to reduce Calais to its ancient subjection. It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with this apology, or suspected a double infidelity in Vavasour; but he declined to be entirely convinced by him; and having seized some Flemish vessels which he found off Calais, he made them compensate him with the utmost possible correspondence, and whom he hoped still to make his instrument in overturning the government of England, and re-establishing the house of Lancaster. No animosity of the king was ever greater than that which now sprung up between that house and the Earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret: he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the queen, had put to death all the most noted partisans either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reason, believing that such inveterate rancour could never admit of any cordial reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name, when he took arms against Edward; and he rather endeavoured to prevail by means of his own adherents, than revive a party which he sincerely hated. But his present distresses and the entreaties of Lewes made him think otherwise; and he determined to make some progress for Angers, where she then resided, an agreement was sent from common interest soon concluded between them. It was stipulated, that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavoured to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be intrusted conjointly to the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence; that Prince Edward should marry the Lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the Duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of King Edward and his posterity. Never was confederacy, on all sides, less natural, or more evidently the work of necessity; but Warwick hoped, that all former passions of the Lancastrians might be lost in present political motives; and that at worst, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would suffice to give him security, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of Prince Edward with the Lady Anne was solemnized; and Edward foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant parts. For this
purpose, he sent over a lady of great magnificence and address, who belonged to the train of the Duchess of Clarence, and who, under cover of attending the lady, was engaged in making the arrangements for his departure with the duke, and to renew the connexions of that prince with his own family. She represented to Clarence, that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had indirectly and certainly in the eyes of his most inveterate enemies; that the mortal injuries which the one royal family had suffered from the other, were now past all forgiveness, and no imaginary union of interests could ever quiet them; that the leaders were willing to forget past offences, the animosity of their adherents would prevent a sincere coalition of parties, and would, in spite of all temporary and verbal agreements, preserve an eternal enmity that no nobleman for his own safety, and that a prince who deserted his own kindred, and joined the murderers of his father, left himself single, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be so much as entitled to any pity or regard from the rest of mankind. Clarence was only one-and-twenty years of age, and seems to have possessed but a slender capacity; yet could he easily see the force of these reasons; and upon the premises of forgiveness from his brother, he secretly engaged, on a favourable opportunity, to desert the Earl of Warwick, and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negociation, Warwick was secretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature, with his brother the Marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. The marquis also, that he might render the projected blow as effectual as possible, postponed all business, resolved on his side, to watch a favourable opportunity for committing his perjury, and still to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the house of York.

After these mutual states were thus carefully laid, the decision of the quarrel advanced speedily. Lewis prepared a fleet to escort the Earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. The Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, having already purchased the surrender of the Flemish vessels before Calais, and anxious to support the reigning family in England, with whom his own interests were now connected, fitted out a large fleet, with which he secured the Channel; and he incessantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent peril to which he was exposed. But Edward, though always brave, and often active, had little foresight or penetration. He was not sensible of his danger; he made no suitable preparations against it; and the thought of the Duke of Burgundy might spare himself the trouble of guarding the seas, and that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick set foot on English ground. A vain confidence in his own prowess, a surfeit of the immediate love of pleasure, and his incapacity of all sound reason and reflection.

September. Warwick and Clarence return.

The event soon happened, of which Edward seemed so destitute. A storm dispersed the Flemish navy, and left the sea open to Warwick. That nobleman seized the opportunity, and setting sail, quickly landed at Dartmouth, with the Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops, while the King was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by Lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensues resembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an actual event in history. The proceedings point to Lord Warwick, the zeal of the Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, occasioned by the late foreign revolutions, laid such much stress on his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies met upon the borders near Nottingham, where a decisive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated the Duke of Cla-
awowed, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of Prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual adherents crowd to the Duke of York's side; the Duke of Somerset and Exeter, the Earl of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reversed; and every one was restored who had lost either honours or fortunes by his former adherer. The ruling party were more sparing in their executions than was usual after any revolution during those violent times. The only victim of distinction was John Tobet, Earl of Worcester. This accomplished person, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themselves on ignorance as their privilege, and left learning to monks and school-masters, for whom, indeed, the spurious erudition which prevailed was best fitted, had been struck with the first rays of true science, which began to penetrate from the south, and had been zealous by his exhortation and example, to propagate the love of letters among his unpolished countrymen. It is reported, however, that as this nobleman himself the effect which so naturally attends it, of humanizing the temper and softening the heart; and that he had enraged the Lancastrians against him, by the severities which he exercised upon those who had been of an independent spirit. He had deavoured to conceal himself after the flight of Edward; but was caught on the top of a tree in the forest of Wexford, was conducted to London, tried, and beheaded at the Earl of Oxford, condemned and executed. All the other considerable Yorkists either fled beyond sea, or took shelter in sanctuaries, where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them protection. In London, alone, it is computed that no less than 12,000 persons saved themselves in this manner; and among the rest Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a son, called by his father's name.

Queen Margaret, the other royal queen, had not yet appeared in England; but on receiving intelligence of Warwick's success, was preparing with Prince Edward for her journey. All the banished Lancastrians flocked to her; and among the rest, the Duke of Somerset, son of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the discomfiture of his friends; and as he conceived his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigniety. Philip de Comines tells us, that the spirit of faction, in which it became very difficult for any man entirely to shake off. These persons, who had long distinguished themselves in the York party, were unable to act with zeal and cordiality for the support of the Lancastrians; and many were frightened by any prospect of favour or accommodation offered them by Edward, to return to their ancient connections. However this may be, Edward's entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies.

It appears that Warwick, during his short administration, which had continued only six months, had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had anywise desirous to lose that general favour with which he had so lately overthrown Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the defensive, was now on the offensive, and in the spring of 1471, he received command to grant some assistance to his brother-in-law; but in such a covert manner as should give the least offense to the English government. He equipped four large vessels, and from the merchants of the

ships to be secretly hired from the Easterlings, he delivered that small squadron to Edward, who, receiving also a sum of money from the duke, immediately set sail for the coast of England. No sooner was the expedition in appearance before the duke was revealed, than he issued a proclamation, inhibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or assistance; as an act which could not deceive the Earl of Warwick, but which might serve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were so disposed to maintaining friendship with the Duke of Burgundy.

Edward, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not the number of 10,000 men, in the county of Norfolk; but being there repulsed, he sailed northwards, and disembarked at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates, who had been appointed by the Earl of Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not mean to disturb the peace of the kingdom. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard; he was admitted into the city of York; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of securing all its arms and pretensions. The Marquis of Montague commanded the York county; but from some mysterious reasons, which, as well as many other important transactions in that age, no historian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginning of Edward's forces, which, he ought to have opposed so formidable. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unobserved, and presented himself before the gates of London.

He had here been refused admission, he was totally undone; but there were many reasons which inclined the citizens to favour him. His numerous friends, issuing from their seclusion, went to meet him in his house among many rich merchants, who had formerly lent him money, saw no other chance for their payment, but his restoration; the city dukes, who had been liberal of their favours to him, and who still retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, swayed their husbands and friends in his favour; and above all, the Archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had secretly, from unknown reasons, entered into a correspondence with him; and he facilitated Edward's admission into London. The most likely for April, cause which can be assigned for these multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevill itself, is the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies.
Edward's army. The king, therefore, found himself in a condition to face the Earl of Warwick; who, being reinforced by his son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, and his brother the Marquis of Montague, took post at Harrow, in the neighbourhood of London. The arrival of Queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancastrians, and have brought a great and powerful army. But, though this very consideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a decisive action, than to share the victory with rivals and absent enemies, who he foresaw would, in case of success, come forward in the enterprise. But while the jealousy was all directed towards that side, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends, who lay the nearest to his bosom. His brother Montague, who had lately temporised, seems now to have remained sincerely attached to the interest of his family; but his son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, though he shared the power of the regency, though he had been invested by Warwick to all the honours and patrimony of the house of York, resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family; he deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought on both sides; the two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon valour; and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the side of the Yorkists. An accident to Edward's cognizance was a sun; that of Warwick a star with rays; and the misfortune of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, the Earl of Oxford, who fought on the side of the Lancastrians, was by a sun mistaken for a star and attacked by his side. Warwick, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them; and he was also in the thick of the engagement. His brother underwent the same fate: and as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit. There fell about 1500 on the side of the Lancastrians.

The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, Queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. When she received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the Earl of Warwick, her courage, which had supported her under so many disastrous events, here quite left her; and she immediately gave way to all the dismal consequences of this calamity. At first she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu; but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, of the Lords Wensloe and St. John, with other men of rank, who exulted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend to the utmost the ruin of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated: the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Wensloe were killed in the field: the Duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded: about 3000 of their side fell in battle: and the army was entirely dispersed.

Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward ' Murder of prince insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester desired Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for further violence, buried the prince into the next apartment, and there despatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower, and kept in confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury; but when she died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the Death of Duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands. But the universal opinion is, that the prince has incurred, relieved perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and, though he was murdered under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the general manners of the age, gave a natural ground of suspicion; which was rather increased than diminished by the exposing of his body to public view.

That preference made only the more evident in the accounts in the English history, and to suggest the comparison.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of that family was either a prisoner, a fugitive, or a rebel; the party had perished in battle or on the scaffold: the Earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, disbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Tewkesbury; and he fled into Brittany with his nephew, the young Prince of Wales, Richard, who, having been now fully restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the vector, and recognised his legal authority.

But this prince, who had been so firm, and active, and intrepid, during the course of adversity, was still unable to resist the allurements of a prosperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himself, as before, to pleasure and amusement.  

A. D. 1462. He who could give him anxiety or alarm. He recovered, however, by this gay and inoffensive course of life, and by his easy, familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural he should have acquired; and his reputation was exercised upon his enemies; and the example also of his royal festivity served to abate the former acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. All men seemed to be fully satisfied with the present government; and the memory of past calamities served only to impress the people more strongly with a sense of their allegiance, and with the resolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing such dreadful scenes.

But while the king was thus indulging himself in pleasures, he was harassed from his lethargy by the prospect of foreign enemies, which it is probable his desire of popularity, more than the spirit of ambition, had made him covet. Though he deemed himself little beholden to the Duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile, the political interests of his states maintained still a close connexion between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion of France. A league was formed in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding 10,000 men, and to invade the French territories: Charles promised to join him with all
his forces: the king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne: the duke was to acquire Champagne and some other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burden of homage to the crown of France; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. They were the more encouraged to hope for success from this league, as the Count of St. Pol, constable of France, was in a condition that he was unable to defend his towns on the Somme, had secretly promised to join them; and there were also hopes of engaging the Duke of Brabant to enter into the confederacy. The terms were as usual a sure means of making the parliament open their purses, as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound; which must have been very inaccurately assessed, since it produced only 31,460 pounds; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another; but as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of remorse, a habit of exaction which except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parliaments was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary unless its terms were exemplified. The parliametary grant show sufficiently the spirit of the nation in this respect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houses; and the king had promised that neither should take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After these grants the parliament was dissolved, which had sitten near two years and a half, and had undergone several prorogations; a practice not very usual at that time in England.

A.D. 1453.

The king passed over to Calais with an army of 1500 men at arms, and 15,000 archers; attended by all the chief nobility of England, and some of the barons of Germany, and against the past, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honour; but all their sanguine hopes were dashed when they found, on entering the French territories, that neither did the constable open his gates to them, nor the Duke of Burgundy bring them the smallest assistance. That prince, transported by his ardent temper, had carried all his armies to a great distance, and had employed them in a war of the frontiers of Germany, and against the Duke of Lorrain: and though he came in person to Edward, and endeavoured to apologise for this breach of treaty, there was no prospect that they would be able to conclude any advantageous peace with the English. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to those advances which Lewis continually made him for an accommodation.

That monarch, more swayed by political views than by the point of honour, deemed no submissions too mean, which might free him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who, united to so many other enemies, might still shake the well established government of France. It appears from Comines, that this discipline was at this time very imperfect among the English; and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet being always decided by hasty battles, had still left their marks upon the English, and the people of whom the army of Burgundy was ever ready to receive upon the continent. But as Lewis was sensible that the warlike genius of the people would soon render them excellent soldiers, he was far from hesitating to present them with the English. This circumstance of experience and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward sent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refusal, Lewis, on answering to this bravo de hauts terms, he replied, I shall make the same to you, and even made the herald a considerable prize: he took afterwards an opportunity of sending a herald to the Eng-
had taken his measures so ill with his allies, as to be obliged, after such an expensive armament, to return without making any acquisitions adequate to it: it showed the wanton dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute, and thus acknowledge the superiority of a neighbouring prince, possessed of less power and territory than himself. But, as Lewis made interest the sole test of honour, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his side, and that he had overreached Edward, by sending him out of France on such easy terms. For this reason, he was solicitous to term his true intentions, and he strictly enjoined his courtiers never to show the English the least sign of mockery or derision. But he did not himself very carefully observe so prudent a rule; he could not forbear, one day, in the joy of his heart, throwing some sort of a badminton court under the English, a thing very different to all his usual deportment, and he justly plunged his courtiers never to show the English the least sign of mockery or derision. He did not, but was overwhelmed by a gentleman who had sat in England. He was immediately sensible of his indiscretion: sent a message to the gentleman; and offered him such advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. It is but just, said he, that I pay the penalty of my talkativeness. The most honourable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward was the matter of the ransom for the body of Queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her husband and son she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that prince, who had been on the stage of the world, and was during his lifetime experienced a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died: an admirable princess, but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex; and was as much trusted with the confidence as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived.

Though Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince, power over the territories of Flanders; but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince possessed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no less essential, he was unfortunate in all his enterprises, and perished at the battle of the Marais, a people whom he despised, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. This event, which happened in the year 1477, proved a most alternate in the views of all the princes and states, and attended with consequences which were felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife; and this princess, being heir of his opulent and extensive domains, was coveted by all the potentates of Christendom, who contended for the possession of such a rich prize. Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; which would at once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbours. But a man wholly interested is not subject to the romance of true policy by the passions of minuteness and severity. He had imbibed so deep a hatred to the house of Burgundy, that he was unwilling to exchange that princely treasure by arms, than unite her to his family by marriage; he conquered the duchy of Burgundy, and that part of Picardy, which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras; but he thereby forced the states of the Netherlands to bestow their sovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederick, from whom they looked for protection in their present distresses; and by this means, France lost the opportunity, which she never could recall, of making that important acquisition of power and territory.

During this interesting crisis, Edward was no less defective in policy, and not less actuated by personal passions, unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman. Jealousy of his brother Clarence had caused him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, and he was so angry at the present, that he would not hear of any proposal to receive the princess, and he sent her proposals of espousal Anthony, Earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who still retained an entire ascendancy over him. But the match was rejected with disdain; and Edward, resenting this treatment of his brother with the utmost force, attempted to proceed without interruption in her conquests over his defiance. Any pretence sufficed for abandoning himself entirely to indulgence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions. The only object which divided his attention, was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the necessities or negligence of his predecessors; and some of his expedients for that purpose, though not always advantageous to his people and oppressive to the people, the detail of private wrongs naturally escapes the notice of history; but an act of tyranny, of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has been taken notice of by all writers, and has met with general approbation. The Duke of Clarence, by all his services to deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confrontery with that nobleman. He was still regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a fickle character; and the imprudent openness and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much less dangerous, tended extremely to alienate the king, and to incense him against him. Among others, he had had the misfortune to give displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his brother the Duke of Gloucester, a prince of the ducal house, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends; in hopes, that if he patiently endured this injury, his pusillanimity would dishonour him in the eyes of the public; if he made resistance, and expressed resentment, his passion would betray him into measures which might give them the means of depriving him of the throne; for, at last day in the park of Thomas Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickshire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion and shot at the form of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that insult upon him. This natural expression of resentment, which would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other person, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendship in which he had the misfortune to live with the Duke of Clarence: he was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found service enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded in the same year, with an ordinance of the Low Countries, which took away the privileges of the provinces of the Low Countries, and those of all the other provinces, which were more beneficial to astronomy than was usual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court had hold of this popular rumour to effect his destruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; many of the greater part of the people, to avoid the suspicion of their presence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.

The Duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found these acts of tyranny executed against him; he
reflected on the fate of the good Duke of Gloucester in the last reign, who, after seeing the most infamous pretences employed for the destruction of his nearest connexions, at last fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, instead of securing his own life against these dangers, was provoked, as it were, open and loud in justifying the innocence of his friends, and in exculpating against the iniquity of their persecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using a language shewn by events to be false, 'must, at the request of John and Isabella, 10th Jan., give the Tower a summons and try him for his life before the House of Peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation. The trial was conducted with a most arraigning public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution. Many rash expressions were imputed to him, and some, too, reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accused of any overt act of treason; and even the truth of these speeches may be doubted of, since the liberty of judgment was given him as his brother's accuser, and pleading the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not place, was a necessary consequence, in those times, of any prosecution in which the fate of a prince was at stake. The necessity of the parliament during that age, furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and servility: they scruple to grant, and sometimes refuse, to the king the smallest supplies, the most necessary for the support of government, even the most necessary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the parliament itself, expressed great fondness; but they never scruple to continue in the act of injustice or tyranny, which falls on any individual, bowever distinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so ungenerous, so opposite to all principles of good government, so contrary to the practice of present parliaments, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history, for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him till the close of his life; and he was privately drowned in a butt of maltseyse in the Tower: a whimsical chance, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor. The duke left two children by the eldest daughter of Warwick; a boy, born in the earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards Countess of Salisbury. Both this prince and princess were also unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almost the descendants of the royal blood in England. There preriegs a report, that a chief source of the violent prosecution of the Duke of Clarence, whose name was George, was a current prophecy, that the king's son should be murdered by one, the initial letter of whose name was G. It is not impossible but, in those ignorant times, such a silly reason might have some influence: but it is more probable, that the whole story is the invention of a subsequent period, and founded on true pleasure and the children by the Duke of Gloucester. Comines remarks, that, at that time, the English never were without some stupendous prophecy or other, by which they accounted for events unexplained.

All the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laures too were extremely sullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His spirit seems afterwards to have been consumed in a subsequent period, and founded on true pleasure and the children by the Duke of Gloucester. Comines remarks, that, at that time, the English never were without some stupendous prophecy or other, by which they accounted for events unexplained.

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aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the same party; and as this nobleman had, by his bravery and activity, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favour of his master, he had been able, though with some difficulty, to induce Henry against the credit of the queen. The Lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connexion with these two noblemen, and brought a considerable accession of influence and reputation to their party. All the other barons, who had no particular dependence on the queen, adhered to the same interest; and the people in general, from their natural envy against the prevailing power, bore great favour to the cause of the new party.

But Edward knew, that though he himself had been able to overawe those rival factions, many disorders might arise from their contests during the minority of his son; and he therefore took care, in his last illness, to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as possible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions that his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, then absent in the north, should be intrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son; represented to them the dangers which must attend the continuance of these dissensions, and endeavoured each in return with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation. But this temporary or signed agreement lasted no longer than the king's life: he had no sooner expired, than the several parties broke up; and each ought, as they had applied, by separate messages, to the Duke of Gloucester, and endeavoured to acquire his favour and friendship.

This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavoured to sustain good terms with both parties; and his high birth, his extensive abilities, and his great services, had enabled him to support himself without falling into a dependence on either. But the new situation of affairs, which was now to devolve upon him, immediately changed his measures; and he secretly determined to preserve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unrestrained by any principle either of justice or humanity, made him carry his views to the possession of the crown itself; and as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he felt without hesitation into concert with the opposite party. But being sensible that no measures could be likely to succeed, unless he could effect his criminal purposes, he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess; and he gained such credit with her, as to influence her conduct in a point, which, from her prudence and integrity, was violently disputed between the opposite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales; whether he had been sent, that the influence of his presence might overawe the Welch, and restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions. His person was committed to the care of his uncle, the Earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England, who, having united an uncommon taste for literature to great abilities in business, and valour in the field, was entitled, by his talents, still more than by nearness of blood, to direct the education of the young monarch. The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendent over her son, which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the Earl of Rivers, that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his conversion, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The opposite faction, sensible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and endeavoured by the means legally entitled to exert in person his authority, foresaw, that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals; and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Hastings threatened to depart instantly to his government of Calais, and the other nobles seemed resolved to oppose force by force: and as the Duke of Gloucester, on pretence of pacifying the quarrels, rather than of supporting himself against the armed power, which might be dangerous, and was nowise necessary, the queen, trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled him himself to Northampton, in order to sign the measure to bring up a greater revenue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young sovereign.

The Duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, set out from York, attended by the numerous train of his family. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he resolved to await his arrival, under colour of conducting him thence in person to London. The Earl of Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony-Stratford; and came himself to Northampton, in order to sign himself for this measure, and to pay his respects to the Duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality; he passed the evening in an amicable manner with the young prince, and the next day, riding in the road with them next day to join the king: but as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the Duke of Gloucester. The Earl of Rivers arrested, and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Gloucester, was at the same time put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Princet. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect; and endeavoured to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.

The people however were extremely rejoiced at this revolution; and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations: but the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment, than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was now inseparable, determined, therefore, to seek the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the Marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the Duke of York. She trusted, that the ecclesiastical privileges which had formerly, during the absence of her husband and family, guaranteed her protection against the fury of the Lancastrian faction, would not now be violated by her brother-in-law, while her son was on the throne; and she resolved to await there the return of better fortune. But Gloucester, anxious to have the Duke of York in his power, proposed to take him by force from the sanctuary; and he represented to the privy-council, both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother. It was further urged, that ecclesiastical privileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy subjects, accused of their debts or crimes; and were entirely useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither, and who, for the same reason, was utterly incapable of claiming sanctuary from any sanctuary. But the two archbishops, Cardinal Beaufort and Rotherham, Archbishop of York, protesting against the sacriilege of this measure, it was agreed that they should first endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by personal persuasion, when he would offer himself against her. These prelates were persons of known integrity and honour; and being themselves entirely persuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every
argument, accompanied with earnest entreaties, exhortations, and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She long continued obstinate, and missted, that the Duke of York, by living in the sanctuary, was not only secure himself, but gave security to the king; but the在一个，while his successor and avenger remained in safety. But finding that none supported her in these sentiments, and that force, in case of refusal, was threatened by the council, she at last complied, and produced her son to the council. She was here on a sudden struck with a kind of presage of his future fate: she tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her tears; and biding him an eternal adieu, declared all the expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody.

The Duke of Gloucester, being the nearest male of the royal family capable of exercising the government, seemed entitled, by the customs of the realm, to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the Duke of Gloucester consent of parliament, made no scruple of investing him with that high dignity. The general prejudice entertained by the nobility against the queen, and her kindred, occasioned that precipitation and irregularity; and no one foresaw any danger to the succession, much less to the lives of the young princes, from a measure so obvious and so natural. Besides that the duke of Gloucester had been by his accusers, who he had produced the issue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, seemed to be an eternal obstacle to his and his family's safety; and it was determined to destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable title, and imprudent to exclude them. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was soon warped by his prevalent passion here; and the rules of fear or caution, and even of justice, Gloucester, having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne.

The death of Earl Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained, was first determined; and he was easily obtained the consent of the Duke of Buckingham, as well as of Lord Hastings, to this violent and sanguinary measure. However easy it was, in those times, to procure a sentence against the most innocent person, it appeared still more easy to despatch an enemy, without any trial or form of process; and orders were accordingly issued to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant, to despatch the two young princes. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition. He represented, that the execution of persons so nearly related to the king, who had been the means of the protector, with their children, was not expedient. He added that the fate he so much resented, would never pass unpunished; and all the actors in that scene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance: that it would be impossible to keep the queen for ever at a distance from her son, and equally impossible to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by like executions, the sanguinary insults committed on her family: that the only method of obviating these mischiefs, was to put the sceptre in the hands of a man of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit, and to the rights of ancient nobility: that the same necessity which had curbed them so far in resisting the usurpation of these intruders, must justify them in attempting further innovations, and in making, by national consent, a new settlement of the succession. To these reasons, he added the offers of great private advantages to the Duke of Buckingham; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises.

The Duke of Gloucester, knowing the importance of gaining Lord Hastings, sounded at a distance his sentiments, by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman; but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendship. He therefore knew, that all his efforts were to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. On the very day when Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan were executed, or rather murdered, at Pomfret, the protector summoned a council in the Tower; whether that nobleman, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The Duke of Gloucester was capable of committing such a bloody and traitorous act with the utmost coolness and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the easiest and most jovial humourimaginable. He seemed to indulge himself in familiar conversation with the counsellors, before they should enter on business; and having paid some compliments to Morton, Bishop of Ely, on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holbeach, he begged the favour of having a dish of them, which that prate immediately despatched a servant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by some other business; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked a number of those assembled whether they would have deserted his life against his life, who was so nearly related to the king, and was intrusted with the administration of government! Hastings replied, that they merited the punishment of death. Their protector, said he, was my lord George, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others, their associates: we to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft: upon which he laid bare his arm, all his hands and fingers. But the counsellors, who knew that this infamy had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all, Lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. Certainly, my lord, said he, if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment.—And do you reply to me, exclaimed the protector, with your life and your lands! You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourself a traitor: and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dure before your head be brought me. He struck the table with his hand: the alarmed men rushed in as the signal; the counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation: and one of the guards, as by accident or mistake, aimed a blow with a poll-axe at Lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, sunk under the shock; and though he saved his life, was severely wounded in the head in the protector's presence. Hastings was seized, was hurried away, and Execution of instantly beheaded on a timber log which Lord Hastings lay in the court of the Tower. Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologizing to them, from the suddenness of the discovery, for the sudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them: but the saying of a merchant was much talked of on the occasion, who remarked, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophecy.

Lord Stanley, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ely, and other counsellors, were committed prisoners in different chambers of the Tower: and the protector, in order to carry on the face of his accusations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized; and at the same time, no longer unalloyed by the mercuries and others with their gallantries and intrigues as the meanest treble eves to be treated with. The protector, however, might have been indicted by Richard, or founded on a precedent of some similar and public nature of manners affecting the person of a sovereign; yet he feared not to proceed against his protector, without the privity of Sir Thomas Hoby. The preface is remarkable for the hypotetical and laconical manner of visitors affecting the person of a sovereign; yet he feared not to proceed against his protector, without the privity of Sir Thomas Hoby.
Paul's, before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents, in London, was well educated, and married to a substantial citizen; but unhappily, views of interest, more than the man's inclinations, had been consulted in the match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to resist the allurements of Edward, who solicited her favours. But while seduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, she still maintained all her titles after this dishonour; and the natural descendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was still forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent; and in her gown of office, the voluminous dictates of her heart, never waited the solicitation of presents, or the hopes of reciprocal services. But she lived not only to feel the bitterness of shame, imposed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those courtiers who had long solicited her friendship, and been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitudes whom she had obliged, had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief; she languished out her life in solitude and indignation: and amidst a court informed to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.

These acts of violence, exercised against the crown, were the more daring, from the crown's connexion with the late king, who had solicited her favours in that capacity. The licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleasures either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretext for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his potent illegitimacy. It was asserted, that before espousing the Lady Elizabeth Gray, he had paid court to the Lady Evanl Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and being repulsed by the latter, he now, therefore, by the force of argument, or he could not satisfy his desires, to consent to a private marriage, without any witnesses, by Stilling, Bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret. It was also maintained, that the act of attaint passed against the Duke of Clarence had virtually incapacitated his children from succeeding to the crown; and these two families being set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. But as it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king; and as the rule which excludes the heirs of an attainted crown from private successions, was never extended to a brother of a crown; the protector resolved to make another of another place still more shameless and scandalous. His partisans were taught to maintain, that both Edward IV. and the Duke of Clarence were illegitimate; that the Duchess of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth; and that the Duke of Gloucester alone, of all her sons, appeared, by his features and countenance, to be the true offspring of the Duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this assertion, which threw so foul an imputation on his own mother, a princess of irreproachable virtue, and then alive; yet the plea chosen for first promulgating it was the ground, before a large congregation, and in the protector's presence. Dr. 

Shaw was appointed to preach in St. Paul's; and having chosen this passage for his text, Bystard slipped off the pulpit, and dashing on this side and that, acknowledged the dissipation and incontinency, which could discredit the birth of Edward IV. the Duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the Duke of Gloucester; and exclaimed, Behold this excellent prince, the express image of heaven on earth, the air of majesty, the residence of glory; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind, than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite: he alone is entitled to your consideration; he alone restored the lost glory and honour of the nation." It was previously concurred, that as the doctor should pronounce these words, the Duke of Gloucester should enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out, God save King Richard! which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation: but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation instanter readied by the doctor. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place: the audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse, than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence; and the protector and his preachers were equally at a loss in their stratagem.

But the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interest, called an assembly of the citizens; where the Duke of Buckingham, who possessed some talents for eloquence, ranged himself on the protector's side, and displayed those numerous virtues of which, he pretended, that prince was possessed. He next asked them, whether they would have the duke for king? and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, God save the Duke! He was surprised to observe them silent; and turning about to the mayor, asked him the reason. The mayor replied, that perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham then repeated the question, and enforced the same tinges, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. "I now see the cause" said the mayor; "the citizens are not accustomed to be asked who is your master, and to answer, God save the Duke!" The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but the man, who was averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to keep his expression good, and nothing but what he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the voice of the Duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence: "This is wonderful obstancy," cried this man; "express your meaning, my friends, one way or other; when we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The Lords and Commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king; but I require you here to declare in plain terms, whether or not you will have the Duke of Gloucester for your sovereign." After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector, with Buckingham's aid, raised a feverish cry, God save King Richard! The shouts and confusion of the nation were so sufficiently declared: the voice of the people was the voice of God: and Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened to Baynard's castle, where the protector then resided, that they might make him a tender of the crown. When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety; a circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole design. At last he was persuaded to step forth, but he still kept at some distance; and his conduct was such that the people knew nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the voice of the protector. The protector then delivered you from the domination of all intruders: he alone can restore the
orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, who had sentiments of honour, refused to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then sent for Sir James Tyrell, who promised obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to this gentleman the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Tyrell, choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Tonna, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself stood without. They found the young princes fast asleep, and fell into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrell, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign; and they were never punished for the crime: probably, because Henry, whose maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, desired to establish it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumstance not so easy to be accounted for: it is pretended, that Richard, dispelled with the assassins, and after having left his nephews at the door, he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground; and as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown. The4 story of the young princes having died as the chaplain ordered, he searched for which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II. there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot which was mentioned as the place of their interment, the bones of two persons were taken up, and showed to be of a size corresponding to the age of Edward and his brother; they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument, by orders of King Charles. Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands; and the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been burned.

RICHARD III.

The first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown, and to rain, by favours, those who he thought were best able to support his future government. Thomas Howard, his elder brother, received the crown; Thomas Howard, his son, Earl of Surrey; Lord Lovel, a Viceroy, by the same name; even Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. This nobleman had been banished by his father, by the rejection of Richard's views, and also by his marrying the Countess dowager of Buckingham, heir of the Somerset family; but sensible of the necessity of submitting to the present government, he sought zeal for Richard's service, that he was received into favour, and even found means to be intrusted with the most important commands by that politic and jealous tyrant. Such a person who, both from the greatness of his services, and the power and splendour of his family, was best entitled to favours under the new government, was the Duke of Buckingham; and Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. Buckingham was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II. and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as estates of a very extensive nature. The Duke of Gloucester, and Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. had married the two daughters and co-heirs of Bolingbroke, Earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immortal graces and virtues are to be divided into two shares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the house of Lancaster, and, after the attender of that royal lice, was seized, as legally devolved to them, by the sovereigns of the house of York. The Duke of Buckingham laid hold of the present opportunity, and claimed the restitution of that portion of the Hereford estate which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of constable, which had long continued by inheritance in his ancestors of that family. Richard relented with these demands, which were probably the price stipulated to Buckingham for his assistance in promoting the usurpation. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable; he received a grant of great office and dignity; and the dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and the king thought himself sure of preserving the fidelity of a man whose interests seemed so closely connected with those of the present government. But it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and the Duke of Buckingham. Historians ascribe their first rupture to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain, from records, that he passed a grant for that purpose, and that the full demands of Buckingham were satisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was soon sensible of the danger which might ensue from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raised difficulties about the execution of his own grant: perhaps he refrained some of Buckingham's outrages, so as to be found it impossible to gratify for his past services: perhaps he resolved, according to the usual maxims of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject, who had been the principal instrument of his own elevation; and the dishonour of this refusal was the first discontent in the Duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish.

Never was there in any country an usurpation more flagrant than that of Richard, or more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations, never attempted to be proved, some of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying scandalous reflections on his own family; and on the persons with whom he was the most nearly connected. His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent, that an assembly of distinct persons should stand forth against him, and give a voice to those sentiments of general detestation which arose in every bosom. They were men disposed to pardon these violations of public right, the sense of whose interest and property was not to be effaced in the most barbarous times, must have felt an abhorrence against him; and have represented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, with whose protection he had been intrusted, in the most odious colours imaginable. To endure such a bloody usurper seemed to draw disgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual. Such was the general voice of the people; all parties were united in the same sentiments; and the Lancasterians, so long oppressed, and of late so much discontented, felt their blasted hopes again revive, and anxiously expected the consequences of these extraordinary events. Never was the Duke of Buckingham, whose family had been devoted to that interest, and who, by his mother, a daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, was allied to the house of Lancaster, so easily induced to espouse the cause of that party, and to endeavour the restoring of it to its ancient superiority. Morton, Bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancasterian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterwards released, availed of the opportunity of these sentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye towards the young Earl of Richmond, as the only
person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper.  

The Earl of Richmond.  

Henry, Earl of Richmond, was at this time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the Duke of Brittany; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been a great object of jealousies both in the late and in the present reign. Richard, Duke of York, grandson of John of Gaunt, by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother, Edmund, had succeeded him in his titles, and in a considerable part of his fortune. Margaret, the Duchess of York, and Edmund, the half-brother of Henry VI., and son of Sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France, relict of Henry V., and she bore him only one son, who received the name of Henry, and who, after his father's death, inherited the house and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had espoused in second marriage Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham, and after the death of that gentleman had married Lord Stanley; but had no children by either of these husbands; and her son Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the sole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the most considerable advantage which he had received to expect from her succession; he would represent the elder branch of the house of Somerset; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and though his claim, while any legitimate branch subsisted of the house of Lancaster, had always been considered the real of fiction, after the death of Henry VI., and the murder of Prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and consideration upon it.

Edward IV., finding that all the Lancastrians had turned themselves towards the young Earl of Richmond as the object of their hopes, thought him also worthy of his attention, and pursued him into his retreat at Brittany, where his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, backed him with a small army; and Edward applied to Francis II., Duke of Brittany, who was himself, a weak but a good prince; and urged him to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the source of future disturbances in England; but the duke, averse to so dishonourable a proposal, would only consent that, for the security of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody; and he received an annual pension from England for the safe keeping or the substance of his person. But towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the English court were so much increased, that he was required to make a new proposal to the duke, which covered, under the fairest appearances, the most bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was desirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth, and he solicited to have him sent over to England, in order to execute a scheme which would redound so much to his advantage. These pretences, seconded, as is supposed, by bribes to Peter Laudais, a corrupt minister, by whom the duke was entirely governed, gained credit with the court of Brittany. Henry was delivered into the hands of the English agents; he was ready to embark: when a suspicion of Edward's real designs was suggested to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus saved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

These symptoms of continued jealousy in the reigning families of England, both seemed to give some authority to Henry's pretensions, and made him the object of general favour and compassion, on account of the dangers and persecutions to which he was exposed. The desertion of his adherents during this very quarter still more excited the attention of the nation towards Henry; and in all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the protection of the odious and bloody tyrant. But notwithstanding these circumstances, those who were so favourable to him, Buckingham and the Bishop of Ely well knew that there would still be many obstacles in

his way to the throne; and that though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI. and the Duke of York, while present possession and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other; yet as soon as these titles were united in Edward IV., the bulk of the people had come over to the reigning family; and the Lancastrians had extremely decreased, both in numbers and in authority. It was then that Henry was suddenly created Duke of Richmond, and received a large estate from the crown. He found all the means to the contrary, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the Earl of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of King Edward, and thereby blinding together all the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. They were sensible that the people were extremely desirous of repose, after so many bloody and destructive commotions; that both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who now lay equally under oppression, would embrace this scheme with ardour; and that the prospect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itself desirable an end, would, when added to the general hatred against the present government, render their cause absolutely invincible. In consequence of these views, the prelate, by means of Reginald Bray, steward to the Crown, and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, made such an union to that lady; and the plan appeared so advantageous for her son, and at the same time so likely to succeed, that it admitted not of the least hesitation. Dr. Lord, Bishop of Ely, came from his episcopal residence in the Queen'sIsle in her sanctuary, carried the proposals to her; and found that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all the objections against the marriage, and procured her appointment of a marriage, to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation, of the parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money to defray the expenses of the marriage to the Earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as she should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his return from France, with all the friends and partisans of her family.

The plan being thus laid upon the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, it was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. But it was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could be conducted in so secret a manner with so little discovery. The jealousy which was in the eye of Richard; and he soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against his authority. He immediately put himself in a posture of defence, by levying a great army, and he as soon as he arrived to the Earl of Richmond, required the duke to appear at court, in such terms as seemed to promise him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales, and giving the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But at that very time there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, swollen to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham's army marching further, he proposed to join his associates. The Welchmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted, took a wild and desperate course, and, with a band of his friends, went to the house of Banister, an old servant of his family. But being detected Buckingham in his retreat, he was brought to the king at 

October, Salisbury; and was instantly executed, according to the summons which he had received to appear at Westminster, by the hands of the lawyers, and of every person whose life he had endangered in the course of those events. The whole army of the Lancastrians, consisting of three thousand men, who had taken arms in different places, at Exeter, at Salisbury, at Newbury, and at Maidstone, hearing of

1 Hist. Crof. Lond. c. xx. p. 568.
the Duke of Buckingham's misfortunes, despairs of success, and immediately dispersed themselves.

The Marquis of Dorset, and the Bishop of Ely, made their escape beyond sea: many others were equally fortunate: several fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made use: one example of many, which he is said to have compounded against Richard and his minsters. The Earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St Malo's, carrying on board a body of 5000 men levied in foreign parts; but his fleet was driven back by a storm, and he landed at Plymouth, for which the Earl of Richmond was only there the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

A.D. 1465.

The king, every where triumphant, and fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to achieve his purpose, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his crimes and flagrant usurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. Though it was natural that the parliament, in a contest of national parties, should not align itself more adhering to the victor, he seems to have apprehended it, lest his title, founded on no principle and supported by no party, might be rejected by that assembly. But his enemies found means to choose one of their number to represent them, and it was a subject chosen but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only son, Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created Prince of Wales: the Duke of York, with no delay, was sworn as the king for life; and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on perjuries.

All the other measures of the king tended to the same object. Sensible, that the only circumstance which could give him security was to gain the confidence of the Yorkists by partaking in their sufferings, yet not to assume an address, made such earnest protestations of his sincere good-will and friendship, that this princess, tired of confinement, and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried further his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, and had with his authority, and by an act of parliament, driven his princess having born him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried matters so far, that when the parliament met, he could not be supposed to have any solid proof, but which the usual tenour of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The Earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to expose himself this princess, and thus to unite, in his own family, their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and was regarded as monstrous, nor did she shun the part that was taken against the marriage. The Earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive; the court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation; Richard thought that he could easily dup him during the interval, till it arrived; and he had afterwards the agreeable prospect of a full and secure settlement. He flattered himself that the English nation, seeing all danger removed of a disputed succession, would then acquiesce under the dominion of a prince, who was of nature years, of great abilities, and of a genus qualified for government; and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed, in plying his way to the throne.

But the crimes of Richard were so horrid and so shocking to humanity, that the natural sentiments of men, without any political or public views, were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being transferred to the gloomy and bloody-minded baron, who held it. All the exiles flocked to the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII, who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and being desirous of raising disturbance to Richard, they secretly encouraged the earl in the enterprises which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The Earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, and joined Henry, and induced him to join the earl in his attempt, by the favourable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation, and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

The Earl of Richmond set sail from Harlou in Normandy, with a small army of about 2000 men; and after a navigation of six days, he arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition and conducted his course to that part of the kingdom, in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favour of his cause by the information of his coming, would receive him as the standard, and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed, in person, to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Richard Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were intrusted with the command of the English forces in the north of England, and the Earl of Lancaster with the command of the forces in the south of England. Sir Gilbert Talbot was sent to the west of England; and Sir Ralph Hungerford and Sir Walter Hungerford brother, with his aid, to the south of England, no quarter was to be given to Richard. Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favourable aspect.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the misfortune of his pretended friends. Searce any nobleman of distinction was so securely attached to his cause, except the Duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. But the persons whom he had entertained the time and honour of Lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William; whose connections with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered Lords Ferrers and Shrewsbury to take care of the levvy forces, he still retained his eldest son, Lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself; and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his

w The lines were: 'The Best, the Cat, and Lord that Dog. Rule all England under the low. n 8 2

w Attaching to the names of Radcliffe and Caldey; and to Richard's arms, which were a bear.

RICHARD III.
equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester; Henry at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number: and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover his intentions from these movements; but he kept the secret from his own men for fear of discouraging them: he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his couriers advanced to him to hope that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still further his ambiguous conduct, and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor; being certain, that a victory over the Staffordites by, breaking in with his troops, would take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford: Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing: despicable enemies he left himself, accompanied by his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in his main body, and intrusted the command of his van to the Duke of Norfolk: as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, having not been in the field, desired for the Earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportionable effect on both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers: it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The utrepit tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and desiring his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death, or his own, would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl; he dismissed Sir John Cheshay; he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when St. John was cut off, most hopelessly, and himself surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and popular services. His men every where sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Pembroke, Sir Richard Talbot, Sir Richard Percy, and Sir Robert Brakenbury. The loss was considerable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon afterwards executed, with some others, near Leicester: all the body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood: it was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insatiable spectators; and was interred in the Gray-Friars' church of that place.

The historians who favour Richard (for Richard III, even this tyrant has met with partisans among the writers), all agree, that he was well qualified for public government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to procure him possession of the crown: but this is a poor apology, when it is confessed, that he was ready to commit the most horrid crimes, that he had a mind to that purpose, and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really seems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger that he incurred, and for the lamentable example of vice and murder, excited upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, hump-backed, and had a harsh dis-

Thus have we pursued the history of England through a series of many barbarous ages, till we have at last reached the dawn of civility and science, and have the prospect both of ancient and modern nations illuminated to our mind by being able to present to the reader a spectacle most worthy of his attention. The want of certainty, however, and of circumstances, is not alike to be complained of throughout every period of this long narrative. This island possesses many ancient historians of good credit, as well as many historical monuments; and it is rare, that the annals of so uncultivated a people, as were the English, as well as the other European nations, after the decline of Rome, have reached us in those mutilated and imperfect, so complete, and with so little mixture of falsehood and of fable. This advantage we owe entirely to the clergy of the church of Rome; who, founding their authority on their own authority, hand down the sacred tradition of antiquity from a total extinction: and under shelter of their numerous privileges and immunities, acquired a security by means of the superstition, which they would never have dared to use, if they had been in a state of war with the people, of those turbulent and licentious ages. Nor is the spectacle altogether unentertaining and un instructive which the history of those times presents to us. The view of human nature, in all its manifold and numerous vicissitudes; of many actions which are connected with the possession of the English throne, as it is a sovereign antidote against superstition, is also the most effectual remedy against vice and disorders of every kind.

The rise, progress, perfection, and decline of art and science are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil transactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for, but by considering the degree of advancement which men have reached in those several art and science at every period. Those who cast their eye on the general revolutions of society will find, that, as almost all improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus, there was a sensible declination from that point or period; and men thenceforth relapsed gradually into ignorance and barbarism. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the consequent despotism of its government, preserved the genius of the Romans in numerous spirits of men, and depressed that noble flame by which the all the refined arts must be cherished and enlarged. The military government which soon succeeded, rendered the people more subject to ignorance and precipitancy; and proved destructive to those vulgar and more necessary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and in the end, to the military art and genius itself, by which alone the immense structure of the empire could be supported. The irruption of the barbarous nations which soon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline; and men sunk every age deeper into ignorance, stupidity, and superstition; till the light of ancient science never nearly suffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is a point of depression, as well as of elevation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary direction, and beyond which they seldom pass either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Christendom were the lowest sunk in ignorance, under the power of heathen despotism, and the most corrupt, was fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conqueror; and from that era, the sun of science be-
giving to re-ascend, threw out many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning, when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes, and other northern people, who had so long infested all the coasts, and even the inland parts, of Europe by their piratical incursions, were now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a certain subsistence at home, and were no longer tempted to desert their industry in order to seek precarious livelihoods, supplied by the plunder of their neighbours. The feudal governments also, among the more southern nations, were reduced to a kind of system; and though that strange species of civil polity was ill fitted to insure either liberty or tranquillity, it placed the universal peace and order which had every where preceded it. But perhaps there was no event which tended further to the improvement of the age, than one which has not been much remarked, the accidental finding of a copy of Justinian's Pandects, about the year 1150, in the town of Amalfi in Italy.

The ecclesiastics, who had leisure, and some inclination to study, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent system of jurisprudence, and spread the knowledge of it throughout every part of Europe. Besides the intrinsic merit of the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connexion with the imperial city of Rome, which had been the seat of perpetual attention, and enquiry into a new lustre and authority by the diffusion of its laws over the western world. In less than ten years after the discovery of the Pandects, Vlacarum, under the protection of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, read public lectures of the learned studies of this kind, in every city and town wherever, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of diffusing the highest esteem for this new science. That order of men, having large possessions to defend, was in a manner necessitated to turn their studies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their interest to enforce the observance of general and local rules for the maintenance and protection. As they possessed all the knowledge of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habit of thinking, the practice as well as science of the law fell mostly into their hands; and though the close connexion which, without any necessity, they formed between the canon and civil law, begat a jealousy in the lady of England, and prevented the Roman jurisprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the case in many states of Europe, even the greatest part of it was seriously transferred into the practice of the courts of justice, and the imitation of their neighbours made the English gradually endeavour to raise their own law from its original state of rudeness and ignorance.

It is easy to see what advantages Europe must have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients so complete an art, which was also so necessary for giving security to all other arts, and which, by refining, and still more by bestowing solidity on the judgment, served as a model to further improvements. The sensible utility of the Roman law, both to public and private interest, recommended the study of it, at a time when the more excited and speculative sciences carried no charms with them; and thus the last branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted, was happily the first transmitted to the modern world: for it is remarkable, that in the decline of learning in the middle ages, this branch was least infected with superstition and sophistry, and the poets and historians with barbarism, the lawyers, who in other countries are seldom models of science or politeness, were yet able, by the choicest parts of their art, to maintain the standard and instruction of those whose predecessors, to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expression.

By what bestows the highest merit on the civil law, was the extreme imperfection of that jurisprudence which preceded it among all the European nations, especially among the Saxons or ancient English. The absurdities which prevailed at that time in the administration of justice, may be conceived from the authentic monuments, which remained of the ancient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary compensation was the only method of punishment, and fines for every crime were fixed for men's lives and members, where private revenges were authorized for all injuries, where the use of the ordeal, cornet, and afterwards of the duel, was the received remedy, and where the judges were rustic freeholders, assembled of a sudden, and deciding a cause from one debate or alteration of the parties. Such a state of society was very little advanced beyond the rude incipient state of nature; for the general and equitable maxims: the pretended liberty of the times was only an incapacity of submitting to government: and men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, sought shelter by their personal servitude and attachments under some powerful chiefman, or by voluntary combinations.

The gradual progress of improvement raised the Europeans somewhat above this uncultivated state; and affairs in this island particularly, took early a turn which was more favourable to justice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations soon became honourable among the English: the situation of that people rendered not the practice of perpetual attendance on their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profession: the gentry, and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law a necessary part of education; they were less diverted than afterwards from the pursuit of the liberal arts, and the professed literature of Henry VI., as we are told by Fortescue, there were in the inns of court about two thousand students, most of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge: a circumstance which proves that a considerable progress was already made in the science of government, and which prognosticated a still greater.

One chief advantage which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts, was the practice, begun and increased in every part of the country, of using and improving the laws of ancient Greece and Rome; which was encouraged by the restoration of the barons, and other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of vassalage or slavery in which they had formerly been retained. It may appear strange, that the progress of the arts, which seems, according to our modern standard of taste and education, to have daily increased the number of slaves, should in later times have proved so general a source of liberty; but this difference in the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumstances which attended them. The ancient barons, obliged to maintain themselves continually in a military posture, and little emulous of elegance or
splendour, employed not their vassals as domestic servants, much less as manufacturers; but composed their retinue of freemen, whose military spirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprise. The vassals were entirely occupied in the cultivation of their master's land, and paid their rents, either in corn and cattle, and other produce of the farm, or in service offices, which they performed for the benefit of the baron's family, and which he retained in his own possession. In proportion as agriculture improved, and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdensome to the vassal, were in the advantage of the master; and it appears that the produce of a large estate could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accustomed to receive it. A communation was, therefore, made of rents for services, and of money-rents for those in kind; and as men in a subsequent age discovered that farms were better cultivated, where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed by the former practices. After this manner villanage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe; and the mixture of servitude and freehold, as well as that of the slave, concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England, for enforcing or regulating this species of servitude, were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. and though the ancient state on this subject remain still unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the distinction of villain and freeman was totally, though insensibly, abolished, and that no person remained in the state to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus personal freedom became almost general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the increase of political or civil liberty, and which, even where it was not so, gave in this salutary effect, deserved to give the members of the community some of the most considerable advantages of it.

The constitution of the English government, ever since the possession of this island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely absolute and uncontrollable: but in other respects the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has experienced the same mutability that has attended all human institutions.

The ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, where each individual was injur'd to arms, and where the independence was secured when the possessions, seem to have admitted a considerable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the first nations, of which there remains any account in the records of history. After this tribe was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the Heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance seems to have inclined to the side of aristocracy. The Norman conquest threw more authority into the hands of the sovereign, which, however, admitted of great control; though derived less from the general forms of the constitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the great charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced some mixture of democracy into the constitution. But even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III., the condition of the common man was nowise eligible; a kind of Polish aristocracy prevailed through the kingdom; and the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and licentious maxims, who were usually as profligate of the laws, which, in a following age, enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of these successive alterations, the only rule of government which is intelligible, or carries any authority with it, is the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration, which are at that time prevalent and universally assented to. Those who, from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition, under the appearance of venerable ornaments, and whatever period they patch on for their model, they may still be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance, by reason of the different age, and by circumstances, appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty that ever was found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of unculculated ages, as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly useful, by instructing them to cherish their present constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. As it is also curious, by showing them the remote, and commonly faint and disfigured, originals of the most ancient constitutions of which they know, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident, which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight, in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.

CHAP. XXIV.

HENRY VII.


The victory which the Earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive; the king being as well attended as with the total rout and dispersion of the king's adherents, as with the defeat of the king himself. Joy for this great success suddenly promted the soldiers, in the field of battle, to bestow on their victorious general the appellation of king, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of Long live Henry第七 Henry was at last a great equalized one, and his premiunmed movement, resounded from all quarters. To despise any appearance of formality on this species of military election, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of coronet which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry himself remained not in suspense; but immediately without hesitation accepted of the magnificent present which was tendered him. He was come to the crisis of his fortune: and being obliged suddenly to determine himself, amidst great difficulties, which he must have frequently revolved in his mind, he chose that part which ambition suggested to him, and to which he seemed to be invited by his present success.

There were many titles on which Henry his title to the crown could be found; but no one of them free from great objections, if considered with respect either to justice or to policy.

During some years, Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster by the party attached to that family; but the title of the house of Lancaster itself was generally thought to be very ill founded. Henry IV., who had first raised it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim; and while he plainly invaded the order of succession, he had not acknowledged the election of the prince. Without parliament, it is true, he had often recognised the title of the Lancasterian princes; but these votes had little authority, being considered as instances of compliance towards a family in possession
of present power; and they had accordingly been often reversed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the sake of peace, to submit to the inevitable, had been induced to see the claims of that family revived; claims which must produce many convulsions at present, and which disjoined for the future the whole system of hereditary right. Besides, allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legally vacant, he was not the true heir of that family; and nothing but the obstinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will submit to an antagonist, could have engaged the Lancastrians to adopt the designs of so many elements that nothing could persuade. Margaret, Countess of Richmond, was sole daughter and heir of the Duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: but the descent of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even erroneous. And though the Duke of Lancaster had obtained the legitimation of his natural children by a patent from Richard II., confirmed in parliament, it might justly be doubted whether this deed could bestow any title to the crown; since, in the patent itself, all the privileges contained in it are fully enumerated, and the succession to the kingdom is expressly excluded. In all settlements of the crown made during the reign of the Lancasterian prince, he had been maintained in his title, and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch, that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general dissatisfaction against Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive; thus strengthening the pretensions of a younger person. The title of the house of York, both from the plain reason of the case, and from the late popular government of Edward IV., had universally obtained the preference in the sentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family, by his intended marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the heir of it; a marriage which he had solemnly promised to celebrate, and to which he was already entitled by his own rights. But many reasons dissuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his consort, his power, he knew, would be very limited; and he must expect nothing to enjoy the bare title of king by a sort of courtesy, than possess the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princess die before him, without issue, he must descend from the throne, and give place to the next in succession; and even if he succeeded her, and his title thus obtained did appear genorous to expect that final piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining present possession of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might easily be passed to discuss that point; and such a provision would serve to thwart any such wish as Henry's; but Henry knew how much superior the claim of succession by blood was to the authority of an assembly, which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the connivance of the times, than by any consideration derived from reason or public interest.

There was yet a third foundation on which Henry might rest his claim, the right of conquest, by his victory over Richard, the present possessor of the crown. But besides that Richard himself was deemed no better than an usurper, the army which fought against him consisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conquest over Englishmen could not be constituted thereby a victory. Nothing also would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be construed as an abolition of all their rights and privileges, and the establishment of absolute authority in the sovereign. William himself, the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invincible title of conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority, that he ventured to advance such a pretension, and desire the magnificence of victory. But Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power somewhat resembling the right of conquest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigour and abilities, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV., who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many insurrections, as he had transmitted the crown to the next in succession, with his postern. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perverted through three generations of the family of Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstanding the preferable title of the house of York; had not theexpedient devised by the hands of Henry VI., which were too feeble to sustain it. Instructed by this recent experience, Henry was determined to put himself in possession of regal authority; and to show all possible force of armament and necessity, the most of war, should be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the house of Lancaster he was resolved to advance, and never allowed to be discussed; and he hoped that this right, favoured by the partisans of that family, and seconded by present power, would secure him a perpetual and an independent authority.

These views of Henry are not exposed to much blame, because founded on good policy and on a species of necessity: but there entered into all his measures and counsels another motive, which admits not of the same apology. The violent contentions which, during so long a period, had prevailed between the rival families, and the bloody feuds and sanguinary revenges which they had alternately taken on each other, had inflamed the opposite factions to a high pitch of animosity. Henry himself, who had seen most of his near friends and relations become the objects of battle, or by the executioner, and who had been exposed himself, as a person, to many hardships and dangers, had imbued a violent antipathy to the York party, which no time or experience were ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present happy opportunity of abolishing these fatal distinctions, of uniting his title with that of his consort, and of bestowing favour indiscriminately on the friends of both families; he carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the use of a faction, and even the passions, which are carefully guarded against every true politician in that situation. To exalt the Lancasterian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were still the favourite objects of his pursuit; and, through the whole course of his reign, he never forgot these early prepossessions. Incapable, from his natural temper, of a more enlarged and more benevolent system of policy, he exposed himself to many present inconveniences, by too much constantly guarding against that future, possible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the princess whom he espoused. And, while he treated the Yorkists as enemies, he soon rendered them such, and taught them to regard the crown which he himself had obtained as kept separate; and to perceive its weakness and instability.

To these passions of Henry, as well as to his suspicious politics, we are to ascribe the measures which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement at Sherif-lluton, in Yorkshire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard; whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwick had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstacle to the succession either of Henry nor Elizabeth; and from a youth of such tender years no danger could reasonably be apprehended. But Sir Robert Willoughby was despatched by Henry, with orders to take him from Sherif-lluton, to convey him to the Tower, and to detain him in close custody. The same messenger carried directions that the Princess Elizabeth, who had been confined to the same place, should be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

Henry himself set out for the capital, and advanced by slow journeys. Not to lose the jealousy of the people, he took care to appear in all the magnificence of a prince, and so to restrain the insolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an established monarch, making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way

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5 Eynmot in Hakowt's complete History, p. 326.
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His royal power to the throne by force of arms. The acclamation in London of the people was everywhere loud, and no less sincere and hearty. Besides, that a new and victorious prince, who was naturally the object of popularity; the nation promised themselves great felicity from the new scene which opened before them. During the course of near a whole century, there had been, by domestic wars and convulsions; and, if at any time the noise of arms had ceased, the sound of faction and discontent still threatened new disorders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, seems to have made a union of the titles of the two families; and having prevailed over a hated truant, who had once disjoined the succession, even of the house of York, and had filled his own family with blood and plunder, he was every way associated with the unfandoned favour of the people. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progress. The mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city; the crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of satisfaction. But Henry, amidst this general effusion of joy, discovered still the stillness and reserve of his temper, which made him scorn to court popularity: he entered London with a crouch and scorn, and would not gratify the people with a sight of their new sovereign.

But the king did not so much neglect the favour of the people, as to delay giving them assurances of his ready mind to establish the principles of the late policy. He had already made a league with Elizabeth, by which he had been so passionately desired by the nation. On his leaving Brittany, he had artfully dropped some hints, that if he should succeed in his enterprises, and obtain the crown of England, he would espouse Anne, the heir of that duchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and even in Elizabeth herself. Henry took care to dissipate these apprehensions, by solemnizing the council and principal nobility, the promise which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the English princess. But, though bound by honour, as well as by interest, to carry out this engagement, he put it off till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognised by parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he deemed it a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster.

Sweating sickness. In the meantime, in London, and other parts of the kingdom, a species of malaria, unknown to any other age or nation, the sweating sickness, which occasioned the sudden death of great numbers, did not seem to be contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. In less than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; what he possessed of fury for a few weeks, it was observed, either from alternations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been discovered, to be considerably abated. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the splendour of that spectacle, he bestowed the rank of knightbanneret on twelve persons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas, Lord Stanly, his father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, Earl of Devonshire. At the coronation, likewise, there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal difference of his subjects to the instigation of Henry, the ceremony of coronation was performed by Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The parliament being assembled at Westminister, on the Monday following, the majesty of the prince immediately appeared to be devoted partisans of Henry; all persons of another disposition either declining to stand in those dangerous times, or being obliged to dissemble their principles and intentions. The nation's domestic tranquillity having been successful in the elections; and even many had been returned, who during the prevalence of the house of York had been exposed to the rigour of the law, and had been cruelly treated by domestic wars and convulsions. The right to take seats in the House being questioned, the case was referred to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber, in order to deliberate on so delicate a subject. The opinion delivered by the court, and contained in a just temperatment between law and expediency.

The judges determined, that the members attained should forever take their seats till an act were passed for their reversion; to which the demand was maintained; and in it were comprehended a hundred and seven persons of the king's party.

But a scruple was started of a nature still more important. The king himself had been attained; and his right of succession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt. The judges extricated themselves from this dangerous question, by asserting it as a maxim;

That, if the crown taken away, and another set up, the king might enjoy the revenues of his realm, and any person, or the king himself, might have the use of his lands, and the crown; but that from the time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attadators and corruption of blood discharged. Besides that the case, from its urgent necessity, admitted of no deliberation; the judges, as they knew to the king, and to the court of judicature, had authority sufficient to bar the right of succession; that the heir of the crown was commonly exposed to such jealousy, as might often occasion stretches of law and justice against him; and that a prison might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predecessor's reign, without meeting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birthright.

With a parliament so obstructed, and the king not fall of obtaining whatever act of settlement he was pleased to require. He seems only to have entertained some doubt within himself on what claim he should found his pretensions; but, as he had been made the king, he mentioned his just title by hereditary right; but lest that title should not be esteemed sufficient, he subjected his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And mean, but that pretensions should be interpreted as assuming a right of conquest, he insured to his subjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

The entail of the crown was drawn 30. Out of the king's court, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Prince of Orange, in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the Princess Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family. His courtiers and peers were subjected by law to a perpetual reserve and moderation. He did not insist that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; nor on the other hand did he avoid the appearance of his own form. He chose a middle course, which, as it is generally unavoidable in such cases, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obscurity. It was voted, That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and slide in the king, but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured in the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, on any of these and all the incidents of it, to require that the house of York, or to give the preference to that of Lancaster; he left that great point ambiguous for the present, and trusted that, if it should ever become requisite to determine it, future incidents would open the way for the decision.

But even after all these precautions, the king was so little satisfied with his own title, that in the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and as the Pope of Rome gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the imprudence, weakness, or necessities of princes afforded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII., the reigning Pope, readily granted a bull in whatever terms the king was pleased to desire. All Henry's titles, by suc-
cession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the sanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the account of death, could be absolved but by the Pope himself, or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine the security of crown. For from this ball could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the Pope to interpose in these concerns.

It was natural and even laudable in Henry to reverse the attainers which had passed against the partisans of the house of Lancaster: but the reverses which he exercised against the adherents of the York family, to which he was so soon to be allied, cannot be considered in the same light. Yet the parliament, at this instigation, passed an act of attainer against the late king himself, against the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lords Zouche, and Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Riversington, Sir William Berkley, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Bosworth. How men could be guilty of treason by supporting their natural and legal right, without the least suspicion of any criminal design in them, a prince, who, professing the true faith, and desiring nothing but the welfare of his kingdom, was as desirous to obviate every danger to the crown as was sensible of the satisfaction of the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy, than either his father or his predecessor. In general, to find that the king, prompted either by avarice or resentment, could, in the very beginning of his reign, so far violate the cordial union which had previously been concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plunily owed his succession to the throne.

The king, having gained so many points of consequence from the parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any supply from that body. He withdrew, and probably enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed to render somewhat superfluous. The parliament, however, conferred on him during the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of no great moment. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favour to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all so far as had taken arms, or formed any attempts against him; provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day; and if obnoxious to them, the king's grace and favour. Upon this proclamation many came out of their sanctuaries; and the minds of men were everywhere much quieted. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace, so agreeable to the nation; rather than communicate it with the parliament, (as was his first intention,) by passing a bill to that purpose. The Earl of Surrey, however, though he had submitted, and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the Tower.

During this parliament, the king also bestowed favours and honours on some particular persons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, although he was a natural child, and the prince, and peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed to render somewhat superfluous. The parliament, however, conferred on him during the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of no great moment. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favour to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all so far as had taken arms, or formed any attempts against him; provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day; and if obnoxious to them, the king's grace and favour. Upon this proclamation many came out of their sanctuaries; and the minds of men were everywhere much quieted. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace, so agreeable to the nation; rather than communicate it with the parliament, (as was his first intention,) by passing a bill to that purpose. The Earl of Surrey, however, though he had submitted, and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the Tower.

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success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed themselves. The Stafford took sanctuary in the church of Colham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found, that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been misled by his brother, obtained a pardon.6

5th Sept. By way of ransom for this service was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent.

Disguised as a pilgrim in his true character, Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular: the source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York, which was generally believed by the nation, and which for that very reason became every day more the object of his hatred and jealousy. Not only a preference on all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians, but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great severity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general resumption likewise had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York; and though the rigour had been covered under the pretence that the revenue was become insufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and though the grants, during the latter years of Henry VI., were resumed by the same law, yet the York party were not reprieved, nor was the principal suspicion, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The severity exercised against the Earl of Warwick, begat compassion for youth and innocence exposed to such oppression; and his protection, in the person of the太子, Edward, whose children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like catastrophe for him, and led them to make a comparison between Henry and that despot of his day, and to imagine the queen herself met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a son was not admitted to the honour of a public coronation, Henry's prepossessions were then concluded to be inveterate, and men became equally dispose to their disgust to his government. Nor was the manner and address of the king calculated to eure those prejudices contracted against his administration: but had in every thing a tenderness to promote his, or at best reverence, rather than a good will and affection.8 While the high idea entertained of his policy and vigour, retained the nobility and men of character in obedience, the effects of his unpopular government soon appeared, by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtility, and still more enterprise and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government by raising a pretender to the crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, on Lamberti Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great credulity, that Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had, by a secret escape, saved himself from the cruelty of his uncle, and by some concealment in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so foolishly enjoyed in the public, but hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simon personate that unfortunate prince.9 Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act, yet it was remarked, that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, which he had ascertained in the course of his education in the Lord of Warwick, than he could be supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition; and it was thence conjectured, that persons of higher rank, partisans of the house of York, had laid the plan of this conspiracy, and had conveyed proper instructions to the actors. The queen-dowager herself was exposed to suspicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might seem, that she had secretly given her consent to the imposture. The woman was of a very restless disposition. Finding that, instead of receiving as much reward at her services as she had hoped from Henry's elevation, she herself was fallen into absolute insignificance, her daughter treated with severity, and all her friends brought under suspicion, she had conceived the most violent animosity against him, and had resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. She knew, that the impostor, however successful, might easily at last be set aside; and if a way could be found at his risk to supplant the government, she hoped that a scheme might be opened which, though difficult at present, if once seen, would gratify her revenge, and be on the whole less irksome to her than that slavery and contempt to which she was now reduced.

But whatever care Simon might take to convey instruction to his pupil Simnel, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That nation was naturally hostile to York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant, was impoverishly allowed by Henry to remain in the same condition in which he found it; and all the councilors and confidential friends of his successors, still retained their authority. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunates of his house, chief among them, it was suspected so bold an imposture, gave occasion to him, and began to consult some persons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident. These he found even more suspectable than to the designs of a traitor, and in proportion as the story diffused itself among those of lower condition, it became the object of still greater passion and credulity, till the people in Dublin, with one consent, tendered that allegiance to Simnel as to the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty, which flattered their national presumption, they overlooked the daughters of Edward IV., who stood before Warwick in the order of succession; they paid the pretended prince attendance according to their sovereign, lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital; and not a sword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

When this intelligence was conveyed to the king, it reduced him to some perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies, and to avoid a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great credulity, that Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had, by a secret escape, saved himself from the cruelty of his uncle, and by some concealment in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so foolishly enjoyed in the public, but hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simon personate that unfortunate prince.9 Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act, yet it was remarked, that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, which he had ascertained in the course of his education in the Lord of Warwick, than he could be supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition; and it was thence conjectured, that
der colour of an offence known to the whole world. They were afterwards the more confirmed in this suspicion, when they found that the unfortunate queen, though she made the most extravagant professions of sorrow, was, nevertheless, provided with any more lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, solitude, and confinement.

The next measure of the king's was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Wiltshire should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank, attached to the house of York, and most acquainted with the person of this prince, should approach him and converse with him: and be trusted that these, being convinced of the absurd impos- ture of Simnel, would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedition had its effect in England: but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shown a counterfeit Warwick to the public.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend, that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and late acquainted with the project of this prince, was anxious to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had entertained very aspiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known infirmity of the king. John could have formed a design, in case he himself should die without issue, of declaring Lincoln successor to the crown. The king's jealousy against all eminent persons of the York party, and his rigour towards Warwick, had further struck Lincoln with apprehensions, and made him resolve to seek for safety in the most dangerous counsels. Having fixed a secret correspondence with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived on the same errand. During some time in the court of his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

Margaret, widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, not having any children by her own, attached herself with an entire friendship to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria; and after the death of that princess, she persevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret, her children, and occupied herself in the care of their education and of their persons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour she had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity and respect as empress of the whole nation. The manner in which she inherited from her husband. The resentments of this princess were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction, which is so difficult for a social and sanguine temper to guard against, had taken strong pos- session of her heart, and interwoven somewhat on the probity which shone forth in the other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all its pursuivants, she was moved with the highest indignation, and she determined to make him repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or neces- sity, had fallen victims. After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Sweert, a brave and experienced officer; and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Sim- nel in Ireland. The counterpane given by her to persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolu- tion of an enterprise, so passionately desired, as the spirit of disaffection as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland.

The poverty also under which they laboured, made it im- possible for them to support any longer their new court and army, and they proposed to remedy this state of things, by plundering and robbing in England.

Henry was not ignorant of these intentions of his en- emies; and he prepared himself for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put about them under the orders of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford. He confined the Marquis of Dorset, who he suspected would resent the injuries suffered by his mother, the queen-dowager: and to gratify the people by his appearance. Of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, famous for not being visited, and offered up prayers for success, and for deliverance from his enemies.

Being informed that Simnel was landed at Foulney in Lancashire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had en- tertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would rise in their favour: but the people in general, asvete to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputa- tion for success and conduct, either remained in tran- quillity, or gave assistance to the royal army. The Earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and the king, supported by the na- tive courage of his temper, and imbodied by a great accession of volunteers, who had joined him under the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Berkeley, was expedient to take part in the combat. The hostile armies met at Stoke in the county of Nottingham, and fought a Battle of Stoke, which was bloody, and more obstinately disputed than any that had been expected from the military force. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to con- quer or to perish; and they inspired their troops with like resolution. The Germans also, being veteran and expe- rienced soldiers, kept the event as doubtful; and even the Irish, though ill-trained and almost defenceless, showed themselves not defective in spirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart perished in the field of battle, with four thousand men of their army. The king was never more heard of, he believed to have under- gone the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody; Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehen- sion or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned and made a scullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

Henry had now leisure to revenge himself on his ene- mies. He made a progress into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous disposition. A strict inquiry was made after those who had assisted or favoured the insurgents; and the king, not only of a man of the rank of the king made him re-venge subservient to his avance. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The pro- ceedings of the courts, and even the courts themselves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by com- missiitrs appointed for the purpose, or they suffered punishment by sentence of a court-martial. And, as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himself had escaped by flight, Henry was resolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of disaffection; and lie punished many for that pretended crime. But such was the situation of the English government, that the time and prerogative, which was but imperfectly restrained during the most peaceable periods, was sure, in tumultuous or even suspicious times, which frequently recurred, to break all bounds of law, and to violate public liberty.

After the king had gratified his rigour by the punish- ment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was the inveterate desire of the English nation. He con- tinued near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this inattention of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the disaffec- tion which prevailed. The king, instructed by experience, now chose the ceremony the
her coronation; and to show a disposition still more gracious, he restored to liberty the Marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions enter- tained against him.

CHAP. XXV.

State of foreign affairs.—State of Scotland.—Of Spain.—Of the Low Countries.—Of France.—Of Brittany. French invasion of Brittany.—French expedition to Ireland.—Despatch of the French army.—An extraordinary meeting in the North.—Suppression of the English and Scottish instruments of the state.—The dauphin's campaign in France.—The invasion of France.—Peace with France.—Perkin Warbeck.—His imposture.—He is avowed by the Duchesses of Burgundy and Brabant.—An earl.—The king acquired great reputation throughout Europe by the vigorous and prosperous conduct of his domestic affairs; but as some incidents about this time invited him to look abroad, and exact himself in behalf of his allies, it will be necessary in order to give a just account of his foreign measures, to explain the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms; beginning with Scotland, which is most contiguous.

The kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that state which distinguishes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and institutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the sovereign, to maintain itself in order and tranquillity. James III. who now filled the throne, was a prince of little industry and of a narrow genus; and though it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his ministers, he had never been able to make any choice which could give contentment both to himself and to his people. When he bestowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to such a height as was dangerous to the prince, and gave him proofs of it whenever he conferred favour on anyone of meaner birth, on whose submission he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, engrossed at the power of an upstart minister, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their sovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conquests, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to submission; but as he was probably sensible that a warlike people, though they might be overawed by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and sent an embassy to James for that purpose.

But the Scots, who never desired a durable peace with England, and who deemed their security to consist in constantly preserving themselves in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a seven years' truce, which was accordingly concluded.

The European states on the continent were then hastening fast to the situation in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries; and began to unite themselves into one extensive system of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom.

State of Spain. Spain, which had hitherto been almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formible by the union of Aragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterprises the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was the undertaking, and brought near to a happy conclusion. And in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and security were attained; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and made a great figure in every war and negotiation.

Of the Low Countries. Maximilian, King of the Romans, son of the Emperor Frederick, by his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, acquired an interest in the Netherlands; and though the death of his consort had weakened his connections with that country, he still pre- tended to the government as tutor to his son Philip, and his authority had been acknowledged by Flanders, Holland, and several of the provinces. But as Flanders and Hainault still refused to submit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against that obstinate people; and was able to subdue their spirit. That he might free himself from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis XI. and had given his daughter Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin; together with Artois, Franche Comté, and Chaulois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the desired effect. The dauphin succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII.; but Maximilian still found the mutations of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the court of France.

France, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increase in power and greatness; and had not other states of Europe at the same time received an accession of force, it had been impossible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Most of the great seigniors, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiné, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had been united to the crown of France by the marriages of their nobility, or by the birthright of the French princes, to which the prince had been raised to such a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was kept on foot, and the French court was able to undertake all the expeditions which their king could undertake, the generosity of which, combined with their valor, enabled them to perform any service which the monarch could undertake, and to bear the expenses of it. The French power suffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this prince formed the great project, which at last he happily effected, of uniting to the crown of France the last and most independent fee of the monarchy.

Francis H. Duke of Brittany, conscious of his own incapacity for government, had resigned himself to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for virtue or integrity. The nobles of Brittany, dispensed with the great advancement of this favourite, had even proceeded to dissatisfaction against their sovereign; and after many tumults and disorders, they at last united among themselves, and in a violent manner seized, tried, and put to death the obnoxious minister. Dreading the resentment of the prince for this invasion of his authority, many of them retired to France; others, for protection of their property, maintained their allegiance to the French monarchy, who, observing the great dissensions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading the duchy; and so much the rather, as they could cover their ambition under the specious pretence of providing for domestic security.

Lewis, Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and presumpptive heir of the monarchy, had disputed the administration with the lady of Beaufort; and though his pretensions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cahals with many of the grands, and had schemes for subverting the authority of that prince. Finding his correspondence detected, he took to arms, and fortified himself in Beaufort; but as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to join him, he had been obliged to submit, and to receive such conditions as the French monarchy were pleased to impose upon him. Ac- tuated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he soon retired out of France, and took shelter with the Duke of Brittany, who was desirous of strengthening himself against the designs of the lady of Beaufort, by the friendship of the Duke of Orleans. This latter prince also, perceiving the ascendancy which he soon acquired over the Duke of Brittany, had engaged many of his partisans to join him at that court, and had formed the design of gaining thereby a name of power by a marriage with Anne, the heir of that opulent duchy.
The barons of Brittany, who saw all favour engrossed by the Duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invasion on their country. Desirous, however, of preserving its independence, they had regulated the number of succours which France was to send them, and had stipulated, that no fortified place in Brit-
tany should remain in the possession of that monarchy; a condition which, and that as both the aggressor and the aggressed, France found superior power so much superior! The French in-
ofanna, vaded Brittany with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons; and advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to Ploemel. To oppose them, the duke raised a numerous but ill-disciplined army, which he put under the command of the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Dunons, and others of the French nobility. The army, discon-
tented with this choice, and jealous of their confederates, soon disbanded, and left their prince with too small a force to keep the field against his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but being both pursued by the French, who had now magnified themselves masters of Ploemel, he escaped to Nant; and the enemy, having previously taken and garrisoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city. The barons of Brittany, finding their condition of their own accord, and the multiplying difficulties of their project of reducing Brittany to subjection. The situation of Europe appeared favourable to the execution of this de-
sign. Maximilian was indeed engaged in close alliance with the Duke of Brittany, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occasions so indigent, and at that time so disquieted by the mutu-
ties of the Flemings, that little effectual assistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the conquest of Granada; and it was also known, that if France would resign to him Roussillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretensions, she could at any time engage him to abandon the interests of Brittany. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her in-
terests, to support the independency of that duchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her, Maximilian, by the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and the restoration of the Templars, had received by the French court the undertaking to supply him with a sufficient number of French soldiers. Henry, on his late victory, and communica-
ting to him, in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, some successes of their master against Maximilian, came in commendation of their designs, and desirous to mention the late transactions in Brittany. They told him, that the duke having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been necessitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that duchy; that the honour of the crown was interested not to suffer a vassal so far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the security of the government less concerned to pre-
vent the consequences of this dangerous temerity: that the fury of that duty, if not successful, or obscure persons, had among others, the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Brittany; where he attempted to allure of the people to his project against his sovereign: that the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately cease, when the Duke of Brittany, by re-
turning to his duty, and laying his design to the ground, would their master was sensible of the obligations which the duke, in very critical times, had conferred on Henry; but it was known also, that in times still more critical, or his master's peril, the barons had deserted him, and put his life at the utmost hazard: that his tale told the Duke not only protected his person, but supplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England; that France in this transaction, ship to Henry, acted contrary to what, in a narrow view, might he esteemed her own interest; since, instead of an odious tyrant, she had contributed to establish on a rival throne a prince endowed with such virtue and abilities: and that if the cause of the contest, the selfish principle, of the French nation, power so much superior! The French in-
ofanna, vaded Brittany with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons; and advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to Ploemel. To oppose them, the duke raised a numerous but ill-disciplined army, which he put under the command of the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Dunons, and others of the French nobility. The army, discon-
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acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverse fortune. He had expected from a monarch of such virtue, more effectual assistance in his present distresses, than a barren offer of mediation, which suspended not the progress of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to engage him in such a measure, his prudence, as King of England, should determine for himself the perils he perceived. The consequences attaching to the conquest of Brittany, and its annexation to the crown of France; that that kingdom, already too powerful, would be enabled, by so great an accession of force, to display, to the world, that visible disunion which had always subsisted between those rival nations: that Brittany, so useful so ally, which, by its situation, gave the English an entrance into the heart of France, being annexed to that kingdom, would be equally enabled, from its situation, to disturb, either by sea or land, the commerce and peace of England; and that if the duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war which he experienced to be ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be much inferior to that of the enemy; but, on the contrary, from a sense of his present necessities, which must engage the king to act the part of his confederate, not the enemy.

When this answer was reported to the king, he abandoned not the plan which he had formed: he only concluded, that some time more was requisite to quell the obstinate dispositions, and make the French understand. And when he learned that the people of Brittany, anxious for their duke's safety, had formed a tumultuary army of 60,000 men, and had obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantes, he fortified himself the more in his opinion that the court of England would at last yield to the combined obstacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Brittany to subjectation. He continued, therefore, his scheme of negotiation, and thereby exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French minister, who, still pretending pacific intentions, sent Lord Bernard, Daugnay, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and pressed Henry not to be discouraged in offering his mediation to the court of England. The king, on his part, despatched another embassy, consisting of Urswe, the Abbot of Almogrand, and Sir Richard Tunstal, who carried new proposals for an amicable treaty. No effectual succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodville, brother to the queen-dowager, having asked leave to raise underhand a body of volunteers, and to transport them into Brittany, met with a refusal from the king, who was desirous of preserving the appearance of neutrality. Though solicitation therefore was not seduced in his purpose. He went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of 400 men; and having at last obtained, as is supposed, the secret permission of the king, sailed with them into Brittany. This enterprise proved fatal to the leader, and brought small relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were discomfited. Woodville, and all the English were put to the sword; together with a body of Britons, who had been acctuated in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the marshal of that nation, was always formidable. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and many other persons of rank, were taken prisoners; and the military force of Brittany was totally broken. The death of the duke, which followed soon after, threw affairs into still greater confusion, and threatened to set the state with a final subjection.

Though the king did not prepare against these events, so hurtful to the interests of England, with the present vigour and promptness, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to maintain a pacific conduct, so far as the situation of affairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike temper of his subjects, and the recent history of the art of war, and France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to her power and grandeur. He resolved, therefore, to make advantage of this disposition, and draw some supplies from the people, on presence of giving assistance to the Duke of Brittany. He had summoned a parliament at Westminster; and he soon persuaded them to grant him a considerable subsidy. But this supply, though voted by parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The county of Durham and York, always discontented with Henry's government, and further provoked by the late oppressions under which they had laboured, after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, determined the commissioners with whom they were appointed to levy the tax. The commissioners, terrified with this appearance of sedition, made application to the Earl of Northumberland, and desired of him advice and assistance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to consult the king; who, unwilling to yield to the humour of a discontented populace, and foreseeing the pernicious consequence of such a precedent, renewed his orders for strictly levying the impositions. Northumberland summoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands in the most imperious terms, which, he thought, would enforce obedience, but which, it proved, only served to provoke the people, who believed him the adviser of those orders which he delivered to them. They flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and put him to death. Having incurred such a breach of peace, he was compelled to declare against the king himself; and being instigated by John Aclander, a sedulous fellow of low birth, they chose Sir John Euremond their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry was not dismayed with all this exercise of force; and, by the immediate levies a force, which he put under the command of the Earl of Surrey, by which he had freed from confinement and received into favour. His intention was to send a fleet from the French ministry, which he did, and thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But as the distresses of the Bretons still multiplied, and became every day more urgent; he found himself under the necessity of taking more vigorous measures, in order to support them. On the death of the duke, the French had revived some ardent claims to the dominion of the duchy; and as the Duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former A.D. 1169. presence for hostilities could not longer serve as a cover to their ambition. The king resolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Brittany; and to consult the interest of his people, as well as desire his progress to the progress of the French project. Persons entering into a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinando, which were distant resources, he levied a body of troops to the number of 6000 men, with an intention of transporting them into Brittany. Still anxious, however, for the repayment of his expenses, he concluded a treaty with the young duchess, by which she engaged to deliver into his hands two sea-port towns, there to remain till she had entirely reduced the alternating armament. Though he engaged for the service of these troops during the space of ten months only, yet was the duchess obliged, by the necessity of her affairs, to submit to such rigid terms, as were imposed on her so much concerned in interest to accept them. The fleet was armed under
It was necessary that this expedient, which had not been foreseen by any court in Europe, and which they were all so much interested to oppose, should be kept a profound secret, and should not be discovered by the forces of any nation, to which the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry, in the conduct of this delicate enterprise, were wise and political. While they pressed Brittany with all the resources of war, they secretly prepared the means of discovering this project by the most peaceful means, and of bringing it to light in a manner that should be least prejudicial to the interests of France. The execution of this plan, which had been formed by one who was sure to be traversed by another. The English, unprepared for any enterprise by these unexpected and uncertain counsels, returned home as soon as they had surmounted the difficulties of the sea; leaving only a small garrison in those towns which had been consigned into their hands. During their stay in Brittany, they had only contributed still further to waste the country; and by their departure, they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the succour which Henry, in this important conjuncture, afforded his ally, whom the invasion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domestic dissensions, had reduced to the utmost despair. The Chancellor of this country, whose design, so far as the disposal of the young duchess in marriage. The Mareschal Rieux, favoured by Henry, seconded the suit of the Lord d'Albret, who led some forces to his assistance. The Chancellor recommended to them the injustice of this measure, that there was no pretence of marriage to the duchess's surplus, insisted that a petty prince, such as d'Albret, was unable to support Anne in her present extremity; and he recommended some more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian, King of the Romans. This party at last prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy; and the duchess thenceforth assumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation, which had been the object of so many dispositions, and the marriage of Maximilian, who, though too young for the consummation of his marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of Queen of France. Besides the rich dowry which he had obtained by the marriage of his eldest daughter, Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy; and seemed, in many respects, the most proper match that could be chosen for the young monarch. He was also the chief of a mighty family, both Maximilian and Henry, that they never suspected any other intentions in the French court; nor were they able to discover, that engagements, seemingly so advantageous, and so solemnly entered into, could be infringed and set aside. But Charles began to perceive that the conquest of Brittany, in opposition to the nations, and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprise; and that, even if he should overrun the country, and possess a considerable fortress, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the duchess could fully aannex that fief to the crown; and the present and certain enjoyment of it was considerable. A territory seemed preferable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy; a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared destructive to the grandeur, and even security, of the French monarchy. The consequences of this marriage threatened the crown of France, and the whole empire, preserved to the French crown. The possession of Flanders on the one hand, and Brittany on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make invades into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils was therefore the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not consummated; and the espousal of the Duchess of Brittany by the King of France.
he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of superior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth, such as Charles, could not but give him the highest displeasure, and if he pointed out to him the present danger, he charged his miscarriage was become absolutely impracticable. But he was further actuated by avarice, a motive still more predominant with him than either pride or revenge; and he sought, even against that presentiment, the gratification of this ruling passion. On presence of a French war, he issued a commission for levying a Benevolence on his people; 1 a species of taxation which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard II. This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near 10,000 pounds. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended; if the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them; if their method of living were splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expenses. This device was, by some, called Chancellor Morton's fork, by others his crutch.

The person who was the king of a parliament, on account of his levying this arbitrary impost, that he soon after summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster; and he even expected to enrich himself further by working on their passions and prejudices. It was known that the English had conceived against France, on account of the acquisition of Brittany; and he took care to insist on that topic, in the speech which he himself pronounced to the parliament. He told them, with her late successes, bad even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV. That it had been known to the English he had conceived against France, on account of the acquisition of Brittany; and he took care to insist on that topic, in the speech which he himself pronounced to the parliament. He told them, before the audience, that they was to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repelling the present injury: that, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain, by force of arms, so vast a title, transmitted to him by his gallant ancestor. That Crecy, Pocetiers, and Amicour, were sufficient to instruct them in their supremacy over the enemy; nor did he despair of any further success that might attend this glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been heretofore in such possession, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers: that the domestic despondency of France had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions; and her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: that, where such lasting honour was in view, and such an important acquisition, it became not brave men to recede, rather than diminish, the riches of the nation.

Notwithstanding these magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded, from the personal character of the man, and still more from the situation of affairs, that he had no serious intention of pushing the war to such extremities as he pretended. France was not now in the same condition as when such successful inroads had been made upon her by former kings of England.

The great fields were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were devoted to tranquility, and the nation supported with able captains and veteran soldiers; and the general aspect of her affairs seemed rather to threaten her neighbours, than to promise them any considerable advantages against such a magnitude and variety of enemies. As he pretended to be supported by his pompous titles; but were ill seconded by military power, and still less by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a show of war, was actually negociating for peace; and, rather than expose himself to the hazard, would accept of very moderate concessions from France. Even England was not free from domestic discontent; and in Scotland, the death of Henry's friend and ally, James III., who had been murdered by his rebellious subjects, had made war more than ever necessary for his interests. Scotland, which was devoted to the French interest, and would surely be alarmed at any important progress of the English arms. But all these obvious considerations had no influence on the present proceedings. French aid was so long claimed as a matter of course, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, they gave in to the snare prepared for them, and voted the supply which the king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted them; and the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation.

The nobility were universally seized with a desire of military glory; and having credulously swallowed all the boas of the king, they dreamed of no less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of the emperor. Almost three thousand arms, or sold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater splendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order. The king crossed the Channel on the 6th of Oct., with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford; but as some inferred, from his opening the campaign in so late a season, that peace would soon be concluded between the crowns, he was desirous of suggesting a contrary inference. He had come over, he said, to make entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was therefore of no consequence what season he began the invasion; especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters. As if he had seriously intended this enterprise, he instantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Bullington; but not withstanding this appearance of hostilities, there had been secret advances made towards peace above three months before; and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected measure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries and informed him that Maximilian was in no readiness to join him; nor was an army to be expected from Spain, which was in no readiness. Soon after, messengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a cession of the counties of Boussil and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army, the king was still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after such magnificent promises and high expectations, might expose him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended measures, he secretly engaged the Marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late reason of the year, the difficulties of supplying the army at Calais during winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Bullington, the desertion of those allies whose assistance had been most relied on; events which might, as well, have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

In consequence of these preparatory steps, the Bishop of Exeter and Lord Daubeney were sent to confer at Estaples with the Mareschal de Cordes, and to put the last hand to the treaty. After many days of deliberation, the demands of Henry were wholly pecu- niary; and the King of France, who deemed Peace with France with the peaceable possession of Brittany an equa- livalent to the loss of Maximilian's, was readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry 745,000 crowns, near

1 Bacon, p. 603.
400,000 pounds sterling of our present money; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Henry, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. And he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his sons of 25,000 crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by his historians, made profit upon his subjects for the war; and upon his enemies for the peace. And the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promises, which were said to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. Maximilian was, if he pleased, comprehended in Henry's treaty; but he disdained to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reason to complain: he made a separate peace with France, and obtained restitution of Artois, Franche Comté, and Charolais, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when she was allied to the King of France.

The peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue, because Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the side of Italy, and soon after undertook the conquest of Naples; an enterprise which Henry regarded with the greatest indifference; as Naples lay remote from him, and France had never in any age been successful in that quarter. The king's authority was fully established at home; and every resource by which he had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies, and consolidate his power and influence. His reputation for policy and conduct was daily augmenting; his treasures had increased even from the most unfavourable events; the army was in a perfect state of order; and he had been so well by his marriage, as by the issue which it had brought him. In this prosperous situation, the king had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity; but his enemies, and indistinct enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raised him an adversary, who long kept him in inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The cause of his full of resentment for the depression of his family and its partisans, rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprises, was determined at least to disturb that government which she found so difficult to subvert. By means of her emissaries she propagated a report that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he still lay somewhere concealed: and finding this rumour, however improbable, to be greedily received by the people, she had been looking out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

Perkin Warbeck. There was one Osbey, or Warbeck, a renowned man, of whatever name he was born, who was connected by some business to London in the reign of Edward IV. and had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Perkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed, that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret connexions with Warbeck's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards marked between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child, Warbeck returned to Touraine, where the king's son, did not long continue but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variation of his name, his resemblance to the king, his versatility and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. In this light he had been represented to the Duchess of Burgundy, who, struck with the concomitance of the two events, and with the supposed design of this prince to be made acquainted with the man on whom she already began to ground her hopes of success. She found him to exceed her most sanguine expectation; so that she was, for a time, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to be taught him, in part, by personating the Duke of York, were soon learned by a skill which appeared to be inborn, and the Duke seemed not then favourable for his enterprise, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, sent him, under the care of Lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all but himself.

The war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favour.

The news soon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the Duchess of Burgundy, and the entreaties of such persons whose ambition had deserted his service, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the Duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension, assigned him magnificent lodgings, and in order to provide for all for his life, created him a pensioner, and a guard for his person, of which Lord Congeval accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt: Perkin, by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree: and the whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular advantages and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a distance. From France, the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England: Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed Duke of York, and to share his fortunes: and the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final success in his undertakings.

When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man whom he had taken to his heart, and to whom his kingdom, would agree only to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the Duchess of Burgundy, and, craving her protection and assistance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princess affected ignorance of his pretensions; even put on the appearance of being the Duchess distrustful; and having, as she said, been al of Burgundy, ready deceived by Simnel, she was determined never again to be seduced by any impostor. She desired before all the world to be instructed in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore; seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous nicety; put many particular questions to him; affected astonishment at his answers; and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty bearers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the White Rose of England. The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and personal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent, and he assumed a name which was as yet heard of: little contradiction was made to the
prevailing opinion: and the English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prevailed with in favour of the impostor. It was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretensions. Men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depressed, began to turn their thoughts to a new design; and some of them even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and many others of the English nobility, William Stanley himself, Lord Chamberlain, who had been so active in raising Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a restless ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy.* Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open in their purposes: they went over to Flanders, were introduced by the Duchesses of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew perfectly the person of Richard, Duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himself, and that no circumstance of his story was exposed to the least difficulty. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a person of his character, was sufficient, with many, to put the matter beyond question, and excited the attention and wonder even of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority; and a correspondence was established between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England.

The king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and reserved, he turned deliberately to counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real Duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that person. Five persons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it; Sir James Tyrell, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpose, and who had seen the dead princes; Forrest, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the priest who buried the bodies. Tyrell and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but as the prince was dead, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy. He was more satisfied with more difficulty; but was in the end more successful, in detecting who this wonderful person was that thus boldly advanced pretensions to list crown. He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; he engaged men to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the young man's friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any conspirator, he bribed his retainers, his domestic servants, nay, sometimes his confessor, and by these means traced up some other confederate; Clifford himself he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets committed to him; the more trust he gave to any of his spies, the higher resentment did he beg against them; and some of them he even caused to be publicly anathematized, in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies; and in the issue, the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him; and the pedantry in adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended Duke of York. This latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation: the conspirators served the story a sober and grave manner.

Meanwhile he remonstrated with the Archbishop of Canterbury, on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to so odious an impostor; contrary to treaties subsisting between the sovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states. Margaret had interest enough to get his application rejected; on pretence that Philip had no authority over the dominions of the duchess-dowager. And the king, in resentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings, and recalled his own subjects from those provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts; but Henry knew, that so little mutual confidence existed, that he was not in compliance with the hauns of his prime, to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which they carried on with England.

He was thus lord to inflict more effectual punishment on his domestic enemies; and when his projects were sufficiently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his resentment. Almost in the same instant, he arrested Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Hartd, and Thomas Crossen, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Mountfort, Ratchiffe, and Doutheney, were immediately executed; Fitzwater was sent over to Calais, and detainted in custody; but being detected in practising on his keeper for an escape, he soon after underwent the same fate. The rest were pardoned, together with some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial.*

Greater and more solemn preparations were deemed requisite. Francis one of the trial of Stanley, Lord Chamberlain, was sent over to Calais, and detainted in custody; but being detected in practising on his keeper for an escape, he was soon after undergone the same fate. The rest were pardoned, together with some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial.*

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scrapes; the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is, that he should have said in confidence to Clifford, that if he were the youngest of the queen, who appeared in Flanders, was really son to King Edward, he never would bear arms against him. The sentiment might disgust Henry, as implying a preference of the house of York, and a desire to establish that party among the people; but the report only founded itself on the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a sentence of high treason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is asserted by some historians, that he had expressly requested the king to send for Perkin, and had actually sent him some supply of money.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. From Clifford's desertion they found that all their securities were betrayed; and as it appeared that Stanley, while he seemed to live in the greatest confidence with the king, had been continually surrounded by spies, who reported and registered every action in which he was engaged, nay, every word which fell from him, a general distrust took place, and all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among intimate friends and acquaintance. The jealous and severe temper of the king, together with his jealousy of all the assumptions of authority on the part of his friends, made him suspicious, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmur of faction. Libels, however, crept out against Henry's person and administration; and being grievously propagated by every secret art, showed that there still remained among the people a disposition to disturb the peace of the kingdom, which wanted only a proper opportunity to discover itself.

But Henry continued more intent on increasing the termainence of his people, than on gaining their affections. Trusting to the great success which attended him in all his enterprises, he gave every day, more and more, a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perversion and false assertions, as well as small and great compositions from his people. Sir William Capell, alderman of London, was condemned on some penal statutes to pay the sum of 2743 pounds, and was obliged to compound for sixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted case of the kind; but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed, of these arts of chicanery, was the great secret of the king's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he increased the power and influence of the lawyers. By that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppressive: but it was managed so as to secure to himself the extending of his royal authority, and to the nobility, he became in reality the sole oppressor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretension to be becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations to the number of 600 men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, since all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity. Information having brought him that that which his own pretension to the North, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they were only maintained as a service than by repelling the invasion: they carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces who had taken arms against established authority, refused to intrust himself in their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed; and besides some whom they slew, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned; and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was resolved to use no lenity towards men of such desperate fortunes.

This year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some A parliament. remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English parliament enacted that the king should not resort to arms or otherwise assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience. This statute might appear to some persons to be capable of use; they were there any precise rule which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true successor, and render every one inexcusable who did not submit to him. But as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads tiporis in its own favour, it seems but equitable to secure those who act in support of public tranquillity, an object at all times of undoubted benefit and importance.

Henry, conscious of his disputed title, promoted this law, in order to secure his partisans against all events; but as he had himself observed a contrary practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reason to apprehend, that during the interval between the death of his predecessor, and his example, rather than his law, would, in case of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future parliaments, was contradictory to the plainest principles of political government. This parliament also passed an act empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay, by way of benevolence: a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorized and justified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontested in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been sent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partisans of the house of York, and of reducing the nation to submission. He was not supported by forces sufficient for that enterprise: the Irish, by flying into their woods, mountains, and forests, for some time eluded his efforts; but Poynings summoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute, the king revoked the former laws of England with annulling them in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Irish parliament unless it previously receive the sanction of the council of England. This latter clause seems calculated for insuring to the dominion of the king the sanction of all his predecessors, and especially granted at the desire of the Irish Commons, who intended by that means to secure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such such debased as were of Irish extraction.

While Henry's authority was thus established throughout his dominions, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combustion by the French invasion of Italy, and by the rapid success which attended Charles in that rash and ill-contrived enterprise. The Italians, who had entirely lost the use of arms, and who, in the midst of continual wars, had become every day more warlike, were astonished to meet an enemy, that made the field of battle their school, and accustomed to a scene of blood, and sought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemies. Their effeminate troops were dispersed every where on the approach of the French, and the French, by their skill in the science of war, were able to subdue them, and to subvert the art of fighting, and to make war a series of victories and conquests. The deputies, who were the representatives of provinces and cities, were in an instant overthrown; and through the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated without resistance, they seemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country, than making conquests over an enemy. The maxims which the Italians, during that age, followed in negociations, as well as in calulations to support their states, as the habits to which they were addicted in war: a treacherous, deceitful, and inconsistent system of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of
fidelity and honour, which were preserved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and rusticity. Ludovico, Duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never desired or expected their success; and was the first that felt terror from the prosperous issue of those projects which he himself had concurred. By his intrigues a league was formed among several potentates to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests, and secure their own independence. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the Pope, Maximilian, King of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy; but was not put to any expense or trouble in consequence of his engagements.

The King of France, terrified by so powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greater part of his army, and returned to France. The remnants which he left in the new conquest were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, soon after subdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples suddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, son to Alphonso, who had been suddenly expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died soon after; and left his uncle, Frederic, in full possession of the throne.

CHAP. XXVI.

After Perkin was repulsed from the coast of Kent, he retired into Flanders; but as he found it impossible to procure subsistence for himself and his followers while he remained in tranquillity, he soon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poyning's had now put the affairs of that island into so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and being tired of the savage life which he was obliged to lead while skulking among the wild Irish, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then governed that kingdom. He had been previously recommended to this prince by the King of France, who was disgusted at Henry for entering into the general league against him; and this recommendation was even seconded by Maximiliano, who, though one of the confederates, was also displeased with the king on account of his publicizing in England all commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin by these princes, procured him a favourable reception with the King of Scotland, who assured him, that, whatever he were, he Perkin never should repent putting himself in his to Scotland. But the usurious interest and plausible behaviour of the youth himself seem to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, was seduced to believe the story of Perkin's birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, and related to himself; a young lady, too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

There subsisted at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward, on that account, to accept any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to distress or difficulty. He suddenly resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Perkin in himself dispensed a manifesto, in which he set forth his own story, and craved the assistance of all his subjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and maladministration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean and base, whose arbitrary, disjointed, and multiplied impositions and vexations, had justly, he said, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretensions, attended with repeated disappointments, were now become stale to the inhabitants of the populous; and the hostile disposition which subsisted between the kingdoms rendered a prince, supported by the Scots, but an unwelcome present to the English nation. The ravages also committed by the borderers, accustomed to plunder and disorder, struck a terror into all men; and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his subjects; and he secretly made his ally against the dependencies exercised by the Scottish army: but James told him, that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what never should belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitless; and hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

The king discovered little anxiety to procure either repARATION or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation: his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the presence which it might afford him to levy troops on his own subjects. He had convened a parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints against the irruption of the Scots, the absurd imposture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastations committed in the northern counties, the assistance which had been offered both to the king and kingdom of England. The parliament made the expected return to this discourse, by granting a subsidy to the amount of 120,000 pounds, together with three fifteenths. After making this grant, they were dismissed.

The vote of parliament for imposing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority of Henry; and he found it not so easy to levy the money upon his subjects. The people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion; and it is probable that the flux, which was universally known to be in his tithe, made his reign the more subject to insurrections and rebellions. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, were not generally courageous, nor willing to resist a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill humour was further excited by one Michael Joseph, a fervor of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thrusting himself forward on every occasion, and being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among those rude people. Thomas Flammece, too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the sedition, by informing them that the tax, though imposed by parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility were bound, by their oaths, to defend the nation against the king, and that if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avance of Henry and his of ministers would soon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Cornish, he said, must deliver to the king a petition, seconded by such a force as would give it authority; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to show that they had nothing in view but on account of the king's love, and the redress of all those grievances under which the people had so long laboured.

Encouraged by these speeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themselves for flight and resistance; and a great number of the country people are usually possessed of. Flammece and Joseph were chosen their leaders.
They soon conducted the Cornish through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton, the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commissioner of the subsidy, whom they called the Provost of Popes. They would be in order of battle, said Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a secret connection with the first rising on the moorings, and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by so considerable a nobleman, they continued their march; breathing destruction to the king's ministers, and particularly to Morton, Lord Treasurer, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the most active instruments in all his oppressions. Notwithstanding their rage against the administration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and as they met with no resistance, they committed, during their march, no violence or disorder.

The rebels had been told by Flamisco, that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unsubdued, and had even maintained their independence during the Norman conquest, would surely embrace their party, and declare themselves for a cause which was no other than the welfare of the multitude. But the Kentish people had very lately distinguished themselves by repelling Perkin's invasion; and as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledgments for this service, their affections were, by that means, much consolidated to his interest. It was easy, therefore, for the Earl of Kent, Lord Abergavenny, and Lord Cobham, who possessed great authority in those parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from no quarter. There wanted not discontentments every where, but no one would take part in so rash and ill-considered a scheme; and besides, the situation in which the king's affairs then stood, discouraged even the boldest and most daring.

Henry, in order to oppose the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of Lord Daubeney, the chamberlain; and as soon as he heard of the Cornish insurrection, he ordered it to march southwards, and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceless, he despatched thither the Earl of Surrey, with a body of forces for the protection of the borders, and made him general against the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents than can befall a monarchy: a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown; but having recourse to arms and treasure; and still more, in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He did not, however, immediately give full scope to his military spirit. On other occasions, he had always hastened to a decision; and it was a usual saying with him, that he desired but to see his rebels: but as the Cornish mutineers behaved in an insubordinate manner, and committed no spoil on the country; as they received no accession of force on their march or in their encampment; and as such hasty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay; he took post in London, and assiduously prepared the means of insuring victory.

But after all his forces were collected, he divided them into three bodies, and marched out to assail the enemy. The first body, commanded by the Earl of Oxford, and under him by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themselves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped: the second, and most considerable, Henry put under the command of Lord Daubeney, and ordered him to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action. The third, he kept as a body of reserve adhering to his own person, to look out in St. George's fields; where he secured the city, and could easily, as occasion served, either restore the fight or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had spread a report that he was not to attack them till some days after; and the better to confirm in this opinion, he began not the action till near the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Depford bridge; and before the main body had arrived, he had collected twothirds of the hill, and placed himself in array before them. They were formidable from their numbers, being sixteen thousand strong, and were not defective in valour; but being surprised, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt for the enemy, which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them, and was taken prisoner; but soon after was released by his own troops. After some resistance, the rebels were broken, and put to flight. Lord Audley, Flamisco, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed.

The latter seemed even to exalt in his end, and boasted; with a preposterous ambition, that he should make a figure in history. The rebels, being surrounded on every side by the king's troops, were almost all made prisoners, and immediately dismissed without further punishment: whether, that Henry was satisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand, or that he pitied the ignorance and simplicity of levellers, and men of little consideration, or that he was pleased that they had never, during their insurrection, disputed his title, and had shown no attachment to the house of York, the highest crime, of which, in his eyes, they could have been guilty.

To the Scottish insurrections in England. He levied a considerable army, and sat down before the castle of Norham, in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox, Bishop of Durham, so well provided, both with men and ammunition, that he made little or no progress in the siege.

Hearing that the Earl of Surrey had collected some forces, and was advancing upon him, he retreated into his own country, exposed himself in the presence of the English general, who besieged and took Aston, a small castle lying a few miles beyond Berwick. These unsuccessful or frivolous attempts on both sides, prognosticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his superior force, was no less desirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the first advances, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hals, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a commission of negociating the marriage of the Infanta Catharine, their daughter, with Arthur, Prince of Wales.

Hals took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry, as minister of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were soon appointed to meet, and confer on terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was, that Perkin should be put into their hands: James replied, that he himself was no judge of the young man's pretensions, but having received him as a supplicant, and promised him protection, he was determined not to betray a man who had trusted to his good faith and his generosity. The next demand of the English met with no better reception: they required repayment for the ravages committed by the late insurrections in England: the Scottish commissioners replied, that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss, than their master to repair it. Henry's council next proposed, that the two kings should have an interview at Newcastle, in order to adjust all differences; but James said, that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Lent the conferences should break off altogether without effect, a truce was concluded, for some months; and James, perceiving that, while Perkin remained in Scotland, he himself never should enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to depart the kingdom.
Access was now barred Perkin into the Low Countries, his usual retreat in all his disappointments. The Flemish merchants, who severely felt the loss resulting from the interruption of commerce with England, had made such interest in the archduke's council, that commissioners were sent to London in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed, that all English rebels should be excluded the Low Countries; and, in this prohibition, the denouement of the duchess-dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were easily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished, which was favourable to the state to which they longed for the appellation of Interius magnus, the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and festivity.

Perkin was a Fleming by descent, though born in England; and it might, therefore, be doubted, whether he was included in the treaty between the two nations; but as he must dismiss all his English retainers, if he took shelter in the Low Countries, and as he was sure of a cold reception, if not bad usage, among people who were determined to keep on terms of friendship with the court of England, he fitted for some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of retreat, which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held consultations with his followers, Ferne, Selken, and Astley, three broken tradesmen; by these he was resolved to try the issue of Cornwall, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's severity, still subsisted after the suppression of their rebellion. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwall than the people, in a number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV., King of England. Not to say, for the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and, by many fair promises, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking. Messengers were sent to the king, informing him of this insurrection; the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving succour from the well-known vigilance of that monarch.

When Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England, he expressed great joy, and prepared himself with all the speed he could to overtake him, in his great length, to put a period to pretensions which had so long given him vexation and inquietude. All the courtiers, sensible that their activity on this occasion would be the more calculated to the best purpose which they could render the king, displayed their zeal for the enterprise, and forwarded his preparations. The Lords Daubeney and Broke, with Sir Rice ap-Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The Earl of Devonshire, and the most considerable gentlemen in the county of that name, took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The Duke of Buckingham put himself at the head of a troop, consisting of young noblemen and gentry, who served as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of displaying their courage and their loyalty. The king himself prepared to follow with a considerable army; and thus all England seemed united against a prince, who had at first engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. The king now summoned the number of over seven thousand, and seemed still resolved to maintain his cause, he himself depaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found themselves not yet exhausted in their behalf. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes, who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He took her with many marks of regard, placed her in a respectable station about the queen, and assigned her a person, in whose judgement she esteemed that his successor.

Henry deliberated what course to take with Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to the rights of state, and make the rebels fly to the sanctuary, only by violence from without, and in the apellation of Interius magnus, the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and festivity.

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about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the Earl of Warwick, with the consent of the said earl's wife and the head and solicitation of some of her relations. For which cause he was committed for the said crime, the desire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and innocent,) but of forming designs to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection among the people, who, seeing an unhappy prince, that had long been denied all the privileges of his high birth, even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now at last de-

The Earl of Warwick executed.

The 13th Nov.
admit of. He called the king, father, patron, protector; and, by his whole behaviour, expressed a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The Duke of Orleans had appealed to the English council, by creating the appellation of Lewis XII. and having carried his arms into Italy, and subdued the duchy of Milan, his progress begat jealousy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in his own father-in-law. By the council, therefore, of these monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the acuity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoise to the greatness of France. No particular plan, however, of alliance seems to have been formed between these two princes with a view to interview; all passed in general professions of affection and regard; at least in remote projects of a closer union, by the future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a state of infancy.

The Pope, too, Alexander VI. neglected not the friendship of a monarch, whose reputation was spread over Europe. He sent a nuncio into England, who exhorted the king to take part in the great alliance, projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead in person his forces against the infidels. The general frenzy for crusades was now entirely extinguished in Italy, but he still thought a necessary piece of decency to pretend zeal for those affairs. Henry regrets to the uncoo the distance of his situation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expose his person in defence of the Christian cause. He promised to make use of all the means in his power to assist; on which the Pope should go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promised to overlook all other considerations, and to attend in person. He only required, as a necessary condition, that all differences should previously be adjusted among Christian princes, and that some sea-port towns in Italy should be consigned to him for his retreat and security. In so easy to conclude, that Henry had determined not to interested in the war against the Turk: but as a great name, without any real assistance, is sometimes of service, the Knights of Rhodes, who were at this time esteemed the bulwark of Christendom, chose the king protector of their order. But the prince, whose alliance Henry valued the most, was Ferdinand of Aragon, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him as many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. There was also a remarkable similarity of character between these two princes: both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature the absolute dread of confidence and anxiety, where the interests of the one were so nearly connected with all parties, such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealousy ever on any occasion arose between them. The king had now the satisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta, Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; he near sixteen years of age, the eighteen. But this marriage proved in the issue unpromising. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain and, also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created Prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infant. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the espousals were at length, by means of the Pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties: an event which drew onwards attended with the most important consequences.

The same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also, in the next age, productive of great events: the marriage of Margaret, the King's eldest daughter, with James King of Scotland. This alliance had been negotiated during three years, though interrupted by several broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all source of discord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whose animosity England had so often been the indifferent, and was by the influence of France, created and fortified. The English council, some objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry, "Scotland in that event will only become an accessary to England." Among these prosperous incidents the king met with a 4th Feb. domestic calamity which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in childbed; and the infant did not long survive her. This blow, however, did not deter the king from the general affection for her increased, on account of the harsh treatment which it was thought she met with from her consort.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every respect very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negociation, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which arose made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close connexions with Spain and Scotland insured his tranquillity; and his continued successes over domestic enemies, owing to the prudence and abilities of his favourite mercenaries, ensured him entire submission and obedience. Uncon- Oppression of the people.
sible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority. Through the prevalence of such an arbitrary and iniquitous system, the nation, that might safely be affirmed, were considerable losers by their ancient privileges, which secured them from all taxes, except such as were imposed by their own consent in parliament. Had the king been empowered to levy general taxes at pleasure, and without the advice or consent of his subjects, he might have absolved himself from these oppressive expedients, which destroyed all security in private property, and begat an universal distress throughout the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the court, but the law was at that time a thing so uncertain and precarious as had been adopted during this reign. That assembly was so over\-awed, that at this very time, during the greatest rage of his oppressions, the parliament, meeting in the house of commons, chose Dudley their speaker, the very man who was the chief instrument of his iniquities. And though the king was known to be immensely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprises of any kind, they granted him the subsidy which he demanded.

A. D. 1505. That year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality, and a more than opulent state, the parliament was enabled to fill the treasury, and to leave an annual revenue of 1,800,000 pounds; a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times. Being himself by the spoils of his oppressed people, there happened an event abroad which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Isabella, Queen of Castile, died about this time: and it was foreseen, that by this accident the fortunes of Ferdinand, her husband, would be much affected. The king was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful lest the general system of Europe should be affected by so important an event: he also considered the similarity of his own situation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand, by Isabella, was married to the Archduke Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heir of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present possession of that kingdom. Henry knew, that, notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded lest the Prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depress the pretensions of the Yorkists, and to deprive the House of Lancaster of all hope, he increased their desire of shaking off that yoke under which they had so long laboured, and of taking every advantage which his oppressive government should give his enemies against him. And as he possessed no independent force, like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himself, by his narrow policies, had confirmed in factious prejudices; he apprehended that his situation would prove in the issue still more precarious.

Nothing at first could turn out more contrary to the king's wishes than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand, as his heir, was a rival of the suzerain of the Low countries from a like cause, his former exactions and impositions; and the states of Castile discovered an evident resolution of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. In order to take advantage of these favourable dispositions, the archduke, now King of Castile, attended by his consort, embarked for Spain during the winter season; but meeting with a violent tempest in the channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbour of W wymouth. Asserting his right to the succession of his wife as King of Castile, he ordered the coast of Dorset, hearing of a fleet upon the coast, had assembled some forces, and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was also at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his sickness and fatigue, was already come ashore, he invited him to his house; and immediately despatched a letter to Ferdinand, informing him of his important incident. The king sent in all haste the Earl of Arundel to compliment Philip on his arrival in England, and to inform him, that he intended to pay him a visit in person, and to give him a suitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now descend without the king's consent; and therefore, for the sake of despatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with much parade and ceremony, and took an instance to have him retain his recordal; but he resolved, notwithstanding, to draw some advantage from this involuntary visit paid him by his royal guest.

Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV., and brother to the Earl of Lincoln, slain in the battle of Stoke, had some years before killed a man in a sudden fit of passion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. The king had granted his request; but being little indulgent to all persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more resenting the imputation of the passion, than of his hazard, came to him, and taken shelter with his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy: but being promised forgiveness by the king, he returned to England; and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural temper of his temper, and beset by debts which he had contracted by his great expense at Prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king, well acquainted with the general discontent which prevailed against his administration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to desert his charge, and to instruct the aforesaid Edward, Earl of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his services. Upon information secretly conveyed by Curson, the king seized William Courteney, eldest son to the Earl of Devonshire, and married to the Lady Catherine, sister of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Windham, with some persons of inferior quality; and committed them to custody. Lord Alverstone, and Sir Thomas Green, were apprehended; but were soon after released from their confinement. William de la Pole was long detained in prison; Courteney was attainted, and though not executed, he recovered not his liberty during the king's life-time. But Henry's crafty subtleties could not restore Wintour, and Sir James Tyrrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: the fate of the latter gave general satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the young princes, sons of Edward IV. Notwithstanding these discoveries and executions, Curson was still able to maintain his credit with the Earl of Suffolk: Henry, in order to remove all suspicion, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himself, for his pretended rebellion. But after that traitor had performed all the services expected from him, he suddenly deserted the earl, and came over to England, where the king received him with much favour and distinction. Suffolk, astonished at this instance of perfidy, finding that even the Duchess of Burgundy, tired with so many fruitless attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, fled secretly into France, thence into Germany, and returned at last, into the Low Countries; where he was protected, though not encomanenced, by Philip, then in close alliance with the king.

Henry neglected not the present opportunity of complaining to his own house, and the princes of the blood, what many conspiracies have become above their force, by the increase of gold and silver in Europe. And what is a circumstance of still greater weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison of what they are at present. Their treasure made their treasure appear very great; and may lead us to conserve the apprehensions of his government.
set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence: but, to give you satisfaction, I shall banish you from my state. " I expect that you will carry your complaisance further," said the king; "I desire to have Suffolk put in my place, without asking for my submission and obedience." " That measure," said Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." "Theo-

the last was at an end," replied the king, "for I will not have that dishonour upon me; and so your honour is saved." The King of Castle found himself under a necessity of complying; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would not proceed to the Tower; and the King of Castle, having fully satisfied Henry, as well by this concession, as by signing a treaty of commerce between England and Castle, which was advantageous to the former kingdom, was at last allowed to depart, after a stay of three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by his subjects, and put in possession of his throne. He died soon after; and Joan, his widow, falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinstate himself in authority, and to reign till the day of his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

The kingdom survived these transactions two years; but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign. He was actuated by his second daughter, Mary, to the young Archduke, Charles, son of Philip of Castle. He entertained also some intentions of marriage for himself, first with the Queen-dowager of Napier, but afterwards with the Duchess-dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian, and sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts; and he began to cast his eyes towards the future existence, which the misfortunes and sufferings of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms and foundering relics, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Renorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficient to make him stop the repugnance of those oppressors. Sir William Capel was again fined two thousand pounds, under some frivolous pretence, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur against the king. His son, an alderman, was suspected, and died of vexation before his trial came to an issue. Sir Laurence Almer, who had been mayor, and his two sheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and sent to prison till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.

The reign of Henry VII. was, in the main character, man, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the state had long been harassed, he maintained peace and order in the state, he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility, and, together with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fear, and he never agitated with contempt his servants and ministers, he discovered no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and though often severe in his punishments, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. The services which he rendered the people were derived from his views of private advantage, rather than the motives of public good; and every one he devoted to interested regards, it was unknown to himself, and ever from the malignant prejudices of faction, or the mean projects of avarice; not from the sallies of passion, or allurements of plunder. He was determined to found a lasting kingdom of peace and generosity. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart; he possessed inattention and address, but never employed those talents to found a kingdom, or to give the people an empire, to be gained; and while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of resting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to affairs; he possessed not the faculty of seeing far into futurity, and was more expert at providing a remedy for his mistakes, than judicious in avoiding them. Avarice was, on the whole, his ruling passion; and he remained an instance, almost singular, of men placed in a high state and possessed of talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition. Even among private persons, avarice is commonly nothing but a species of ambition, and is only supported by the possession of distinction, and consideration, which attend on riches.

The power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary; but was scarcely ever so much limited by the crown than in the establishment of the great charter, as during that of Henry. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of the man, full of vigour, industry, and severity, delivered to the crown in all its projects, something was attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprise; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could have formed opposition, and after all the people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into miseries; the fruitless efforts against him were always, as is usual, to confirm his authority; as he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though at the sacrifice of their interest and of that of the state. He seem the chief causes, which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the present reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws, which he made to be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce; but the former are generally continued with much better judgment than the latter. The more ample ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice: but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice, is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII. these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed, that even in the time of Lord Chancellor, very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.

Early in Henry's reign, the authority of the Star-chamber, which was before founded on crown law and ancient practice, was, in some cases, confirmed by act of parliament. Lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but
men began, even during the age of that historian, to feel that some arbitrary jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the spirit of independence still rose higher in the nation, the aversion to a monarch who till then it was entirely abolished by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I., a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

This reign passed in this reign, ordaining the king's suit for mercy to be carried on within a year and a day. 1 Formerly, it did not usually commence till after; and as the friends of the murdered, often, in the interval, composed matters with the criminal, the crime frequently escaped with little punishment, and the person paid as poor in form as pauper, as it is called; that, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the council, was a good law at all times, especially in that age, when the peace, revenues, and customs, and even by judgment, for a law difficult to be carried into execution. A law was made against carrying off any woman by force. 2 The benefit of clergy was abolished 3 and the criminal, on the first offense, was to be burned in the hand, with a letter denoting his crime; after which he was punished capitally for any new offense. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any person, without previously summoning him to appear to in any court. In such practice should ever have prevailed. Attain'd of attains was granted in cases which exceeded forty pounds value 4 a law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were no longer allowed to be ordered or supposed necessary, in the sense of the king's conspired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the king's household, this design, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the forfeiture of felony for murder. This was enacted for the security of Archbishop Morton, who found himself exposed to the enmity of great numbers.

There rarely passed any session during this reign without the business of punishment being violently agitated in them, or in badges or penalties; 6 a practice by which they were, in a manner, enlisted under some great lord, and were kept in readiness to assist him in all wars, insurrections, riots, violence, and even in his vengeance for him; or to courts of justice. 7 This disorder, which had prevailed during many reigns, when the law could give little pretence to the subject, was then deeply rooted in England; and it required all the vigilance and rigour of Henry to extirpate it. There is a story of his severity against this abuse, and it seems to merit praise, though it is commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The Earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, leaving splendidly appointed tables at his table, and more than his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. They are, most of them, subjoined he, "my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And he expressed a just displeasure, pleased to call luxury, that as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man and a better citizen than of those idle retainers, who formerly depended on the great families; so more than a nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron. 8

But the most important law in its consequences which

of murthered are allowed to a year, which seems indeed requisite for the salt beef, p. 18. A hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed at twenty

pounds a piece, and these seem also to an interest to the state. Apart from these, what few allowance was allowed at two shillings a piece; twenty eight shillings at two shillings a piece; a shilling for a mile, or a shilling for the hire of a horse, or at the upper chambers, or at the lower chambers, or at the foot of the table, or that of the upper servants, or the table Scholars, or at the foot of this law, and with

in the pursuit of felo de se. 11 A piece and a half, a piece of

to an hundred, a piece; and a hundred shall be allowed at one hundred pounds; and so of these servants, or the table Scholars, or at the foot of these laws, and with

to an hundred, a piece; and a hundred shall be allowed at one hundred pounds; and so of these laws, and with

these. The law was allowed, and for this great family: no debts were allowed at two shillings a piece, nor at a hundred pounds; at forty shillings a piece, nor at a hundred pounds; but one piece of a pound for the foot of this law, and with

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the expense of the office of the lord justices, and the costs of the council. And the lord justices insist that the public should be informed that the

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was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entail, and of alienating their estates. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his administration was to depress the great, and exalt the churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependent on him. The King’s love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which he had curtailed; but if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denounced as usury. Even the profits of exchange were prohibited as soavouring of usury, which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts, by which profits could be made: from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against. It is needless to observe how unreasonable and unjust these laws, how impossible to be executed, and bow hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may observe, however, to the praise of the people, that in many instances, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprises which they had in view.

In the same reign against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion: a precaution, which serves to no other purpose than to make more be exported. But so far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchants alien, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to invest in English commodities all the money acquired by their sales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandestine manner.

It was prohibited to export horses; as if that exportation endangered the breed. To make them more plentiful in the kingdom. In order to promote artichoke, no bowes were to be sold at a higher price than six shillings and four pence, reducing money to the denominator of our time. The only effect of this regulation must be, either that the people would be supplied with bad bowes, or none at all. Prices were also affixed to woollen cloth, to caps and hats: and the wages of labourers were regulated by law. It is evident that these matters ought all to have been left to the discretion of the persons conducting the course of business and commerce. To some, it may appear surprising, that the price of a yard of scarlet cloth should be limited to six-and-twenty shillings, money of our time, which is almost the same price as at present, and is not much inferior to the present wages given in some parts of England. Labour and commodities have certainly risen since the discovery of the West Indies; but not so much in every particular, as is generally imagined. The greater industry of the present times has increased the number of tradesmen and labourers, so as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increase of gold and silver. And the additional art employed in the finer manufactures, has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value.

To mention that merchants and dealers, being con- tented with less profit than formerly, afforded the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears by a statute of this reign, that goods bought for sixteen pence would sometimes be sold for ten, and the profit thereby made.

The commodities, whose price has chiefly risen, are butchers’ meat, fowl, and fish, (especially the latter,) which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the increase of art and industry in the country. The profession of these was extending its boundaries, and was sometimes embraced by persons of the lowest rank, was the church: by a clause of a statute, all clerks or students of the university were forbidden to beg, without a permission from the vice-chancellor. The great cause of the low state of industry during this period, was the restraints put upon it; and the parliament, or rather the king, (for he was the prime mover in every thing,) enlarged a little some of these limitations, but not to the degree that was requisite. A law had been enacted during the reign of Henry IV. that no man could bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he were possessed of twenty shillings a-year in land; and Henry V.

The profession of inamorata was then beginning, and the wages of these were increased, and were obtained by numerous numbers, if in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law. Afterwards, the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to some of the arts of the woolen manufacture, and a few other limitations proceeded from a desire of promoting husbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufacturers. For a like reason, the law enacted against enclosures, and for the keeping up of common-land, which were very high prizes bestowed on it by Lord Bacon. If husbandmen understand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the arts of the country. All that is wanting is supporting populosity, except by the interest of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period, there was a frequent renewal of laws and edicts against the enclosure of land which we may infer that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy.

One check to industry in England was the erecting of corporations; an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted in 1662 that all corporation by any by-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state. They were prohibited from imposing tolls at their gates. The cities of Gloucester and Worcester had even imposed prohibitions to the entrance of any strangers to these towns. There is a law of this reign, containing a preamble, by which it appears, that the company of merchant adventurers in London had, by their own authority, debared all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading to the great marts in the Low Countries, unless each trader previously paid them the sum of near seventy pounds. It is surprising that such a by-law (if it deserve the name) could even be carried into execution, and that the authority of parliament should be requisite to altogether it.
It was during this reign, on the second of August 1492, a little before sun-set, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the New World, and a few years after, Vasquez de Gamá, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were attended with important consequences, by publishing, giving new impetus to the arts and sciences, and to those industries which were wintering in obscurity, and not immediately concerned in those naval enterprises. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts everywhere: the nobles dissipated their race, and the ordinary men, of whatever rank both acquired a share in the landed property, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations, the privileges of the commons increased by this increase of property: in most nations, the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and subdued the liberties of other kingdoms; but in all places, the condition of the people, from the depression of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppressed rather than governed, received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII., who also embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than blame in the pursuit of the same objects. Nobody, more than himself, was anxious to deserve, on account of any profound wisdom attending them. It was by accident only, that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many refusals from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother, Bartholomew, to London, in order to explain his projects, and to request the crown to protect his execution for the sake of the missions. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westwards, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude: he sailed southwards along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland, and other countries, but returned to Portugal, in order to explain his proceedings and discoveries to King Henry VII.; and, as Cabot, Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502, the king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the Great Harry, with the finest materials, giving her the name of the English navy. Before this period, when the princes wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants. But though this improvement of navigation, and the discovery of both the Indies, was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was distinguished. In 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by those barbarous, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science and of their manners. At the same time, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself throughout every nation. In the meantime, the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: mighty innovations were soon after made in religion, such as not only affected the state, but that adhered to the ancient faith and worship: and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs, throughout this period of the world; and men gradually attained that situation with regard to commerce, arts, science, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever since persevered. Here, therefore, commences the useful as well as the more agreeable part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the considerable, and even most of the minute parts of historical narration; a great variety of events, preserved by painting, give rise to all the art of adorning, as well as adorning, the facts which he relates; and as each incident has a reference to our present manners and situation, instructive lessons occur every moment during the course of the narration. The king, in his unceasing researches into preceding periods is moved by a curious, liberal, and studious spirit; and not by any necessity for acquir- ing knowledge of public affairs, or the arts of civil government.

CHAP. XXVII.

HENRY VIII.


The death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the event has still greater consequence, the accession and coronation of his son, Henry VIII., spread universally a declared and unequivocal satisfaction. Instead of a monarch, jealous, severe, and aversive, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was sinking still deeper in those unpopular vices, than his father, his son, who, hitherto he was expected to be a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour. His father in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; and the proficience which he made, gave no prognosis of his powers and capacity. Even the event of the king's death, brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And as the contending title of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince, noxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England. These favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the Countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely showed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; and Chancellor; the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward; Lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poyntz, comptroller; Sir John Dacre, Lord Darnley, and Sir Thomas Dacre, afterwards Lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyatt. These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king, were the Earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox,
Bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expense which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier, and though few had borne a greater share in the fragile politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence, which his youth had induced him to prevail upon.

By this policy he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness as rendered him unnecessary affairs, and willing to intrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dissipated in the giddy expenses of Henry. One party of pleasure succeeded to another: tilts, tournaments, and carousals were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. Or, if the king interrupted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite amusements, and which were so well adapted to his genius. He had made such proficience in the former art, as even to compose some pieces of church music which were sung in his chapel. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the time. And there were so many distinguished talents as were so fortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinans for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and extraordinary knowledge.

The frank and careless humour of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom he had placed in his hands. A proposal being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation: they were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were immediately apprehended, in order to make answer for their conduct, which had rendered them so obnoxious. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his associate. He told the council, that so far from casting off his public duties, he had, on the contrary, increased them by his perjury; it had been impossible for him, in the presence of his prince, to have protected himself from his public conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamour on actions which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation: that a strict execution of law was the crime of which the Dudley were accused; though no law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the administration of justice was intrusted by the constitution: that it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expeditious or blurtful; since they were all alike valid, so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature: that it was natural for a licentious populace to stigmatize as an heresy any passion of an honest man; but all wise states had ever made their glory consist in the just distribution of rewards and punishments, and had annexed the former to the observance and enforcement of the latter; and they were guilty of the crime, that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects.

Now, while they sought to defend themselves, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower; and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however ostolée, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of justice: and it is likely that, even where they had exercised arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the secret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct should undergo so severe a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to avoid even the appearance of the remonstrance of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them; that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to substitute Henry himself by monarchical appointment. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder passed against them, and, at the earnest desire of the people, was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity.

Henry, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such a deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the conclusion of his alliance with the Infant Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother's King's marriage, and the inequality of their years, were a sufficient reason for the choice of the English princess, who was in all respects adapted to interest; but, on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was affianced; the justice of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king; when these considerations were weighed, they determined to deviate from the opinion of his party, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The Countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the marriage of his grandson, was now disposed.
enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonzalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of the Great Captain, to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonzalvo prevailed in every enterprise, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and insured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redress with the by now displeased pope, desisted from less negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition; and all Italy, during some time, was held in suspense between these two powerful monarchs. A. D. 1511. The balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation, or even pretence, for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand maintained by arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis XII. a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, and marrying with that princess, by which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian, the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the emperor's house. He was a prince of vast possessions, and was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles, Prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the vast possessions of Burgundy; and, being as yet in early youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of the empire was still greater and more invincible than by the active and enterprising genius of Julius II., an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flame of war and discord among them. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambrai; between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motion or movement, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic. Ferdinand, in a secure situation of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of any country, it was sufficient to dispose the inhabitants to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by honour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner baulmed the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of barbarians. He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis; and in order to pave the way for this great enterprise, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the Duke of Burgundy, the confederate of Lewis. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism. He engaged in his interests Bamborough, Archbishop of York's; and Henry, the Pope's, success, disposed him to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by honour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner baulmed the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of barbarians. He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis; and in order to pave the way for this great enterprise, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the Duke of Burgundy, the confederate of Lewis. 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Buonaviso, an agent of the Pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Lewis all the treasures which he entertained against him. But this unfitness did the king inconceivable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of envoys and envoys that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day, that Lewis, a prince of a very suspicious temper, had complained of his having once cheated him: “he lies, the drunken lad!” said he, “I have cheated him above twenty times.” This prince considered his close connections with Henry only as the means with which to draw him the farther, to the end that he might not entertain so invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it

Expeditus to his power to assist him; he exhorted him

Ferdinand, rather to send forces to Fontarrabia, where he could easily make a conquest of Gueneue, a province in which, it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The Marquis of Dorset commanded the disembarkation of these forces, that consisted of ten thousand infantry: Lord Howard, governor of the Earl of Surrey, Lord Broke, Lord Ferrers, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves in the enterprise. He had already made a considerable pretence of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unequalled generosity, was suspected by nobody.

The small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albat the sov- reign was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the Englishmen against the French, to make one of his adherents to the council of Pius lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipuscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Gueneue; but he remarked to the English general, how dangerous it might prove to leave him, and so long persevered in a course of envoys and envoys, which, being his closest alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, it was required that John should, from their neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the Duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. But the French, who made himself master of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pamplona, the capital, he summoned the Marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

Dorset began to suspect that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all those transactions; and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or make war anywhere but in France, he refused to take any part in the enterprise. He remained at the court of the King of Navarre, for the time, at the camp of Fontarrabia; but so subtle was the conduct of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his. He kept the French in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the king- dom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampluna, and obliged John to fly out of France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and invited him to conduct with united counsels the operations of the holy league, so it was called, against Lewis: but as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the deistical province of Orléans, he determined to conduct with the King of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his master's intentions, represented that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders, Ferdinand despatched Martin de Ampuero to London; and persuaded Henry, that by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the resources of every operation. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his further stay served not to promote the man undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded ship- ping from the French admiral to transport his army. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply, whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarked his troops in good time. Meanwhile, the messenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment of which they were subject, that they mutinyed, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of this enterprise; and it was with difficulty that Dorset, by explaining the state of the present conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able to appease him.

There happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. The Thomas Kennoit, master of hms, was sent to the coast of Brittanit, with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displacing their valour. After they had commuted some dépêches; that is, messages, he came to Brest, under the command of Primauget, and began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauget, who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and, engaging with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement, and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French ship blew up; and at the same time destroyed the English. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

The war which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces, for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority, which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been intrusted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed such feats of military art and valor, that he was sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest captai. His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the English admiral, with a prodigious number of ships and men; and he lost his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who
had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a force of foot and horse, and proposed to meet the populace in a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the duchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Storm, the son of Ludovic, was reinstated in his inheritance.

A.D. 1515.

Julius discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French; and the more so, as he had been helden for it to the Swiss, a people whose councils, he hoped, he should one day be able to influence and govern. The Pontiff enjoyed this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Valois, Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, benevolent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue; he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, patient, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character, was too great fineness and artifice; a fault which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. In the negociation of Lewis, Emperor Maximilian was separated from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

Henry had summoned a new session of parliament, and obtained a supply for his enterprise. It was a poll-tax, and imposed different sums, according to the stations and riches of the person. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition was also granted of two shillings and four-pence.1 By these supplies, joined to the supplies out of the exchequer, and the money of his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himself formidable to his enemy. The English are said to have been much encouraged in this enterprise, by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king, and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were everywhere received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland, where Henry's arm was to be employed on the continent, Dr. West, Dean of Winchester, was sent as an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law, and instructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court. Such an embassy had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese, for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea, than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas.2 Lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, admirals, and some of his fleet, went out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of Lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. Notwithstanding these mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, matters might easily have been accommodated. He was not, however, for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation.

War with Scotland.

The ancient league, which subsisted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest mutual security on both sides; but was universally believed, that were it not for the contemnence which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so strong. Henry had been incited to take part in the quarrel by the invasions of Anne, Queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to aid in the defence of his native fields in behalf of the King himself and his true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the mutual ardour of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed. And though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily forewarned, that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the Earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; and so much the less, as he flatterer himself with the assistance of all the considerable potencies of Europe in his invasion of France. The Pope still continued to employ his excommunications against Lewis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council; the Swiss Canton made professions of violent animosity against France; the ambassadors of Ferrandino and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry, in the treaty of alliance; and he had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion; and though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy, Henry was not yet fully convinced of his selfish and sinister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and imbecile temper never lent an objection.

Thomas Wolsey, Dean of Lincoln, and Welsey, minister, the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the Marquis of Dorset's family, as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon after the friendship and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII., and being employed by that monarch in a secret negociation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter; he was made ambassador to the court of Florence, and in a short time had acquired most of the situation.3 But on second thoughts, said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders; and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." "I sent the messenger," replied Wolsey, "on my return. But as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what I knew must be Your Majesty's intentions."4 The death of Henry soon after this incident retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him; but thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a rising man; and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, cast his eye upon him as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation. This prelate, observing that the Earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's family, and obtained by that means a court, which he was thought in his amusing arts, and yet be content to act in the

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1 Hume, Hist. i. 289. 2 Pol. 89. 3 Pol. Virgil. 11, 27. 4 Hume, Hist. i. 18. 5 Hume, Hist. i. 15. 6 Hume, Hist. i. 15. 7 Hume, Hist. i. 15.
cabinet part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolsey gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his trust and confidence. He had come to court, and was admitted to the king's presence, he took the lead in every joint conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were now upwards of forty, nor his character, by any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gaiety, in which Henry, who had small propension to debauchery, passed his careles hours. Henry's pleasure of August produced bountiful

ment, and instated those auxiliaries of conduct which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him, that while he intrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority: that by the factions, and cabals, and jealousies, which had long prevailed among them, they more obstructed the advancement of his affairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: that while he thought proper to pay so much respect to those pleasures, which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in those studies which would in time enable him to sway the sceptre with absolute authority, his best system of government would be to intrust his authority into the hands of some one friend, who was the executor of his will, and who could enter upon no view but that of promoting his service: and that if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could more easily at intervals account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his master gradually into the knowledge of public business; and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government.

In all the views of his character, he saw nothing so capable of effecting this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his counsel, and from being a ouiller of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Instable in his acquisitions, he had contrived to make himself master of a vast wealth; of an extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; of ambitions of power, but still more desires of glory; intemperate, ingenuous, persevering; and, by turns, lofty, choleric, and haughty; ambitious in his own advancement; oppressive to the people, licentious to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but excelled in the superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanness of his fortune.

The branch of administration in which Henry most excelled himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military, which, as it suited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper, as well as the ardour of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. England did not then supply a sufficient number of men by sea and land to resist him, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army, and equip a considerable fleet for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Sir Edward Howard; who, after securing the Channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the renown of his name, and the galleys behind the command of Prejoint de Bidouze, kept within the harbour, and saw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At last Prejoint ar-

ned with six galleys, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest; where he secured himself behind some batteries, which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side the bay. Having fixed the land batteries, standing, determined to make an attack upon him; and as he had but two galleys, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to Lord Ferrars. He was followed by some raw barges, and some cranes under clews, and galleasses, which were brought by the William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejoint's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carrier, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. He was repulsed from Prejoint's ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes. Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander that they retired from before Brest. The French navy came out of harbour; and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejoint, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow.

Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed in the French enterprise.

Great preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invasion on France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before every thing was in preparation. The French army was at this time in order, consisting of about 6000 men, of whom the principal consisted of cavalry. The English army consisted of about 8000 men, the greater part of whom were men of the middle sort, with a few gentlemen and officers. The 'French army, which the kingdom had enjoyed, had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war, had rendered it still more difficult to procure them to the use of the arms now employed in action. The Swiss, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a stable infantry, who fought with pike and sword, and were able to resist even the heavy-armed cavalry of the English. The English force now consisted of fire-arms became common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely displaced the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invasion of France, consisted of archers; and as soon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, under the Earl of Suffolk, under the command of the Earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the Earl of Derby, the Lords Fitzwater, Hastings, Godman, and Sir Richard Thorpe, captain of the Earl of Derby's men. So agreeable was the journey after followed under the command of Lord Herbert, the chamberlain, attended by the Earls of Northumberland and Kent, the Lords Andley and Delawur, together with Caron, Curzon, and other gentlemen.

The king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edward de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, to be guardian of the Tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, that he would fight; he was not to be afraid from danger, while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman. At last, the Earl of Pembroke, Duke of Buckingham, and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he foudly expected so much success and
of all those allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, 201 and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and, though he had already made a truce with Francis I, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an immense army of 120,000 men from Hungary, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with 8000 men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and, by his animosity against France, and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an Emperor of Germany serving under a King of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert had formed three lines of fortifications on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. Toulus and Crequigny communicated in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding three thousand men; yet made such stout resistance as prostrated the siege a month and a half. Thus was there a long sanguinary warfare, from want of provisions and ammunition than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that Prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontaines appeared at the head of 800 horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. While they were forming for siege; and their unexpected eruption into the English camp, and surrounding all resistance, advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt.

But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the expedition of the Considerable. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, and observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprise of naval or military importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affection of that prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical moment which, during half a century, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, living in a barren country, where they soon consumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the Earl of Surrey, having collected a force of
and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was
long entertained among the Scots.

The King of Scotland and most of his chief nobles
being slain in the field of Flodden, so this battle was
called, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of
gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing
it to subjection. But he discovered, on this occasion,
a mind truly great and generous. When the Queen of
Scotland was brought to the birth of her child by the
side of her husband, who had given her no satisfaction
answer, he made a feint of marching
north; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to
lay waste the borders, and cut off the provisions of the
enemy. The Scottish army, not knowing what he pur-
pursued, and now set fire to the
huts in which they had quartered, they descended from
the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke which
was blown towards him, and which concealed his move-
ments, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at
the bridge of Twisel, and sent the rest of his army to seek
a ford higher up the river.

An engagement was now become inevita-
able, and both sides prepared for it with
tranquility and order. The English divided their army
into two lines; Lord Howard led the main body of
the first line, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, Sir
Marquess of Dorset the left. The Earl of Surrey, himself
commanded the main body of the second line, Lord
Dacre the right wing, Sir Edward Stanley the left. The
front of the Scots presented three divisions to the en-
emy: the middle was led by
James, his eldest son; the
right by the Earl of Huntley, assisted by
Lord Hume; the left by the Earls of Lenox and Argyll.
A fourth division, under the Earl of Bothwell, made
a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and after a
sharply-contested fight on the left of the English, led
and chased them off the field; but, on returning from the
pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great dis-
order. The division under Lenox and Argyll, elapsed with
thei u leaders, and broke their one ranks, and,
notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La
Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon
the enemy. Not only Sir Edmund Howard, at the head
of his division, received them with great valour; but Da-
cres, who commanded the second line, wheeling about
during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to
the sword without resistance. The division under James,
and that under Bothwell, animated by the valor of their
leaders, still continued in the way of the English, but
threwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till
night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet un-
decided, and the numbers that fell on each side were
now equal. But the English, not on rising the next
morning discovered where the advantage lay. The
English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower
of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king
himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could no where
be found. In searching the field, the English met with a
dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in
a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent
it to London. During some time it was kept unburied;
because James died under sentence of excommunication,
on account of his confederacy with France, and his oppo-
sition to the holy see; but upon Henry's application,
who pretended that this prince had, to the instant before
his death, discovered against the English, had been
given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, how-
ever, still asserted that it was not James' body which
was found on the field of battle, but that of one Eiphin-
stone, who had been arrived in arms resembling his
king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and
share the danger with his master. It was believed that
James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and
some were of opinion that he had become the vassal of
Lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to com-
mit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained
the opinion that he was still alive, and, having secretly
gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return.

A. D. 1514.

the honourable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdained

affection towards those in his youth and inseparable, and had abused his too great facility.

The Duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these disposi-
tions towards Henry, and would, manifestly view this advantageous alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king that Anne, Queen of France, being lately dead, a door was opened thereby for an alliance, and an alliance, which would serve to terminate honourably all the differences between them; that she had left Lewis no male children; and, as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the Princess of Eng-

land, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: that, though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than sufficient compensation for this inequality: and that Henry, in loosening his connections with Spain, from which he had never reapplied any advantage, would consent to accept a character of the greatest dignity in his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse, with whole dispositions, Lewis, who inculcated the master of the possibility, which he discovered, of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiat-
ing the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted be-
 tween the monarchs. Lewis agreed that the great

Peace with

France

7th Aug.

Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Mentz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a new hundred crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four thousand crowns as her portion, and en-

joy as large a jointure as any Queen of France, even the former, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy.

In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated. He was enchanted with the beauty, generosity, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess; and, being naturally of an generous disposition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was seduced into such a course of generosity and pleasure, as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health.

A.D. 1513.

He died in less than three months after the

1st Jan. marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honourable appellation of father of his people.

Francis, Duke of Angouline, a youth of one and

twenty, who had married Lewis's eldest daughter; succumbed on the throne; and, by his activity, valor, generosity, and abilities, he had adorned and glorified his reign. This young monarch had been ex-

tremely striking with the charms of the English princess; and, even during his predecessor's life-time, had paid her due and conspicuous court, as made some of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But, being warned that, by indulging this passion, he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore all further addresses; and even watched the young divorcer with a very careful and parental solicitude during her widowhood. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to her sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk whether he would have the honour to reflect, to espouse her? and she told him, that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk de-

clined not so inviting an offer; and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it presented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister, interposed his good offices in appeasing him: and even Wolsey, hav-

ing entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleasures, and had no ambition to engage in public business, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised against him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had formed, and who was incapable of yielding to the murmurs of the people, or the discontents of the great. That artful prelate, likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his af-
cction; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capa-
ccities, he precluded all that jealousy which to his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentations train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishop of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Wroclorster, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were all disposed to sell their benefices in order to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considera-
ble share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Alban's, and many other church prebends. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His further advance-
ment in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: the Pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever dared to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen; some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Wha-
ever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous sponsor, instead of a subject of banter; and his prodigious private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition.

Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the popular, by the splendour of his equipage and

2 Da Tillet. B Histoire Elige de Louis XII.

3 Petrus de Anglie, fol. 344.

furniture, the costly embroidery of his liverys, the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses. He caused his cardinals' hat to be born and lit by a person of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver on whose top was placed a cross; but not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule, that no admittance was allowed to these of rank.

The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible, that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

Warham, Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and to divert the envy of his country.

A trial of administration of justice took place during the admission of justice of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and policy.

The Duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expense still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. The Duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thereon forth resolved to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king, "not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master." Henry replied, "that he was not aware how to retain all his subjects in obedience;" but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counsels of the cardinal.

The situation was so well established in England, the obedience of the people so entire, the general administration of justice by the cardinal's means so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his ministers: they might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs; were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprises, however fruitless and unnecessary.

The will of the late King of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that will; did not effectually limit her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried; but notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the Earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the chietship of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preserving peace with England: but the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exaltation of the Douglases, began opposition to this metastasis. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the Duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III. who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity that were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally ignorant of her situation, unacquainted with the language; yet such was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. France, cardiac to not give offence to the King of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at length, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to go over and take possession of the regency: the events which accompanied this kingdom, though it implied such a close connexion as might be thought somewhat to interm at his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the state of the country, and character of the people; and he discovered a scene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be considered a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular system of civil policy; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Aberdeen, the capital, and most of the country, were not under the semblance of a government, and no general laws, or courts of law, existed, though the name of justice was used to the title of a person in power. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without a civil war, to impose on them an armed force. In the most flagrant guilt, or give security to the most entire innocence. Rape and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chief, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of society, yet the passion of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly faults, (so they were called,) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

The persons to whom Albany on his arrival first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be ineretive enemies of Hume; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of abuse to the kingdom, and the violation of the laws and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender. They proposed a moderate system of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly faults, (so they were called,) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

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the Earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was for some
time detained prisoner in his castle. But having per-
suaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he
was no longer regarded, and the Earl being absent, was
upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not
more sincere than the foregoing, and Hume was so
impatient as to intrust himself, together with his brother,
into the hands of that prince. They were immediately
seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned,
and executed. No legal crime was proved against these
brothers: it was only alleged, that at the battle of Hudden
the prince was present. And it is said, that as this backw ardness
could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed
to cowardice, it was commonly im-
plored to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however,
of guilt produced against them was far from being valid
or convincing; and the people, who hated them while
living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a
decent tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual
confidence, and begot the most invertebrate animosities, their
consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and
to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however,
took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and
being now sure of Hume's support, he at once
willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and
was engaged to remain there for some years. During
the absence of the regent such confusions prevailed in Scot-
tland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among
the subjects, that the country was for a long time utterly
disabled, both from offending its enemies and
assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scottish his-
tory some years beyond the present period; that, as that
country had little connexion with the general system of
Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration
of those more memorable events which were transacted in the
other kingdoms.

Maximilian, the young emperor, was ready to embrace every
overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended
with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy,
very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Fear, formerly
secretary to Cardinal England, was the diplomat which Wolsey
had entertained against the French monarch.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to ad-
mit LewisGuillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of
the temporalities, because that prince declined taking the
oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey
was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric.
As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed
enjoyment of the revenues of his see, he immediately
required him to bestow on Guillart some see of equal
value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay.
Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and
who feared that the full establishment of Wolsey in the
bishopric would produce some force in his name, and
continued to consider him, had hitherto neglected to gratify the
haughty prelate; and the Bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome,
had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey,
who expected to be indulged in every request, and who
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in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

A.D. 1516.

While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had been so long looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles was advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only means by which he could obtain success, the paying of court by presents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

Boniviet, Admiral of France, was despatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his nomination and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure for himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that by mistakes and misapprehensions he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of His Eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he was therewith observed to express himself on all occasions as one of the greatest of France's princes. The means to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs; and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies, as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. Francis did not make so secret a private correspondence; and Henry was so possessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that he said he very much believed he would govern France as well as himself.

When matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Boniviet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey immediately, without hesitation, engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places; that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: that even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government; and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it of no usefulness, and afforded little or no means of gaining, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

Tournay ceded to England. These reasons were of themselves con-"   fident, and were sufficient with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the Princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties were so steady as to render the intended marriage effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expense in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article; and, lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for the administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The French monarch, having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlargie his views, and to hope for more considerable rewards, passages in the van of his thoughts and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flat-

terces to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter, father, tutor, governor, and professed the most unbounded dependence on his advice and opinion. The Cardinal prepared for a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular allusion to this, the Cardinal was being dishonest in his employment and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council; he was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burden to the kingdom; but when he found that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any further in his purpose; and as he fell soon after into new connexions with the King of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

The pride of Wolsey was now more increased by a great accession of power and pretentious dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, which Wolsey refuse to pay to the Pope; a danger which was became real, when he was formed to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interesting projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy were by no means disposed to procuare the Pope the candidate he was recalled: and the king desired of the Pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was much addicted. On these occasions, he was not content with the mass alone after the manner of the Pope himself: not only had he bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the Primate, having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself, your loving brother, Wolsey complained of his presumption, in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter:—'Know ye not,' said he, 'that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?'

But Wolsey carried the matter much further: for with the title of a cardinal he erected an office, which he called the legatine court; and as he was now, by means of the Pope's commission and the king's favour, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers, even over the lay, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they saw a man, who indulged himself in so much pride and pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life, whom he himself, as chancellor, had himself judged, condemned for perjury; and as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he might have been in communication with the cardinal himself. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase a discharge, by paying the composition, which the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority,
Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of wills and testament. And his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were Pope and bishop of the Father of his Church, he absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical precept, he presented to whatever princes or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of perpetuity to the abbeys. Thus he set himself up as a judge, an expectation, Marignan, in the, action. And if he be not, as he himself holds, "is not so blind anywhere as in his own house: but do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it."

A reproach of this kind was not likely to be effectual: it only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham: but one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and insolvency, the clamour at last reached the king's ear; and he was apprised of such displeasure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

A. D. 1512.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; and though the imperial see was not vacated, yet such was the consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe. The last of the kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown; and employed every expedient of war or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a prize. Henry, who was encouraged to advance his pretensions; his minister, Warham, who was despatched to the electors, found that he began to solace too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

Francis and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, authors to the same maritime powers. He was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the electors, found that he began to solace too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

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Charles King of Spain chosen by the Electors.

It was Charles, who at length prevailed, to the great disgrace and reproach of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the action. The Duke of Buckingham, who, having engaged a college in his favour. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in the eyes of the world, he could not suppress his indignation at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great maritime powers, which, for some years a whole age in their movement, sets them in such a remarkable contrast to each other; both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs; Charles, political, close, artful, fraudulently; better qualified, in every respect, to be a monarch, and the electors, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man: the other the greater monarch. The king, from his over-sights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and inconstancy, to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, by his designing interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rob them of a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never produces a sudden change in the state of the world, that which centred in the Emperor Charles. He reaped the success of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: be inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada; elected Henry the Tenth as his successor, and the whole power of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrivalled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the feculency of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between the two powers; and to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, whom seemed to strive for the possession of the universal empire. This prince was, in his character, heedless, inconvenient, express, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, often by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate himself to his conduct to it. He solicited an interview; and Francis at Warham Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendour, and his influence over both monarchs. As Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations was each engaged to make its expense: many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendour of a few days. The Duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure; an imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

While Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened to meet him at Tilbury, 25th May.

The Emperor's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to this country, but that which, however, very suspicious, both of the open pronouncement of the homilies, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed to
that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man, and had only lived many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed that, as his favour was Wolsey's sole object, the manner of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry 20th May. went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guines, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Arders, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present to witness Wolsey's coronation, which had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expenditure, as to the place of interview the name of the field of the clothe of gold.

The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on this occasion; and there they held a long conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, I, Henry, king: these were the first words; and he stopped short. He subjoined only the words of England, without adding France, the usual style of the English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry, of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself and incapable of distrustimg others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch; the manner of their guards and attendants, and carefuuly reconnned on both sides: every step was scrupu-

lously measured and adjusted: and if the two kings in tended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from the camp, attended by their guards at the same time, which marked by the firing of a cannon; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Arders, Francis put himself into the hand of the English at Guines. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guines. The guards were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, You are all my prisoners: carry me to your master. Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, My brother, said he, you have here played me the most adorable trick in the world, and have showed me the full confidence I may place in you; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment. He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth 15,000 angels; and putting it about Francis's neck, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar. The king went away from the camp, without guards; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

A letter was sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barbers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apprised; and were both of them the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of arms, and the emperor and monarchs, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and there he feasted the French monarch. He had placed a monarch on this fab. under the best English archer embroidered on it, Cos used, a present. He presents whom I favour: expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure.

Henry paid then a visit to the emperor 24th June. and was received by him, whom both kings had engaged to go with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship between the Frank and English monarchs, Francis had given birth. As the house of Austra began sensibly to take the ascendancy over the French monarch, the interests of England required, that some support should be given to his friends, and which important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either of them a decisive superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union to which everything amiable in the nature of this hereditary amity, and desirous further to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer, (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur,) that he should be entirely upon his own account and at his choice, that might arise between the monarchs. But the masterpiece of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolsey in his interests, by very important services, and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put in present possession of the revenues belonging to the see of Badajoz and Valencina in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey were now come so exorbitant, that, joined to the pensions which he received after his return from the war, his revenues were computed nearly to equal those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave great uneasiness to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations.

The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king, and which were soon broke out in bussilities. While these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them agreed to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and

A Memoire de Flereancr,
An uncle was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

Monsieur de Fleurance.

A D. 1526.
which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On France's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor.

20th Nov.

He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the King of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the Pope and the emperor against France. It was observed that England should next summer invade that kingdom, with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. The warning was given to the cardinal; he was associated in the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

The people saw, every day, new instances of the uncontrolled sway of this minister. The Duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman, both for family and fortune, in the kingdom, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion.

The Duke of Buckingham was a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with his passion for judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting, one day, the throne of England. He was descended, by a female, from the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so engaged as to let fall some expressions, as if he thought himself best entitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself with arms, which he intended to employ in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, and married Buckingham's daughter, was created Lord Steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven ears, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution. There is no reason to think the sentence unjust; but as Buckingham's crimes seemed to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king, by carrying it into effect, would have made his disappointment to the amusement and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted fault, his conviction, and his resolution, with the instance of his son, was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

**CHAP. XXIX.**

**Dying concession of the eclesiastical state—Origin of the Reformation—**

Martin Luther—Henry revives the title of Defender of the Faith—Collapse of the project of an invasion of France—War with France—A parliament—Invasion of France—Holland war—The king's crown lost—Dissolution of the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the crown—France recovers his liberty—Buckingham's death.

A.D. 1521.

During some years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the Reformation, one of the greatest events in history: but as it was not till this time that the King of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or ecclesiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every community. The present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

Most of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature, that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals; and in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of any art, is to leave the profession to itself, and to restrain in no wise the operation of the same, provided it do not interfere with the public advantage. But the church, in its present state, is not so conducted, and the benefit of it. The ariawins, finding their profits to rise by the favour of their customers, increases, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not disturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are also some callings, which, though useful, and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. It must give them public encouragement, in order to their subsistence; and it must at the same time consider how this can be done without really be subject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependence, or by some other expedient. The persons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are thereby made instruments of its power.

It may naturally be thought, at first sight, that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may safely be intrusted to the liberty of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or consolation from their spiritual ministry and assistance. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by such an additional motive; and their skill in their profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase, from their increasing practice, study, and attention.

But if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because, in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by introducing coarse, shallow, fruitless, and foolish doctrines, to become the great and unavoidable error, and to mar the soul, in lieu of the truth, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire. The very spirit of the body, to which we are to aspire.
men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but by the establishment of the next, many of the lowest vales were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to what was necessary to preserve the hierarchy, as the bishop of Rome was continually solicitous to preserve an union of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risk of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or what was worse, a subversion of the church, took place everywhere. To increase these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary obligations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and burdensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for obtaining a subsistence.

The advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but little in proportion for its decay. The ecclesiastical privileges, during barbarous times, had served as a check on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff, facilitated their mutual transactions, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connexion with each other. And the pomp and splendour of worship which belonged to so opulent an establishment, contributed in some respect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste, by uniting it with religion.

It will easily be conceived, that though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason which produced the reformation. A concurrence of accidents must have contributed to forward that great revolution.

Leo X. by his generous and enterprising temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention, which might yield money, in order to support the

Ordin of the port his projects, pleasures, and liberalities.

Reformation.

The scheme of selling indulgences was suggested to him, as an expedient which had often served in former times to draw money from the Christian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, possessed a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the saints, beyont and below the pale of time; and the decrees of the church were superior even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: and from this unexhausted treasury the Pope might retail particular portions, and by that means acquire money, to be employed in pious purposes, in resisting the inbels, or subduing schismatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purposes.

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for this profit those pious frauds which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence; and as his expenses had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce, particularly, of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to the Magdeburg, and Lübeck, the natural son of Innocent VIII.; and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcembolb, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained and sold all the innumerable privileges of his former profession. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration: but Arcembolb, fearing lest practice might have taught them means to secure their benefit, and especially to ensure success from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, though not more ridiculous than those already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people. To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are said to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming-houses, and places still more infamous, the money which devout persons had saved from their usual expenses, in order to purchase a palliative measure of indulgence.

All these circumstances might have given Martin Luther, offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man who was capable of rendering the Pope so much the more explicable. This was John Calvin, a young minister in the church of Geneva, and father, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittenberg, resenting the afront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the Pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him. Still, to be enlarged his reading in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long slept, began to fall in question of predestination, of the state of the dead, of the Jews, of the Devil, of the reprobate, of perdition; and, to come to the main point, of the doctrine of indulgences.

The Elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther’s doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction; the republic of Zürich even reformed their church according to the new model: many of the princes of the empire, who were thoroughly converted by Calvinism, showed a favourable disposition towards it; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opponentistic, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

The rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in such a state of ignorance, that he had no knowledge of the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king’s favourite author; he was opposed to himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran doctrine, and more stanchly opposed it, by all the influence which his extensive and almost abso-
But placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrines; and of the mathematical and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against their ecclesiastical adversaries, Luther himself advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to renounce themselves in those powers of which the exorbitant spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long leveraged them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the licence, in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the alienness, the libertinism of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of reasoning, they concluded that, in order to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had written many tracts in contemplation against the books of the Jean Calvin. This man endeavoured to gain on the reformers, by the integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners, which distinguished his character; but, so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his impatient exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this sincere avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff, also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles 5 and Henry had formed against France; and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding Popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes, by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England; and, besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him, of securing his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some scruples were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey, for the money which they were allowed by a humble submission. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, Admiral of England, commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed Knight of the Garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, and duration of four months in Flanders, the reformation of the clergy and of the church, of which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies,
but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite assured of Henry's desire, in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army, and left the Monseigneur to take the castle of Calais. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the Count de Buren, amounted in the whole to 18,000 men.

**Invasion of France.**

The French had made it a maxim in almost all their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V., never, without great necessity, to hazard a general engagement; and the Duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Tournai, Hesdin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: he himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of the Count of Normandy encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were so in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey was now provided with these forces, first divided his troops for the greater security of subsewing them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and had siege to Henry. But neither did he succeed in this enterprise. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: the French forces assaulted him from without: great rains fell: fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysentery; and Surrey was obliged to raise the siege and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear-guard was attacked at Arras, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontiers. The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Biccocca, near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supposing Lautrec with money, was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French. 

For the purpose now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part and not diffuse itself throughout the whole: but of all the leagues among kings, the least was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain War with long unmolested on the northern frontier.

Scotland. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosine. He then conducted the army southwards into Ayrshire; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Firth. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and observing that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war, during their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Countess of Gloster, the eldest of his family, which had long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain unmolested on the northern frontier.

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downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Wark-
castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege it, and stormed some of the outworks: but the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and dis-
couraged by the advanced season, thought proper to dis-
band his army, and return for refuge in England. He went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland.
The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to carry on his projects.

The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago dissipated; the king's habits of expense still remained, and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprises. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue; and expressed great satisfaction on find-
ing the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums; the act of power was fatal. The levies stra-
cial, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much further. He publish-
ed an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a levy, and was imposed on the clergy, but mostly upon the commons, two shillings upon the livery. This pre-
tended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerou.s to the liberties of the people; and was a prede-
cent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of par-

12th April.

Henry VIII. 

A parliament, together with a convocation; and found
members of the one in a dispute to claim the infringe-
ment of their privileges. It was only doubted how far
they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolsey,
who had undertaken the management of the affair, began
with the convocation, in hopes that their example would
influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He de-
manded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be be-
ived in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that
time; and though he met with opposition, he recommen-
ded the traitorous members in such severe terms, that his re-
quest was at last complied with. The cardinal afterward,
attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to
the House of Commons; and, in a long and elaborate speech, declared the necessity of an invasion from Scotland, the affrights received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the Pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000 pounds, divided into four years, and represented a
sum computed from the late survey or valuation, to be
equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue,
or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the divi-
sion proposed. 4 So large a grant was unusual from the
Commons; and though the cardinal's demand was second-
ed by Sir Thomas More, the Speaker, and several other
members attached to the court, the House could not be
prevailed with to comply. They only voted two shillings
in the pound, upon an idea that the nation had enjoyed twenty pounds a year, and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed twenty pounds and forty shillings a year; and on the other
subjects, above sixteen years of age, a great head. This was a sixpence upon each man; the
former into four; and was, not therefore, at the earnest,
above shrieve in the pound. The grant of the Commons
was but the moiety supplied; and the card-
dinal, therefore, much mortified with the disappointment,
came again to the House, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was
told, that it was a rule of the House, never to reason but in
their own body, and by themselves. He therefore re-
ected the grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a year and upwards. 5 The proceedings of this first form of the Commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of fifteen shillings in the pound on all possessed of one hundred pounds a year and upwards. 6 The pro-

4 Herbert. _Stowe._ p. 514.

5 It is said that when Henry heard that the Commons made a great differ-
ence, he had his head in a scarf, and heard the speaker and the prime minister ask him what he would do, and he, with some difficulty, answered 'I shall not yield, and the head of ours shall be off.' Thisanswer, being reported to Henry, seemed to satisfy the king; the Commons then being met by invitation, he told them plainly, that it was better that some one should suffer, than that the House of Commons should have their heads cut off. We are told by Hali, fol. 30, that Cardinal Wolsey appeared to the House of Commons, in the same matter, and asked them if they had submitted to hear him speak in those words. 'Heaven will not suffer them to fall, but he will take the heads of the Commons, and lay them at the feet of the Commons.' The Commons were so well satisfied with this, that they-V. Soward. _Hall._ Herbert. _Guicciardini._ lib. 14.

guilting himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of undertaking to force his hand. But there was a woman, false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but unhappy for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendancy over her son. By her instigation, she obtained in the constable, of which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and, at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a law-suit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at these indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebellion against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the King of England.4 Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feared sickness, in order to have the advantage of hastening that purpose as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom, had got the design of his design; but as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape; and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprise spirit, and his great talents to that of the defence of his own country.

The King of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the king of England, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the Lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen of that and from France. The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the Count De Biron, they prepared for the invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; and the only defence of that part of the kingdom was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After crossing the Somme, and reaching Flers, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the Duke of Vendome hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: and the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal vigour. But, on the 12th July, twelve thousand Languequens broke into Burgundy under the command of the Count of Furstenberg. The Count of Guise, who
They all concluded that he had intended to put himself in possession of that important duchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, and confirmed by the representations of the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but loth to consent to the view of the legates, determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the Duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which, he might choose, either to sell the intrenchments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as King of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: the rest of the kingdom to Henry.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to furnish a duchy of that magnitude to his enterprise, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the Marquis Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, was immediately taken. The citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves unequal to the necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and dishonoured, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for winning his kingdom; but, as he received intelligence that the King of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attack on Picardy, he hastened under cover of the payment of his own army, and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wiser counsellors, to lead his army into Italy. The king of France moved no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than he, Henry, threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodri; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them with vigour, he would have obtained from this great undertaking a prospect of great success; but his ill-fated enterprise was dispersed: but his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. He received also a letter from his son, Henry, from the court of Pavia, for which Francis was of opinion to make an important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new intrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: he attempted to divert the course of the Ticino, which ran by the side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river, destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time, and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the cold and inroads of winter, had wasted the French army. The Imperial generals, meanwhile, were not inactive. Pescara and Lancrano, Viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interests, levied a body of twelve thousand Lanzenquets, with which he joined the Imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia, and the French king made the danger to the French become every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry everywhere, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the ravages, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, to make the danger to the French become every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry everywhere, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the ravages, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that the emperor, had almost formed great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting
But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lead him assistance to his present calamities and, as the greatest dangers of generosity, in raising a fallen enemy, coquered with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures. Some days before he had already taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself your affectionate son and cousin; he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself Charles. Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and presents which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than his arms.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the capture of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London; but, upon the Regent of France's submissive application to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he despatched Tonstal, Bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guinette at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his late journey to London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

In the meantime, after his arrival in Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and, in particular, was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to the Bourgeois, nor invaded Picardy, according to his stipulations. Tonstal added, that instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had heartened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, Princess of Portugal, and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to repel all the advantages of the success with which fortune had crowned his arms.

Thus the king, influenced by all these motives, concluded at Moore his alliance with the Regent of France, and engaged to procure his son his liberty on reasonable conditions: the regent also, in another treaty, engaged the king from Henry's debts for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns; after which, Henry was to receive, during his lifetime, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of the hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

Meanwhile Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and, as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed that custom of the French, of reviving some old pretences to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound. He also required Henry, three shillings and fourpence upon the latten; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and further disgraced with the illegal method of imposition, began to murmur, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant to force by this arbitrary revenue he would take nothing from his subjects but by way of benevolence. He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would have the courage to render himself hostile to his authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer, in the city, objecting the statute of Richard III., by which beggars were for good men and women, to be levied in any way, and the loaves were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that Richard being a usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, its statutes could not bind a lawful and absolute sovereign; who, to satisfy his own private right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. The judges even went so far as to affirm positively, that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of the king's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council: but the cardinal required an answer in a day, to the end that he might confer with himself about the benevolence, and be eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not on so smoothly in the country. An insurrection began to blossom forth, and several people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to reduce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he secretly imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-clambers, where, after a severe charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "This is not a matter of law, but of grace." A miserable pardon, in consideration of their necessities, had granted them their gracious pardon, upon condition that they would find sureties for their future good behaviour. But they remained so long in the case, the mayor and sheriff, and the Duke of Norfolk, said, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed?

These arbitrary impostitious being imposed, though on what basis, is unknown to us. In the reign of Henry VII., increased the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king,
was considered as an atonement for his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as it were, he was the judge, the prosecutor, and defeated them and chastised their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and when their impression, and his hatred so far, thass, reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own residence; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence, and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from all the chief palaces in Italy, upon this project, he was now brought to such a situation, that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was some time after the death of his conduct, his last and most eminent project, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever blot the character of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited no remonstrance from him. The terms proposed to him could not, he thought, that he would rather live and die a prisoner, than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that, even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry their execution.

Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's disposition towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the first agents of his country, upon hearing that Francis removed defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, how to Madrid, ever, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which, perhaps, was a real wish, since he thought that he had hoped that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which beguited apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should be revenged by him of all those advantages which he purported to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, sir, to visit me, I suppose?" He answered, "No; I come to visit my brother, and my friend, whom shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his affections with many assurances of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the Emperor, although he greatly disliked to grant the demand, yet employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

A.D. 1525.

At last the emperor, dreading a general commotion in the most anxious time of the treaty, in which Francis should take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and that there was no trust to be put in his promises, he very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in suspense, but entered

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k Herbert, De Vera: Sandon al. X 2

1 Guicciardini, lib. 17.
immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the Pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France, on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without further condition or encumbrance. The King of England was not present as a contracting party, but as protector of the holy league, so it was called: and if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom, of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats; and that Cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

France was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforce to his allies in Italy. The Duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so, because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the general of his army which was engaged in the service of the troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affections alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was hitherto not killed, as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the more rage and valor, and entered the city without resistance, as they called it, of the Sack of Rome.

In hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured, in any age, even from the barbarians, by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unenraged massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the last ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to make the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violence in the very arms of the men of war, and were offered to those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms; he put himself and all his court in mourning: he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered the consuls, during several months, to be put up in the churches for the Pope's liberty; which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured. The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the captivity of the young princes was more sincere than might have been expected, if we consider the treaties made with the ambassadors of those princes, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to declare war against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand men. The emperor, after considering his men at arms, decided to divide them into thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And, in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis or his son, the Duke of Bourbon, as should afterwards agree, should espouse the Princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and, hearing of the Pope's captivity, they were further stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The Cardinal of Ferrara, and the Cardinal of Bologna, met him at Boulogne; Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as the suburbs of Lille, and presented him with a great sum of money, which he sent by the king of England, who was only three miles from the town, the more to honour his reception.

It was here stipulated, that the Duke of Orleans should espouse the Princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general league, it was agreed that Henry should meet him, and that of that opulent city. He was hitherto not killed, as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the more rage and valor, and entered the city without resistance, as they called it, of the Sack of Rome.

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6 28th April.

vate conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by single combat, that he had acted dishonourably Francis retaliated the challenge by saying that he was the heir, and after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place.

The queen was so unwise as to zealously disabuse which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation everywhere lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more caudal, generous, and sincere, should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to so cruel a situation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promise by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and virtue.

But though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on so solemn occasions, and which was sometimes crowned with victory—unjust in the extreme; and provoking in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in such a manner; this abuse, though generous maxims, shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law and authority of reason, such as the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

CHAP. XXX.

Scrapes concerning the king's marriage. The king enters into these scrapes. Anne Boleyn, Henry's cousin Maria. The pope's ambassador. The case referred to Rome. Wolsey's fall. A parliament. — The progress of the Reformation. — A parliament. — Henry's final breach with Rome. — A parliament. Notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the Reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without occasion for complaint. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a disposition and form in annuling the contract. He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual, and exposed to such insupportable objections. After the king's accession, some members of the privy council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared against the resolution of intestituting the marriage; and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him during some time from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to render the scruples formed on the subject generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the Emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the queen, and her father's having committed adultery afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the Duke of Orleans, the king of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection. But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there occurred other causes, which tended much to increase his renorse, and render his conscience more scrupulous.

The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and great personal beauty, to make a person no more acceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of barrenness is the very theme contained in the Mosaic law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the King of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulsions arose from a disputed title, made great impression on the minds of men, and rendered the people universally desirous of any event which might obviate so irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus induced, by his own inclinations, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his insupportable, and, as was esteemed, unlawful, marriage with Catherine.

Henry afterwards, in a letter to the pope, affirmed that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that, on consulting his confessor the bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being so great a casuist and diviner, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and study; and having had recourse to Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with him, had treated of that very case, and expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The prohibitions, said Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the rest, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them. The archbishop of Canterbury was then applied to, and he was required to consult his brethren: all the prelates of England, except Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn to be unlawful, and that his king's scruples partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the Duchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps, too, somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbecoming his character and station. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite. Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascend over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the Duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the Earl of Ormond. His eldest sister, Sir George Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of Lord Hastings. Anne herself, though in very early youth, had been carried over to

a Morison, p. 18.
Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments, even in her tender years, were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude, Queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after the death of that princess she passed into the hands of the Archduke of Austria. 

The exact time when she returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited which he himself gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accom- plishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this resolution, when he found that her virtue and modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he resolved to make applications to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. 

When Henry applies to the Pope for a claim of the pontiff, he resolved not to find the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of consanguinity; but only to insist on particular cases of nullity in the marriage between Julius II. and Catherine, which had been granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the Pope be sur- prised into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon his account, the nullity of the bull may after wards be annulled; and this pretence had usually been employed wherever one Pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded no abundant matrix of this kind, and any tribunal, favourable, to Henry, needed not want a specious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation; and it was also known that at the time when, under twelve years of age, it was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite in order to preserve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of a dispute between them. The fact of the fact then that Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretext for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage. 

Though the pretext for this indulgence was, had been less plausible, the Pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be granted to his master. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Laurens, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvieto, where the secre- tary, with Sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and the attachment to the king; but not so prompt in granting his request as they expe ted. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the Pope, to take it before he communicated them to the Imperialists; and Clement, embarrased by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. 

Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a commissio to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage with Catherine. He also granted them a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to issue a decretal bull, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he repre- sented to them the dangerous consequences which must ensue if this dispensation should come to, the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, as previously to render them valid by his consent and in his favour. 

When Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the Pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion whether it was expedient to accept it. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the Pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should be dissuade the advice which he had given, he might be inclined to believe that Henry would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly riveted than ever. At the same time, it might be evident to him, that the even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed, when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff. 

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment, whatever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed. The captivity and other circumstances which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclina- tions of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The Imperialists employed his precarious situation to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to peril, which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity. 

Charles, apprised of the timid disposition of the emperor of the holy father, threw out perpetual threats of menacing the forms of summoning a general council; which he repre- sented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormes abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled, might justly be called in question. That Pope had always passed for the natural son of Julius of Medici, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinsman, had declared him legit- imate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and another, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the prom- ision of bastardy to the papal throne; but what was still more dangerous, it appeared that he had entertained a violent protest- ed session that this stain in the birth of any person was un-
compatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a tumultual election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But, unfortunately, Clement had given to Cardinal Colonna a bull, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his con- currence; and so made an entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view. While Charles tempted the Pope with these menaces, he entertained many hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of the situation, and revolted against the family of Medicis, who had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into an alliance with France, and Venetia, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most desired to see. And, in short, as he knew, he was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace the proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch. These views and interests of the Pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was founded, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character and persuasion, who was always so candid and open in his dispositions; and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in privately engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present animosity and unea- certainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, in February, were ordered to solicit a commission from the Pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recall the commission, or evade the cause to Rome. But the same reasons which made the acquirement of the king so desirable of obtaining this concession, consisted in the same influence and domination: as for the first point: he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor; and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point which he deemed the most essential, and important to his own security, and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which Cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him, and to send to Antonio Gardiner's hand a letter promising not to recall the present commission, this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms, as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, to make a new one. And Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependence on the Pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and therefore, on a summons not long after, he delayed his departure under so many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and finding that this counsel gave offence, he said, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convenant, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composition of all differences. The more to pacify the king, he showed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decennial bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but he did not expect that any of the king's coun- sel privy to the secret. In order to arrive in some degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the Pope's desire of subduing the rest of Europe to every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness. These ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the Pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspension, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Wolsey, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter; and it appeared, that if a vacancy should then happen, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the Pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and decieving efforts, in which he kept the whole court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue to his process: he still continued his secret negociations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protected the decision by the most artful device. He continued full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor. The emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnest- ness in this affair, was determined that he should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by desiring his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper, and was engaged not only to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The impetuousness of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her, and the high spirit of the English monarch, with his daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: the reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her ne- phew's assistance, and earnestly entreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the Pope, made the recall of the commission high. Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article. The two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before them. They both professed the king's marriage, and the court answered to his name when called: but the queen, instead of answering to her's, with that of the queen of France, the better to screen her, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without counsel, without assistance;
exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: that she had quitted her native country without other resource than her connections with him and his family, and had expected that, instead of suffering, she should receive security and security in them of a safeguard against every misfortune; that she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after such a long time, thrown from him with so much indignity: that she was conscious—he himself was assured—that her virgin honour was yet unstained, when he received her into his house and became her husband: that his brother, who had been carried to further than the ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice: when they formed an agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: and that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose decision on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in his sight.

After her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conducted with great respect and humanity towards his family. He only insisted on his own scruples with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those doubts, by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquiesced Cardinal Wolsey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he craved a sentence of the court agreeable to the justice of his cause.

Citing the queen now, declared her
thankful,
notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them was the proof of Prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine: and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the great state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with her consorts, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favour of the king's assertion. Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time, inasmuch as the death of Prince Arthur was the consequence of his life, which had not been foreseen. But Arthur had perhaps had knowledge of the princess: in the very treaty fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with Prince Arthur is acknowledged on both sides. These particular were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reasons concerning the extent of the Pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithstanding his resolution to protest the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. On the 20th of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of partiality and impiety. He had no mind that his own minister and favourite had presided in it. His business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when he was surprised, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pre-
lace which he had built in London, and which though it really belonged to the said York, was seized by Henry, and became after the residence of the kings of England, by the will of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: their riches and splendour betted rather a royal than a private family. The king of his own account, had a cupboard of plate of massy gold; there were found a thousand pieces of fine Holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and this man-vivio, merely, from a small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Asher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton Court. The world, that had paid him such a court before during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes. He himself was much dejected with the change, and from the same turn of mind which had made him so vainly elated with his grandeur, he lost the style of adversity with double vigour. The smallest appearance of his return to favour, threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had seemed willing, during some time, to change the laws which overbalanced him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the seats of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message accompanied with a ring, as a testimon[y of his affection. Wolsey, which immediately alarmed, and which the immediately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him.

His enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstalled in his former authority. He dismissed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed without a pittance, and all his servants, with the king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star-chamber, where a sentence was given against him. And content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parlement, which now, for a long interval, was again assembled.

November. The House of Lords voted a long time to consider the matter, and finally, after many days, gave sentence. They were sent down to the House of Commons, where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his ca[118]ution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him, that, contrary to a statute of Richard II, commonly called the statute of provors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legateate power, which, he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law, but besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe than the punishment, which, if he had committed the crime openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and kingdom: not to mention what he always asserted, and what others have, by reason of his having obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which had not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition in Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the Da Vittorino. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried on further. Henry even granted him a pardon for all nences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

The complaints against the usurpations of Cromwell and the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and none were more popular in every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The Commons, finding the occasion favorable, in fact, as he was disposed to overthrow the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions of the probates of wills; a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastics were the severe inquests thrown out almost without opposition in the House against the dissolution of the priors, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the lands of the church. King Henry, the Author of Gray's-Inn, which is of a singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insinuates on the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know much less examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspense of judgment with regard to all those objects of dispute; and upon the whole he infers, that the only religious objections on matters of opinion, are that of one supposing any man the Author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time; and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public assembly. But though the first breach of a religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the House of Lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed to these projects the greatest probability of their being opposed, from want of faith; and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion.
The Duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe and even somewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks, with one or two exceptions, at the Bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The Commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their Speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown on them and the bishops obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words.¹

Henry was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely de-

pendent on him, and that his patronage, if he were willing to surmount their inclinations, was sufficiently dispose-

to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The Commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: they granted him a discharge of all those debts, even against the crown, which he had contracted from creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the presentcourtiers were well aware of the opportunity of the munificence through the

Several also approved of an expedition which they hoped would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unpatriotic.

Foreign affairs. The domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared to the emperor, and to the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stimulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the cause of religion, he had in effect no bottling against any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy met at Cambrai, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor, and had accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was on this occasion so generous to his friend and ally, Francis, that he sent him an acquisition of new goods' crowns which the prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambrai: they were almost wholly abandon-

ded to the fortunes of the emperor; his means of security left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the emperor. The state of the empire was better treated; they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisi-

tions which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already by his vigour and capacity, succeeded in every enterprise, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostica-
tions were formed of his growing eminence.

But though Charles seemed to be the most prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties from England. He and his desire of surrounding him was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solymau, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hun-

gary, but besieged Vienna, and though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria


The universities were still more partial about the king's marriage. The university of Cambridge, was a man removed from any scholar who had been in his university for his learning, and was still more for the court and disinterested-

ness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now the court physician of the sovereign. Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the Pope's consent, would be to consult all the universi-

ties; and with regard to this proposal, if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the Pope would find it difficult to resist the solemnities of so great a monarch, according to the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom.* When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right end to this ear; he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged
him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not likely to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil law, and by the law of nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorized between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially if commerce of love were exchanged, might lead to the corruption of morals.

But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Creeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a stepmother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger. In France, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father: a liberty unknown to the Romans, and other nations, where a more open intercourse was permitted. But from this we cannot draw, as from the principle, it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is so obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result from among them from marrying the mother's widow; especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming the rule of all others. The strong and direct motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals.

But, in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his side; the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marriage was therefore, as an instance, usual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the Popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and to license any irregularity, where the consent of all parties, such as those of uncle and niece, and the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without heeding it as well as without interest or reproof, gave verdict in the king's favour; not only of those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone, and Cambridge, made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and seeing the world in disorder, were not scrupled to give their sanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was not at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the Pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome. If the king might have expected no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne, the devout Earl of Wiltshire, carried to the Pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness' foot, which he very gravely held out to him for that purpose.

The extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the Pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally disgraceful to Cardinal Wolsey; and as Henry foresaw his exposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolsey had remained some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court, but the king was still retaining his vicinage to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was vain to resist: he took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The Earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigue of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which tormented him even to death. No one could now arrest him, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-Abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, he addressed himself in the following words to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "I pray you have me here, as a means of my death; and bereave me on my behalf so to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen; and then will he know in his conscience whether I have offended him.

He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one-half of his kingdom.

I do assure you, that I have often kneaded before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail: had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head: for you can never put it out again."
a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The
abstraction and violence of the king's temper may alleviate
much of the blame which some of his favourite's mea-
sures have undergone; and when we consider, that the
subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal
than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels,
we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of par-
tiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this
minister with reprefence; and he told the attorney-general
that he would have retributed to him a ready and
Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The Cardinal
of Ambrosio, whose memory is respected in France, always
made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in
some respect, similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason
to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by
which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in
promoting them. He much regretted his death, when in-
formed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory:
a proof that humour more than reason, or any discovery
of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against
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A New session of parliament was held, A. D. 1530.
thegether with a conversation; and the king
A parliament, here gave strong grounds of his extensive
authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the
depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost
obscure, has been employed and run upon for
the exercise of the legitime power criminal, notwithstanding
the king's permission; the same law was now turned
against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended, that every one
who refused to give the taxation which H. e. the whole
church, had violated the statute of provisors, and the
attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against
them. The conversation knew that it would be in vain to
oppose itself to the king's arbitrary will, k. i., to
plead that their ruin would have been the certain conse-
quence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which
was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his
authority. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves
on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay
118,840 pounds for a pardon. A conference was
likewise extorted from them, that the king was the protector
and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England;
through some of them had the dexterity to get a clause
inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and
which ran in these terms, "in so far as is permitted by the
lent of Christ."

The Seccouors, finding that a pardon was granted the
clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest other
they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account
of their submission to the legitime court, or a supply, in
like manner, be extorted from them in return for their
pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a
remission to all such persons; but they met with a repulse.
He told them, that if he ever chose to offer their offence
it would be from his own goodness, not from their
replication, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some
time after, when they despaired of obtaining this conces-
sion, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and
the Commons expressed great gratitude for that act of
clemency.

By this strict execution of the statute of
provisors, a great part of the profit, and still
more of the power, of the court of Rome, was cut off;
and the connections between the Pope and the English
clergy were, in some measure, dissolved. The next session
found both king and parliament in the same dispositions.

15th Jan. An act was passed against levying the an-
cemy, but his first plan being a year's rent of
all the bishoprics that fell vacant: a tax which was im-
Progress of the course by the court of Rome for granting
Reformation bulls to the new prelates, and which was
found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second

of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thou-
sand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account
of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced, in
five per cent. on all the ecclesiastical benefices. The
better to keep the Pope in awe, the king was intrusted with
a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or
infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted,
that any censures which should be passed by the court of
Rome, should be submitted to the court of

If in foreseen political disputes, he sometimes employed his influence over
the king for his private purposes rather than his master's
service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must
not forget to remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity
which he desired, if it would have induced him to
profess to mobile for a return for all his favours. The Cardinal
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He told them, that if he ever chose to offer their offence
it would be from his own goodness, not from their
replication, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some
time after, when they despaired of obtaining this conces-
sion, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and
the Commons expressed great gratitude for that act of
clemency.

By this strict execution of the statute of
provisors, a great part of the profit, and still
more of the power, of the court of Rome, was cut off;
and the connections between the Pope and the English
clergy were, in some measure, dissolved. The next session
found both king and parliament in the same dispositions.

15th Jan. An act was passed against levying the an-
cemy, but his first plan being a year's rent of
all the bishoprics that fell vacant: a tax which was im-
progress of the course by the court of Rome for granting
Reformation bulls to the new prelates, and which was
found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second

of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thou-
sand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account
of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced, in
five per cent. on all the ecclesiastical benefices. The
better to keep the Pope in awe, the king was intrusted with
a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or
infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted,
that any censures which should be passed by the court of
Rome, should be submitted to the court of

If in foreseen political disputes, he sometimes employed his influence over
the king for his private purposes rather than his master's
service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must
not forget to remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity
which he desired, if it would have induced him to
profess to mobile for a return for all his favours. The Cardinal
of Ambrosio, whose memory is respected in France, always
made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in
some respect, similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason
to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by
which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in
promoting them. He much regretted his death, when in-
formed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory:
a proof that humour more than reason, or any discovery
of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against
him.
ed symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence of the throne to which he had been accustomed; he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained the most extravagant hopes of the court, found himself wrenched from some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of public and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom, which of all others, had long been the most devoted to the holy see and which had yielded to it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indigity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had signalized himself both by his pen and the sword, in the cause of the Pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistoryes were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was not the man to be deterred from his virtuous purpose by the lessons of history, and he went to this court before this: he only despatched Sir Edward Karne, and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusatory, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the Court of Rome which his pursuit of his own kingdom, he said, must be sacrificed, if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, no power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or consent that he himself should stand alone to confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his promises of a public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, and withdraw his obedience to the Bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs, without having further recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand by his purpose, he was induced to celebrate his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created Marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the ceremony; the King, in the presence of his court, his principal minister, the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

A.D. 1533.

A parliament of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and steady steps by which they loosened their connexions with the sea of Rome, and pressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome, and suspended the power of divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious and inconvenient to the people, which necessarily attended them. The more to show his disregard to the Pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage, and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring, by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: a sentence which ought naturally to have proceeded from himself. The king, even amidst his scruples and remorse, on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soil and persuasion, and by every means, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had only received one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amphilth, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created Archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Warnham, was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage.

The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared contumacious; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the既 been subtle and judicious judgments pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps, Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, and pronounced it invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that event; she could complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and weighty business, when she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of Princess of Wales; a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown.

But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hope of her succession. He regarded for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth did not support her; and the other, who, by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence, had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, Lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was henceforth to be treated only as Princess-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her. He employed menaces against the person of Cranmer, but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of the transactions, so injurious to the authority of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the Pope to proceed to
a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no further than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the first of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood. An event had happened, from which the spectator might be led to think that Henry's confidence in the solution of his difficulties, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The Pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara, for the revenues of Reggio and Modena; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he heartily resented Clement's conclusion on the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The king's message was replied to in the same spirit. No new subjects were brought forward. But the king's plea was fortifying; and, by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Twelve cardinals, it is said, had been brought from his usual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

It is not probable that the Pope, had he conducted himself with even so great moderation and temper, could have, during the lifetime of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. The importance of a divorce both impious and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again be brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a recon-
appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and
failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An
oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in
favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of
imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture
of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king,
queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of
misprison of treason. After these compliances, the parlia-
ment was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous to
many persons, as to the crown to all their persons and
authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced
his lasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment
against Queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy,
was the reason of his desiring his daughter from his first
hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first
intentions when he began the process of divorce, and of
dispensaion for a second marriage.

The king found his rebellious subjects as compliant
as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against
appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the
Pope to a general council, should be annexed to the doors
of all the churches in the kingdom; and they voted
that the Bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more
jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop;
and that the authority which he and his predecessors had
there exercised, was as an exercise of governmental sub-
ance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this
vote in the lower House, and one doubted. It passed
unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in
their compliance, that they took out new commissions
from the revolution; but the actual authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately
from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent
on his good pleasure.

The question respecting the succession was generally taken
throughout the kingdom. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,
and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that
entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher
was impeached by the House of Commons on the score of
his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seeming
to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest
reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as
it was believed that his authority would have influence
on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to
convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared
that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and
thought that the parliament had full power to settle it:
but the Commons, who were so greatly attached to his
allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the
oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that
oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne,
and he replied, that in the case of Catherine of Aragon,
the marriage was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate,
and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and
esteemed More, entreated him to layaside his scruples
and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more
with him than the penalties awaiting his refusal.6 He
persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to
maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against
him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon
the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only
supreme head of the churches of England; and as they
had already invested him with all the real powers appur-
ent to it. In this memorable act, the parliament granted
him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power,
"to vist, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, re-
strain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, con-
tempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual
authority, or jurisdiction." They also declared it treason
to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen,
or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their digni-
ties or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates
and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to
the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a
treasure. They attained More and Fisher for misprision of
treasure. And they completed the union of England
and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of
the English laws.

Thus the authority of the Popes, like all exorbitant
power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and
by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for
any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indul-
ences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich
the holy see; but being openly abused, they served
to excite the first prepossessions against the papal
power. The prerogatives of granting dispensations had also
contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great
families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting
with an unlooked concurrence of circumstances, was now
the cause why these were separated hereditary king and
the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth;
and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry,
would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and
prevent its abuses. And, on the whole, there followed
many strong consequences, and if it be not assumed, it
ought to be feared rather than denied, and the
prerogatives had perhaps never foreseen or intended by the persons
who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order and tem-
perance in carrying on the national religion, and while his
authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held
in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and
in Scotland.

The Earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the
Duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the
title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some
violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary ene-
 mies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He
left his authority in the hands of his son, who, hearing
that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger
of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself
with O'Neal, O'Carril, and other Irish nobility, committed
himself to the hands of the English commander, who imposed on
him the ignominious and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in
prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made appli-
cations to the emperor, who promised him assistance.
The king was on the point of suppressing the conspiracy,
which so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman,
finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises,
was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself
prisoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to
the Marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England,
with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction
they were all brought to public justice; though two
of the uncles, in order to save their family, had pretended
to join the king's party.

The Earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant
in Scotland; and having gotten possession of the king's per-
early youth, he was able, by aid of that advantage, and by playing the master of his own fate,
to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager,
however, his consort, bred him great disturbance. For
having separated herself from him, on account of some
jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce,
she had married another man of quality, of the name of
Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who
opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatis-
fied with the state where he was opinionated; and by secret correspondence he incited first Walter Scot, then the Earl of Lennox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of
success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means
at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided;
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and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overthrew the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The King of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, with which they were threatened; the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independence. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; and, by taking close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of such an ally, to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scotch King the choice of three remembrances, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister, the Dowager of Hungary, his niece, a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin, the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to desire of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with France necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at NewCastle, and concert common measures for repressing the progress of the Protestants in his kingdom, and taking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the Pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negociation with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded, that he could be very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

CHAP. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people.—of the king—of the ministers. Further consequences of the Reformation.—Sir Thomas More.—The Bishops of Winchester and Sar. More.—King entertained.—Death of Queen Catherine. Suppression of the lower monasteries.—parliament.—The bishops.—In cupboard.—Translation of the pater.—Latin of Queen Anne.—Her trial.—and execution. Parliament.—A consultation.—Divisions among the people.—Inconveniences arising from the law of the Roman pontiff.—Suppression of the greater monasteries.—Cardinal Pole.

A.D. 1531.

Religious principles of the people.—of the king.—of the ministers. Further consequences of the Reformation.—Sir Thomas More.—The Bishops of Winchester and Sar. More.—King entertained.—Death of Queen Catherine. Suppression of the lower monasteries.—parliament.—The bishops.—In cupboard.—Translation of the pater.—Latin of Queen Anne.—Her trial.—and execution. Parliament.—A consultation.—Divisions among the people.—Inconveniences arising from the law of the Roman pontiff.—Suppression of the greater monasteries.—Cardinal Pole.

The ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English people; and the court of Rome, and the court of King. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of immediate and eternal. Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during some time at a loss how to choose their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a simplicity of understanding which they now had lost; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topicks of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such discussion; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions; hence the spirit of insurrection, the notion of safety in the most sacred principles; and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in a habitude of diservings, and they conscienciously in an habitual detestation of those who were denounced heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions to the contrary were fixed and unchangeable. Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed to the prejudices of the ancient Romish doctrine, over the objects of the new kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformers preachers; their patience and even acablity in suffering the yoke of their supplanters, and the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations as had so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors were conspired to.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and the tendency to destroy that imperious edification on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient and deep-founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy, might, in time, be employed, prey to the innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Munzer, and other anarchists in Germany furnished a preparation for decaying the Reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because protesters in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such appearances and ideas are to be founded copper together without the least liability. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the Reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which the civil authority has extended the power of religion. No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the Pope himself, in his own capital, whose united the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason, which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received for his courage and the grounds of applause for his performance. Elated by his imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, the contradiction to his opinions from Luther also. He had been so imprudent as to treat in a very incoherent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized...
for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and when the scruples and the jealousies of his own mind had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and on the unfaithful road to the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as moody a character as his conduct, and seemed to waver, during his whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination in the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able very effectively, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in the highest degree, as a man of a character not loaded with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily prevail. On the other hand, the Duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents and abilities, he was enabled to speak publicly in Canterbury, with the king's council: Gardiner, lately created Bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had recommended him extremely, useful to the cause. All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire conformity of doctrine and practice between them. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with their master, and to entice him to punish those who in his presence had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party. The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics, to maintain his administration, as well as his authority, by the mere pretence of impartiality. He, though in all his measures he was really driven by his unguarded humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any in which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained; but while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and fluttered that blindness with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. They, in that language, are called against the inconvenience of the see of Rome. Had the men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with such novelties, as the most impatient and heat-headed among them have been willing to believe and accept, in terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most religious acts were those which were especially supposed by them to be the most acceptable to God, by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the sufficiency of good works; but though they could not do it out of this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books, composed by these fugitives, having stolen over to England, began to make converts everywhere; but it was a translation of the Scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was long- ing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tosnyal, then Bishop of London, was a man of a discretion and a Sover, desirous to discourage, in the gentlest manner, these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp, and he burned them immediately. By this manner of conduct, the king, with Tindal money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God.

The disciples of this innovation met with little resistance during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their tyranny: it was this information which, on an occasion of an affirmative article, the king's conscience, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, as at once an object of respect, and that our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who, in his early years, advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few of his observations could be of any service to the church, and never have seen the roccoc or violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentler manners, as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainbridge, a man of particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainbridge, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostasy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield.

Many were brought into the bishops' courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the Old Testament in that language, and preaching in the Temple. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the facts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One, Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been treated with
abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution, which he had taken, of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and doctrine, which he defended, in this pilgrimage, to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent to him to burn him. When he was brought to the state of mind he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars who were present, fearing what that would do to his soul, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the minds of the devout spectators, who, in the most formidable of his enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin, they being by his condemnation, the ruin of his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the admonitions of a rebel, a sinner, a dog, and a traitor. On another day, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by sedition the succession of the crown; but the king would not suffer him to make bis wishes known. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence. These accounts of his obstinacy and arrogance: when the Earl of Essex, a privy councillor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elton replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land.

But several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, Kent, in Kent, commonly called the holy Maid of Kent, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an entire disappearance of her bodily form, which made her appear changeable, she was suspected of supernatural power. And Richard Masters, of Martham, was a fellow, founded on them a project, from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, then alive; and having given an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon removed her still more from the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the monks, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knowing, as is usual, soon after succeeding in their delusion to extend it beyond their own circle, and in fear of the knowledge to the neighbours, as well as being worn out in extraordinary tomes, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury, and the design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and relics. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth was led to co-relations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after disturbing her limbs and countenance during a consultation, of six days and nights; and the image was procured by the intercession of the Virgin. This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend its views to the most important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to claim against the new doctrines, which she denounced heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the use of meat and wine. She went so far as to assert, that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the church; but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, in order to quench a polt of the sheep, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, was so entirely under the impression of the Virgin, that he composed a book, of which the princess was persuaded to present to the pope; and the Pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was so entirely cast into the error, as to be carried to the party which he had espoused. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he was persuaded that Peyto had extorted the money freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some of the chief, with this new instance; and ordered Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Hoby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The Bishop of Rochester, Abd, Addison, Lawrence, and others were condemned for misapprehension of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth; and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions, which so naturally insinuate themselves amid the warm intimacies maintained by the delicate disposition, and under circumstances which, when related to Elizabeth and her confederates, and it was found, that he, a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been marvellously opened in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by the king, who designed to have thus substituted another imposture. The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and insinuated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars;
and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: they had lately added to his other titles that of supreme head of the church: it was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and this was sufficiently allowed to be the case by the making of a new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right. Yet a capital sentence was pronounced against a capital offense; and the parliament, in passing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: but the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what, during many ages, it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unremitting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these insanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his gird and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent passion of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was a man eminent, learned, devout, and most liberal to his clergy; and for his high favours he was long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his opposition to the king's dispensation in favour of Kathryn Claren's, his high degree of聖可 examples, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but a small allowance of bread to sustain him. He was deprived of his benefice, and in this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the Pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, enlarged the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make an example of Fisher and More, to prevent the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

More was brought to the bar of the English court to answer for the impeachment, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore a very high opinion of the character and principles of More, as his imperturbable mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man, who, in any particular, opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor-general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: he was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a second-rate law: if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence excited the jealousy of More, as he supposed the king's anxiety to the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never for-

ook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one Friend, helping him when I come down again, let me shift for myself. The executioner asked him forgiveness: he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner strike for the head, which he did. "For," said he, "it is never committed treason. Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the measure of this principle was not only full of no apprehension to his enemies, but, on the contrary, were misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and censors of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unremitting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against More, and Paul III. of the name of Farnese succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England, and in that way to reconcile himself with the accommodating matters, that in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome, and that Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the most effectual reparation impossible. On his death, however regarded by Paul as so capital an injury, that he immediately passed censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn null and void; dissolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and finally declared it lawful for any one to make war on the subjects of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use. But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the Pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him. He renewed his friendship with France, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant daughter, Elizabeth, with the Duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. These two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: and Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent for, Bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, Lord of Prades; one to expound for the emperor during the first fervours of the Reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with the eminence which they would obtain, when the empire of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against

1 Fuller's Church Hist. book v, p. 293.
3 Saunders, p. 149.
4 Herbert, p. 350, 351.
all preachers of the Reformation in their respective dominions. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmus, Druc, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and we must suppose Henry could not despise them: as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in everything else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Sinculacile did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor; and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so ineradicable, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

A.D. 1560. An incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. The young Catharine was taken ill, an illness which at last brought her to her Death of Queen Catharine, at the age of forty-three, on the 6th of January. She was beloved by all who knew her, from the appellation of her most dear lord, king, and husband. She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she had held of this last opportunity to insculpate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative unimportance of all human grandeur and enjoyment; that though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to him many a trouble, she yet forgave him all peril and injury, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven and that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him her daughter, the sole pledge of their love, and to direct his policy for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, I make this vow, that my dear deserv you above all things.

The emperor thought, that as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Francis, there might not be the least difficulty to detain him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon those conditions that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the safety of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided the prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: as to the conditions proposed, the proceedings against the Bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after uniting with him, when the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the one with the other.

What rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both the experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as head of the Germanic body; not to give unbraze, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing all that principedom on the Italian, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admission with those wretched composers of metaphysical polities. The German princes to whom he had promised a fief, could not appear divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in everything else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Sinculacile did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor; and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so ineradicable, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

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the crown was in a wretched condition during that age; the personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable, and even the terrors with which he overawed every one, were not attended
with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness,
his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues
which counted for little; all violence, cruelty, and impene-
tropy. And the important rank which his vigour, more
than his address, acquired him in all foreign negotiations,
flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the
more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which
they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages,
was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his
authority; and after paying the way for that measure by
several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined
to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in posses-
sion of their ample revenues.

The great increase of monasteries, if matters be con-
sidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical
inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other
advantage attending that communion, seems to have an
inseparable connexion with these religious institutions.

Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the mul-
tiple ecclesiastical holidays; all these, letters on liberty and in-
dustry, were ultimately derived from the authority
and inanition of monks, whose habits, being established
everywhere, proved so many seminaries of superstition
and of folly. This order of men was externally enraged
against Henry, and regarded the abolition of the papal au-
thority in England as the removal of the sole protection
which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and
of the courtiers. They were now sure of the crown's
invalidation, as supported by the strong bulwarks of the
monastic.

Home was rejected; the progress of the Reformation abroad,
which had every where been attended with the abolition
of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend
like consequences in their own country; and though the king
still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of
the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen,
that in the progress of the contest, he would every day be
led to more violent and oppressive measures, and be drawn
nearer the terror of the reformers, with whom his political
interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by
these considerations, the friars employed all their influ-
ce to inflame the people against the king's government;
and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own,
was determined to seize the present opportunity, and
utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointedvicar-
generally of the church; consequently, by which the king's
supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed
over the church, was delegated to him. He employed
Loyalty, London, Prife, Gage, Petre, Bellesse, and others,
as his aids; and, by degrees, he increased more and more
their power. The king's authority was rendered more
rigorous, and his interference more pressing in the matters
of the friars. During times of faction, especially of the
religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries;
and as it was known that the king's intention in this vis-
tation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries,
we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the com-
misssioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were
couraged to bring in informations against their brethren;
and the slightest evidence was credited: and even the calum-
 mies spread abroad by the friends of the Reformation, were
regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are there-
fore said to have been spread in many of the religious
houses: whole convents of women abandoned the monastic
ness: signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of
unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is
indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people,
during those ages, would render the friars and nuns more
unguarded and more dissolute than they are in any
Roman catholic country at present: but still the reproaches
which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices natu-
ally acquired to such absurd and mischievous conclusions, and
with the monastic life. The cruel and invertebrate factions
and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners men-
tioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined
within the same walls, never can forget their mutual
animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most
drearifying connexions of nature, are commonly cursed with
hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting than
fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds prac-
tised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people,
may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusion,
lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its
attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents
were reproached, admit of no question; and though monks
were the true preservers, as well as inventors, of the dream-
ing and captivating philosophy of the schools, no many or
elegant knowledge could be expected among men who
lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of
all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or culti-
uate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrifed with this rigorous inqui-
cision, carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners,
surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the
monks received small pensions as the reward of their ob-
sequeuences. Orders were given to dismiss such
and friars as were below four-and-twenty, whose vows
were, on that account, supposed not to be binding. The
doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were
believed to be of full age, and those who were not
clined to take the oath of allegiance, preferred by the
king. And they were still induced by every argument to
the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrumnet
of power, the parliament; and in order to pre-
pare mon for the innovations projected, the report of
the visitors was published, and a general horror was en-
vironed to be excited in the nation against institutions,
which, to their ancestors, had been the objects of the most
profound veneration.
The king, when determined utterly to 4th Feb.
abandon the monastic orders, resolved to pro-
ceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions
to the parliament to go no further at present, than to sup-
press the less valuable monasteries, and to provide for
four or five hundred pounds a-year. Some of these were
found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint
of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny; and it was
decided safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the
way for the greater innovations projected. By this act,
three hundred and seventy-six monasteries
were suppressed, and their revenues,amount-
ing to thirty-two thousand pounds a-year,
were granted to the deaneries, vicarages, chattels, and
plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more.
It does not appear that any opposition was made to this
important law: so absolute was Henry's authority: a court,
called the council of the kingdom, by which the augmentation
of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds.
The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that
Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of
her patrimony.

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name
three hundred commissioners for framing a body of can-
nonlaw, was renewed; but the project was never carried
into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity
of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in
still greater dependence.

Further progress was made in completing the union of
Wales with England: the separate jurisdiction of several
great lords or marchers, as they were called, which ob-
structed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged
robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority
of the king's courts was extended every where. Some
jurisdictions of a like nature in England, were also abolis-
hed this session.

The Commons, sensible that they had gained nothing
by opposing the king's will when he formerly endeavoured
alone to dispose of his landed possessions, and all the
people recovered his liberty went contented to frame a law, such as he dictated to them. It

* 7 Henry VIII. c. 90.
* 1 It is pretended, see Holinshed, p. 995, that ten thousand monks were
put to death on the abolition of it or some monasteries. If so, most
of them must have been monastics, for the revenue could not have sup

17 Henry VIII. c. 17.
14 Edw. I. 4.
was enacted. That the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.6

18th April. Dissolved the parliament, a part of which was memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had saten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will, that he did not think it worth while to hazard a new election: and he continued the same parliament above six years: a practice at that time unusual in England.

The convocation, which sat during this session, was engaged in a very important work, the elaborating of the new translation which was projected of the Scriptures. The translation given by Tyndal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them, that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the Reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of Heaven, which, for the purpose of universal salvation, had saluted that salutary doctrine to all nations: that if that practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text inscribed by Supreme Intelligence: that it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on the matters which was acknowledged to be derived from heaven; and that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now urged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, religious materials for decision, and above all, the Holy Scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again, by their means, cast to mankind.

The favours of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and seduce them from those pastors, whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself, had appointed for their spiritual direction; that the people, by their ignorance, their superstition, and their necessary avocations, were ill fitted to choose their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: that even in the affairs of common life, regulated by heaven's immutable laws, it was utterly uncertain, whether conducted under the compass of human reason, the laws had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour; that theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully instructed in all the difficulties of it; that sacred writing itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contain- ed so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude; that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious convulsions: that n thousand sects must arise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the Scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: and that, if ever this disorder, dangerous in itself, and pestiferous in its consequences, should not be at last checked, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without further contest or inquiry, to adhere piously to ancient, and therefore the most secure, establishments.

These later arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical governments, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Further progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness, Anne Bolyn, possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the virtue of that famous Intelligence: she was persuaded in love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the obstacles he met at the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he show to persevere, and the hands acknowledged, which had submitted, and still increased, under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from safety; and the king's heart was appeased by the death of his Consort, whose enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interfering in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to disgrace her, was to persuade the king to divorce her.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain guile, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard, and which was not so easily concealed as she supposed. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those false points; and it was with difficulty she confirmed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More than haughtily, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration; instruments that interposed a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen.

Viscountess of Rochford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspensions in the king's mind; and as she was a woman of prodigious character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Berenson, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeaton, groom of the
chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so smaile a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold both on them and her; but, being rather in that no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury. Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might immediately be excited by the most trifling and unimportant object, it would have been subject to many remorses and contrarieties; and might at last have served only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was more austere and fixed in its course. His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice everything to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young dandies of their court rather honoured than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of the consequences of his conduct still until it became so intense in its effect. And in order to touch this end, he underwent many difficulties, and comitted greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid by forgoing that legal connexion. And having taken his design, he was not a little pleased with the success of his negociation. His mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

1st May. In a letter written to the Queen at her castle of Greenwich, the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an accident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. 3 He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Breton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The next day, she was called to the audience; and in this situation, he thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant; she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and prayed God to avenge her. The whole charge was immediately examined; and the first thing that he meant to try her: but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant; she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and prayed God to avenge her. The whole charge was immediately examined; and the first thing that he meant to try her was the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence, was to make an entire confession of the crime of which she had been accused; and upon the strength of which simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow: she had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife:
to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her. This strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign, in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were, at that time, admitted; and they were regarded by the Peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent woman to the cruelty of their judge. Though she was assisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both as to the question of right and wrong. Rochford; she and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced she was not terrified, but biting up her hands to heaven, said, "O Father! O Creator I here, who are the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court, some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord Percy; and he now questioned that nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two princes, that not the least rumour or suspicion of marriage had ever passed between them: he received the sacrament upon it, before the Duke of Norfolk and others of the privy-council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the oath of truth. The question, however, was, whether he was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage. The affair was, therefore, submitted, as judge, thought himself obliged, by this confessions, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that if her marriage were, from the beginning, invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery. The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him in his uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness; and as he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Henry, having heard of the death of the Tower, who approached, and asked her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual modesty, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of Queen Catherine, and her opposition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: her own maternal concern, therefore, for Edward, increased, in these last moments, over that indignation which the unjust sentence which she suffered, naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law: she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she suffered. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the better. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four of her persons were taken to be accessory to her cause, the whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: had she been so lost to all prudence as to attempt to betray herself or her family to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution. His impatience to gratify this new passion and the sin he committed, made a sacrifice; and this cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

The lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her brother's divorce: she, however, after the death of Ann and Henry exacted from her some further proofs of submission and obedience: he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological sentiments, and to receive the absolution of her sins from the Pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she at last submitted. The queen, however, was, according to her father's, continuing her assent to the articles required of her: upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his marriage, he did not favor it with the same tenderness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the marriage was still in suspense with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

The trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the bringing to England, made a sacrifice; and this per- necessary for the king to summon a new parliament: and he, here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared his goodness with the strength and fortitude, to Samson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he discovered these two graces in his two princesses, and that the jewels by which the descendants, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; that queen and all her accom- plishments were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subse- quent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will, or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when intrenched to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour, and so unskillful in the discipline of his court. A new law was made, upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause, a species of political inquiry was established in the kingdom, as well as the severity of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered
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to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any
estates, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which
might have been extended to the dismembering of the
kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent
jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to
make laws or decrees, or other ordinances, which might be
unpleasing to the king, whom they acknowledge their
supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to
obey; renouncing the Pope's usurped authority, with all his
laws and inventions, now to be abolished, and acknowledging
Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the
laws made within this kingdom."

The convocation came at last, after some debate, to
decide articles, which it was desired should take
the form and condition of the assembly, or to give it
a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's
system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely
to square their principles. They determined the standard of
faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds,
the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was
a signal victory to the reformers: auricular confession
and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the
Catholics: no mention was made of marriage, extreme
unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and
in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared:
the real presence was asserted, conformably to the ancient
document: the terms of acceptance were established to be
the merits of Christ, and good pleasure of God, suitably to the
new principles.

So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition,
by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing
the subsequent acts, the subsequent changes of heart
and the corresponding views, were quite apparent in
its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in asserting,
that the use of images was warranted by Scripture; the
protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and
the abuse of those sensible representations. That
the faith was adopted in maintaining the expediency of
praying to saints; the late innovations, in rejecting the
peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or
course of action. The union of the two sects, in fact of
his church, in the distinct auditing of the holy of holies,
and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday,
Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals, were still
maintained; but the new refinements, which made light
of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convoca-
tion's denying that they had any immediate power of
remitting sin, and by its asserting, that their sole merit
consisted in prompting pious and devout dispositions
in the mind.

But the article with regard to purgatory, contains the
most curious jargon, absurdity, and hesitation, arising
from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this
purpose: "Since according to due order of charity, and
the will of God, it is meet we should discharge a very
good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed;
and since such a practice has been maintained in the
church from the beginning; all bishops and teachers
should instruct the people to be greased for the con-
tinuance of the same. But since the place where de-
parted souls are retained, before they reach paradise,
as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by
Scripture; all such questions are to be submitted to God,
to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commit the
deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for
them." 

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and
corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member
of that assembly; while, perhaps, either there, or through-
out the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except
Henry himself, who had adopted precisely these very
same doctrines and reformations. For, though the
contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had hap-
pened in England, as in all countries where factions
divisions have place; a certain creed was embracing
by each party; and however they were to be found, with
these consisted only of speculative or whimsical people
of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agree-
ment in the same dogmas. The protestants, all of them,
carried their opposition to Home further than those arti-
cles: none of the catholics went so far: and the king by
being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, to one which no party other than that of the nation can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: he could say to it, Thus far shall thou go, and no farther. The vote of the people, the parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nor to his most refined and most scholastic subtleties.

One of these two contrary attributes served, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The capricious monks, wandering about the country, excited both the pity and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar and childish tastes, he was able, now that he had brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour.

Discontent

Discontent had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had been among the most zealous who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions, for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat injudicious, that men who had been invited into a course of life, by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent.

But the people did not break into open sedition till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell's person was little acceptable to the disaffected, the nobility, whose property was so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordinance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, relics; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitors and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a previous servitude, instilled into the people those discontent which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

The insurrection in Lincolnshire was headed by Dr. Macklin, prior of Harlins, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of Captain Cobbe. This tumultuary army amounted to 20,000 men; but notwithstanding their number they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: and there were several prelates whom they represented as the chief of all the realm concerning the redress of these grievances. But Henry was little disposed to enthrone apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels, under the command of Sir Ralph Evins, and put the whole in check.

Dr. Rackham, vol. i. p. 523.

The Duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as the Court party at court which supported the existing religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, becoming a complete as he fell so to work within the same wood, that, in process of time, there was neither grass nor small tree to be found in the clearing. He was not unlike a bear, which in a wood which contains a number of small trees, you do not make him a hurdle, whereas, in his own forest, your little touching his mean to the great trees that he wanted a handle to work withal, and that he was constrained to sit all day, as he made it request to them that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small trees, which he made a handle, and by this means he graduated him one of their smaller trees to make him a hurdle. But now,
however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the Earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the rear; and it may perhaps be doubted whether there did such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he sent the Duke and the Bishop of Lincoln, with the Lord Privy Seal, to make an address to them; and, being received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair at the side, with the Archbishop of York on one hand, and Lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being told that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all, except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king’s answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, however, consented to a treaty, on the condition that the rebels should not be quartered, except on the Duke of York, and that they should be relieved from all their punishments, and that the leaders should be not only pardoned, but also proceeded against. He had overruled the wishes of the southern parliamentarians, who, not doubting but that the king would yield, were resolved to have their affairs brought to a speedy and successful conclusion. He had been a constant advocate of the throne, and had taken the lead in the work of it; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and had in his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-Hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of the demands of his services, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he was but superficially adhered, and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for decrying law-suits in the northern counties: a demand which had been made by the rebels.

Soon after this prosperous success, an event happened, which confused the same councils. The birth of a son, whom was baptized by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without alloy: the queen died two days after. But a son had so long been desired, that Henry was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king’s affliction was doubled. He was now crowded in his house, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen’s brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of Earl of Hertford. Sir William Pizz-Williams, his admiral, was created Earl of Southampton; Sir William Paultet, Lord St. John; Sir John Russel, Lord Russel.

The suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry’s authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on by his subjects, and he desired to avoid all such disputes as would embroil himself with other powers. He was not at all disposed to enter into any of these disputes, and was interested in the tranquility of Europe. He renewed his offers of cementing a union with the German protestants; and for that purpose he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in adhering to the church, and that he was bound to change his religion. They told him that he had no friends among the private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe religion to so great a theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enough to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become converted to the religion of their masters, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the Scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care ---

e Herbert, p. 120. f Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

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to inform the people by proclamation, 'That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife: and he ordered that no man should read the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he be singing, or to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned.' In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the Catholics and the protestants.

There was only one particular in which Henry was decisive; because he was afraid partly of his avers, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion, and the threatened destruction of the monasteries; the present opportunity seemed favourable for that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was further incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited, still increasing power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser nobility, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed them, whether of amends, or even of immunity, they were employed; and as several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, had no wish to be farther from office, pomp, and power; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be exempted from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The maids of honour, if endowed with industry, might both be service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons as these were exposed, whatever was the station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. There was another superstition, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars; inconstant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents: the parings of St. Edmund's toe; some of the coals that rosted St. Lawrence; the grail of the Virgin, shown in eleemosynary; the statue of St. Francis and his relics; some of the heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by his adherents: some relics, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent repugnance to the catholic religion.

There was neither discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relic; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal danger; when set before them it had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not desist to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it into a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the damage of the phial, fill it at Boxley, in Kent, and bore the appellation of the "Redd of Grace." The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsley, Bishop of Rochester, broke the phial, and exposed the violence; they were employed to burn Friar Forest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of the pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so sagaciously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his excommunication to the real cause which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his relics wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body here and there more holy than his tomb was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fifth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced, in that place, the adoration of the Deity; may, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered, in one year, three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and sixpence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. It is thus easy to understand, that when it was said there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four and sixpence. Louis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrived it was to project it; to Louis VII. of France the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a rector, and to be stricken out of the
calendar; the office for his festival to be expanded from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-four monasteries, of which twenty-eight had abbeys that enjoyed a seat to parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chanceries and free charters of the abbeys were seized. The revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had, a little before this period, been ranging from a few hundred to a thousand pounds. The revenues of these monasteries, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income; a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at a low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.

Great monasteries were every where excited on account of these violations; and men much questioned whether priests or monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the estates they enjoyed. Thus, as he had declared in his encyclical directed to the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thereafter have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government.

With such an attraction, the monks were everywhere in great demand. Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favorite, or, if they were sold, he brought with the sales, by art, for a high price, what he had exchanged for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a conven
ture, as a sign of favor, which happened to gratify her palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: he erected new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expense and dissipation the profits which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of what was expected. It is not without some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not, in these respects, the same effect there, as at home.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were especially at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal seizure. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expense of the house. We read of the abbey of Cirencester, in Sussex, which possessed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furnese, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained but thirty.

In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their ollars, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in traveling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the table of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove to the world the degree of the extravagance of the rich and the mean poverty of the poor; and in the too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled to very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome, and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high-sounding epithets, and by holy excrecacies, would now vent in their rage against the character and conduct of Henry. The Pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side; for he had declared that Henry carried both with disregard of his own sacred person, and that he himself would have died for the sake of his interest. He was opposed in a learned and sublime address to the whole world of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the Emperor Julian, whom it was said he feared the superiors of the church, and loved the popes themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the Emperor Julian, whom it was said he feared the superiors of the church, and loved the popes themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, Cardinal Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the Countess of Salisbury, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, and cousin of the queen. He was the offspring of that fine genius and generous disposition by which, during his whole life, he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the University of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but the demand was not accepted by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared so unwilling on the subject, to remove that person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanship, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as if the reign of Henry the Eighth, on the king's behalf, the members of both Houses were informed in parliament, that on king or kingdom was sole, but where the king had three abilities: '1. To live of his own, and able to be befriended by his subjects. 2. To be a benefactor of the poor and of his benevolence, otherwise they would not wish him to be a benefactor of the poor and of his benevolence, otherwise they would not wish his acts to be declared. 3. To reward well those at all times.' The munificence of Henry VIII. was thus described. Now the point was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the abbots, priors, friaries, monasteries, and other monasteries, that for ever in time to come, he would have all the said acts should not be converted into private uses; but first, that his acts, as for the greater part, to the service of God, and the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-armed soldiers, the king's act, was not to be continued in the benefit and ease of the subject, whatever afterwards, (as was projected), in any time to come; and every time the king or his commissioners, in any other common affairs, fourthly, lest the honour of the realm should receive any diminution. To these, as well as to the other objections, he answered, that being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots and priors, that held the land of the king per se, and that every time the king or any of his ministers, should not be a Arbitrary power, there would result a number of nobles, which we could not. The said monasteries were given to the Crown, and they were not to be used any further. The same pronoun was therefor made for the said present or any part thereof.'
CHAP. XXXII.

Disputation with Lambert.—Law of the Six Articles—Proclamations made equal to laws—Settlement of the occasion—king’s property of marriage—His marries Anne of Cleves—He dissolves A. D. 1539. A marriage—Red Cromwell—The exchange of King’s divorce from Anne of Cleves—His marriage with Catharine Howard—State of affairs in Scotland—Dissolution of the queen’s dominion for—a parliament—Ecclesiastical affairs.

The rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after remerging the Pope’s supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few of the people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of superstition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. Henry was appealed from to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submis-

A.D. 1538.—CHAP. XXXII.

well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of the Unity of the Church, in which he inveighed against the king’s supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family, and to the catholic cause. Henry, though he was not himself a pope, and, therefore, could not be moved by any resentment, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The Pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole’s eminence and dignity, who, in support of his cause, had sacrificed all his personal fortune to his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536. He had on a former occasion, choosing that employment, been to foment the tumultuous disposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no further measures in his intrigue against Henry. He is even suspected of having inspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the Lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Neville, brother to the Lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse, and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, Lord Monta-
cres; William de la Pole, brother to the cardinal. These persons were indicted, tried, and convicted, before Lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward; they were all executed, except Sir Geo-

A.D. 1539.

frrey de la Pole, who was pensioned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intel-

ligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men. It was, however, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time persecuted by the court, forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions, in the present case, any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the Marquis of Exeter and his associates.1

1 Herbert. 2 Herbert in Kennett, p. 216. 3 Fox, ed, ii, p. 396.
Some few days before this execution, four Dutch Anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield.

It was the unhappy fate of the English A. D. 1559. during this age, that, when they laboured under any great or short satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: on the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary privity of ministers had judged to detract, or did not think proper of themselves to carry into execution. This aspect servility never appeared a parliament.

The Bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though his majesty had thrown off the usurpation of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the intolerable worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet he determined, that the punishment of the violators of this last act of his sacred faith the law should enforce, with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convolting Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most confounded punishment.

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed the same objection with the utmost vehemence, as if he had never owned, implored, and endured, to be desired to choose a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The Lords named the Vica-general, Cranwell, now, as the chamber, the bishops of Canterbury, York, and Ely. The House might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken; for this small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The Duke of Norfolk then moved in the House, that, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed, to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short provocation, the bill of the six Articles, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two Houses, received the royal assent.

In this law the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was strictly enjoined, and the bishop's certificate for the consecration of ministers, required to be given in writing, in the presence of the king and the bishop of London. The bishops were ordered to see that the clergy recanted their views and belief in the efficacy of the mass, and to receive the oath of supremacy.

Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed them as the more irritable; he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him out of his scorching seat; where he was immediately consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, None but Christ, none but Christ; and these words were in his mouth when he expired.

**Footnotes:**

1 Fox, vol. ii., p. 498.
2 Collen, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 150, has preserved an account of the same execution, in his 'History of New South Wales, the king's ambassador in Germany.' The 'King's Majesty,' says this author, 'never shewed himself in this court except in his own person;' and, in the year 1774, King George III. ordered the text of this execution to be inserted in the university book of the day, and enquired how his majesty was pleased to have it. The king then said, 'I am not sure, but I think, that is the true text.'

3 The burning of the body of the apostle of the altar, did not in any way his hall, and then proceed at the execution, proceed, and judged that it was the best mode of proceeding, and the most agreeable to the prophecies of the New Testament. It was a wonder to see how presently, with how considerable gravity and solemnity, did take on his well-known authority and imputed name to every one, to every Christian, and supreme head of the Church of England. How longingly his face so en-

**References:**

4 Henry VIII. 35 Hen. VIII, c. 11. Herbert in Antient, p. 179.
complain, that the irons and burns, though dismissed their convent, should be uncivilly restrained to the practice of celibacy; but as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the numbers of adherents, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the anciant religion as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this new power; and though he desired lief to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance. 1 Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the moral and religious nature of his sentiments, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiaeder, a famous divine of Nuremberg; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up theirs bishoppical, on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

Proclamations made equal to laws.

The parliament, having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and, without scruple or deliberation, they made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were only to explain, the nature and extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations, which flawsd persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal prerogative may do; that this knowledge might urge offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to disfigure the king's most royal majesty, who may full ill bear it; that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy resolution, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence; for these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled His Majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: and these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws.

What proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the English parliament, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, and franchises; nor yet inflict any common law or laudablecustom of the realm. They did not consider, that no penalty could be inflicted upon the disobeying of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws, joined to the dispensing power then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accustomed, from their own authority, to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government; but still there was a difference between a power which was exercised on a particular emergency, and which must be justified by the present expediency or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation. Could any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty that should be the conduct of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainer, not only against the Marquis of Exeter, the Lords Montacute, Darcy, Hinsey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to Cardinal Pole, had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and the number of adherents of Salisbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the statute of attainder; and though she desired liberty to absent herself, she could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance. 1 Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the moral and religious nature of his sentiments, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiaeder, a famous divine of Nuremberg; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up theirs bishoppical, on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

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abode still in the House of Peers; and that none of them made any protests against this dishonorable

To this session the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwell, as viceroy, had the precedence assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that he should have the place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

As soon as the act of the Six Articles had passed, the Catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able, for the present, however, to manage it. Secured by the advice of Suffolk, and Chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he demonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: a concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

Henry's projects. But as Henry was observed to be much of a reformer, that he might please his conscience, he renewed his kindliness to them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of the king's wives, he had thought of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the Duchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friendship for Francis rather to think of a French princess. He demanded the marriage of Madeleine, daughter of Longueville, daughter of the Duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the King of Scotland. The king, however, continued to feel some heart extremely on the match: the information which he had received of the duchess's accomplishments and beauty, had possessed him in her favour; and having privately seen her, he determined Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him, served further to inflame his desires. He learned that she was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper for him, who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure, too, of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a further incitement to his prosecuting of this match; and he insisted that Francis should give him the preference to the King of Scots. But Francis, who was secure enough of the marriage in England, was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent further solicitation, he immediately sent that princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any further of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the Queen of Scots; and he assured him that they were nowise inferior in merit or size to their elder sister, and that of those he saw superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives, as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion: and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or persons that his mistress even superior in beauty. He was proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two Princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might have some choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: he was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the

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aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach; he was resolved never to meddle with her again, thought he was in the true manner of a point, about which he entertained an extreme delicacy.

He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted himself to be prevailed on himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

A session of parliament was held; and a parliamentary act, none of the abbots were now allowed a place to the House of Peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity of religions which still prevailed among his subjects: a grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured, because the Scriptures were now published in English, and ought universally to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets, to which the people might be instructed; and he also added, that the Chrisian doctrine, the Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory. The king seems to have expected more effect in ascertainning truth, from this new book of his doctors, than he ever obtained; and the publication of the Scriptures in Cromwell, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper House; and the peers, in return, bestowed great flattery on him, and in particular said, that he was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces: he received, soon after the sitting of the parliament, the title of Earl of Essex, and was installed knighthood.

There remained only one religious order in England; the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the Knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly military, had, by their valor, done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbary. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England, they had exerted their spirit, and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the Pope, was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the dissolution of this order. The negotiations, and former modulation of that order, were contemptible to all the acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church: his profuse generosity dissipated faster than his capacity could supply; and the parliament was surprised this session to find a demand made upon them of four, four-tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: so all the public expectations answered, that the crown never more to require any supply from the people. The Commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The cavation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expense which Henry had undergone in the building of the royal forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he reeled only on his domestic strength, and was no longer, on account, obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

The king's favour to Cromwell, and his acquaintance in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances; his aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister to ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. Fall of Cromwell.

The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other well supported suspicions. Cromwell was being much lower extraction, had not only mounted above them by his staitio of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown: besides enjoying that commission which gave him a high and almost absolute authority over all the chancery, he was privy seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: he had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which seemed to be profaned by being conferred on a man so odious to the commons. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries: establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commons.

The commons regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: the protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had, on all hands, arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by making so easy a sacrifice, he might be the adored of his people.

But there was another cause which suddenly set all these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affections on Catherine of Cleves, the Duchess of Norfolk, and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient, but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in amity with Cromwell, made the same use of her assinations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: and when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commissary from the king to appear at the council table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the House of Peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man, whom a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The House of Commons passed the bill, though out without some opposition. Cromwell was accused of hersy and treason, and to be burned; but the proposers of the bill, he was very, very improbable. The only circumstance of his conduct by which he seems to have merited this fate, was his being the instrument of the reformations, and the destruction of the monasteries. Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of his highness' most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell. And a little below, without date, the name of Most Lamentable: Thomas Cromwell, of the university in conducting into ignominious halls in the preceding session, against the County of Salisbury and others.

Cromwell endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all too late, he had put the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwell's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woful prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the flesh feels it too severe to be called mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness' most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell. And a little below, without date, the name of Most Lamentable: Thomas Cromwell, of the university in conducting into ignominious halls in the preceding session, against the County of Salisbury and others. When brought to the place of execution, he professed all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry had expressed a determination of his opponents to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no
ience or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private sentinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucchese merchant, who had conducted him to Siena, he was not surprised, as well as the senate, by which he had rendered him. Cromwell, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence.7

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were taken time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The House of Peers, in conjunction with the Commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the Duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards publicly consented to by both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not supposed her to have been a child, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The conversation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen; the presentation of the bill was proceeded with; 8 and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of her, were rather as a piece of passion. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce.5 She even wrote to her brother, (for her father was now dead,) that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affair which she had received; and she said, "It is not good, my lord, to treat friends falsely."

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. He disdained to make a scene, and, with Francis, and Charles he had subsisted during a very short time: the dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his king the state of affairs with other rival princes of Solyman and the Venetians; he also laid open the solicitations which he had received from the court of England, to enter into a confederacy against him. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he showed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfill his promise, and put the Duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese: he informed Solyman and the senate of Venice of the treatment which his subjects had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate. He even poisoned and misrepresented many things, which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, whom he had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor; and as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

The new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a favorable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk, and Gardiner, a furor against the old and new protestants; and the law of the Six Articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt in the turn the severity of the punis ment which he had incurred. He, who before dared not say he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocations of saints, he said, that he could not renounce them, and if the sheriff could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entrusted the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and clandestine marriages.

While Henry was exciting his violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had the audacity to say, that those who were burned, and those who were for him were hanged.5 The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to submission, and-infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, his unfortunate victims died within three years; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Petherstone, and Powell, who declared that the most grousous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical mucrants as suffered with them.5

Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotism of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: an insubordinate rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but was soon suppressed, and Nevil, after being tortured, was threatened with the confiscation of all he possessed. It was supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of Cardinal Pole; and the king was instantaneously determined to make the Countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution, and this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended.6 She refused to lay her head on the block, or to accept the executioner's signal that his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it a point of honour to destroy the reputation of Henry's marriage; and it was transmitted in the history of Princm, and had been made of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard. It had been the同类 in the case of Anne Boleyn, and was a sign of restoring the Princess Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy, and it...
where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could; and thus, shaking her venerable gray locks, she ran out the scaffold; and the executioner, to save himself the attorney's fees, procured the heads of many traitors and robbers by hanging or strangu-lation at her neck before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but still greater crimes and mis-fortunes, had governed the English for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason, soon after the Countess of Salisbury. We know not what crimes they had committed, nor the grounds of their persecution.

The insurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which these parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: he purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the King of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

The same spirit of religious innovation, which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the same jealousy, fears, and persecutio ns. Among the AES of 1642, in a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill disposed towards church affairs, which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbell, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendship and a sympathy in opinion, had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before Benton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was sent to St. Andrews, in order to meet some of the clergy, a dispute concerning the controverted points: and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been dear to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassed his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the constancy of his end; and an accident which soon followed, confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbell, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with the manner in which he overcame his enemies, or, perhaps, not seized casually with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr.

Among the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one Nair Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected in lean towards the new opinions. His diocese, the Bishop of Dunkeld, enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel, which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forrest replied, that he had read both Old and New Testament events and had not found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment of the Scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the manner of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar; for that the smoke of Mr. Patrie Hamilton had infected all those on whom it had blazed.

The clergy were at that time reduced to great diffi-

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culties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, and detestable; the priests, who found both their honours and property involved, thought they had a right to resist, by every expedient, these dangerous invaders, and that the same simple principles of equity which justified a man in killing a pest or a robber, would acquit them of all violence. Evidently, and pressing home the point, it is never acceptable to ecclesiastics, taught, they said, to be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possession of their tenements, which had been brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution, they found the success of this remedy very uncertain. The superhuman zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, secretly spread itself everywhere; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolu-
tion in religion.

But the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, would wish to see eyes to the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, entertained a great dread of the scheme, by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to unite with his people, and being assured, both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the King of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a ready compliance.

The ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandiz-ing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his loss the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations, they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: they offered him a present grant of fifty thousand pounds: they promised him that the Irish church would be overruled by the power, and that the revenues of the clergy, and the wealth of the bishoprics, would enrich him; and they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues. The innovations of his new example, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged, first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the King of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview.

Henry, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea and incursions on land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always showed an extreme delicacy. He thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned his incomes, to whom the beauty, youth, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged, first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the King of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview.

Among the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one Nair Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected in lean towards the new opinions. His diocese, the Bishop of Dunkeld, enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel, which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forrest replied, that he had read both Old and New Testament events and had not found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment of the Scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the manner of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar; for that the smoke of Mr. Patrie Hamilton had infected all those on whom it had blazed.

The clergy were at that time reduced to great diffi-

culties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, and detestable; the priests, who found both their honours and property involved, thought they had a right to resist, by every expedient, these dangerous invaders, and that the same simple principles of equity which justified a man in killing a pest or a robber, would acquit them of all violence. Evidently, and pressing home the point, it is never acceptable to ecclesiastics, taught, they said, to be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possession of their tenements, which had been brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution, they found the success of this remedy very uncertain. The superhuman zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, secretly spread itself everywhere; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolu-
tion in religion.

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one Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him, that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old Duchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentiousness. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The perjury and betrayal of her secrets had rendered both her life and character dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the Earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor.

They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the more ready to believe and give public credit to the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman was at the present time. He questioned her in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour.

Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with John Lascelles; and still more so after that he had been convicted of her guilt; for that man was so deeply affected, that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found to his surprise, that his great skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepeper was connected with the night with alien marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her bed in a whisper, in the little chamber, and as a kind of a seclusion; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

H. D. 15.2. Henry found that he could not by any means so fully or expeditiously satiate his vengeance on all these criminals, as by assembling a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two Houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They enjoined her to be dealt with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to deduce a submission and resign all he had passed a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might easily be ordered to by the legislature, who promised for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute.

Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for

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treason against the queen, and the Viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepeper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old Duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle Lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the Countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course, and left her bed before her majesty had ceased it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravaganza, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He subjected, moreover, to a sort of public censure for the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the Duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.

However, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, That any one who knew, or shrewdly suspected, any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one, at the same time, from spreading the matter abroad without the necessary assistance. This was also enacted, That if the king married any woman who had been Incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to the king; and that the imprisonment of the queen, under a singular clause, and said, that the king must henceforth took out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheld on Tower-hill, together with Lord Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life: and as Lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were more confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

The king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter; he took further steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their further progress: it had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no surrender, or for any number of years, could be made in a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the caprice of the king and his favourites. The church had been so long their prey, that nobody was surprised at any new invades made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He exorted many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

The clergy have been commonly so ecclesiastical in their fortunate and religious interests, and in their zeal for their temporal interests, that they have been constantly in a state of war. But Henry, so desirous of the union of church and state, and so jealous of the rule of the papacy, rendered them the instruments of his sway, and the conveniences of his superstition. They were required to be the custodians of the faith; to suppress faction, and to extirpate heresy; and to be the revengers of the crown, and the executors of the laws, as well as the ministers of the temporal state. They were required to be the custodians of the faith; to suppress faction, and to extirpate heresy; and to be the revengers of the crown, and the executors of the laws, as well as the ministers of the temporal state.
a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he
was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in
speculative principles. He had appointed a commission,
consisting of the two archbishops, and several bishops
of both provinces, together with a considerable number
of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical
supremacy, he had given them in charge to choose a re-
ligious successor. Before the commissioners had made
any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament,
in 1541, had passed a law, by which they ratified all the
tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with
the king's consent; and they were now expressly declared that they took their religion upon trust,
and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal
concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is
only one clause of the statute which may seem at first
sight to savour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: it was
enacted, That the ecclesiastical commissioners should
establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes
of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the
king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a con-
fusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more
master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy,
he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to
introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It
was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a
body of canon law; and be encouraged the judges on all
occasions whenever the ecclesiastical causes, wherever
they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned.
A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary
purposes.

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or
rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy
which he believed inherent in him, employed his commis-
sioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and
belief of the realm. At this volume was published, called the Institution of a Christian Man, which was
received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justifi-
cation, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there
defined with a leaning towards the opinion of the reform-
ers: the sacraments, which a few years before were only
allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of
seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics.
The king's caprice is discernible throughout the whole;
and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composi-
tion. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for
the nation, would tie his own bands by no canon or au-
thority, but only prescribed even by any which he himself had formerly
established.

The people had occasion, soon after, to see a further in-
stance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satis-
fied with the publication of a Christian Man; he ordered
a new book to be composed, called the Evolution of a
Christian Man; and without asking the assent of the con-
vocation, he published by his own authority, and that of
the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs
from the Institution; but the king was no less positive in
his new creed than he had been in the old; and he re-
quired the belief of the nation to swear at his signal.
In both these compositions he was particularly careful to
inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was
as equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was spreading his own books among the
people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as
well as alarmed, at the course which was taken with the Scrip-
tures. A review had been made by the synod, of the new
translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that
instead of employing English expressions throughout,
several of the most frequent, should still be permitted; because
it was feared, that if they were removed, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and
significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgate tongue. Among these were, ecclesia, penitentia,
poenit, contrita, holocencium, sacramentum, elemo-
nia, mystica, precept, sacrificium, sanctitas, uti-
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facies, pecatum, gratia, hostia, charitus, &c. But as this
mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and
was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain
the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was re-
jected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least
their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still
more dangerous; and the king and parliament, soon
after the publication of the Scriptures, instructed the com-
mission which they had formerly made; and prohibited all
but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them. Even
that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesita-
tion, and a strong fear of being suspected of the con-
ception that the public prints communicated secret or un-
lawful ideas. The publication was allowed to read, so to do quietly and with good order.
And the preamble to the act sets forth, That many sedi-
tious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted
them of reading the Bible, and that great diversity of
opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occa-
sioned by pervverting the sense of the Scriptures. It
seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for
uniformity with the permission of free inquiry.

The mass-book also passed under the king's revival;
and little alteration was as yet made in it: some doubtful
or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of
the Pope was erased. This latter precaution was likewise
used with regard to the other books of the church; and
even an old book that was sold. The word Pope was care-
fully omitted or blotched out; as if that precaution could
abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecu-
tion of the Papacy would somehow imprint it more strongly in the
memory of the people.

The king took care, about this time, to clear the churches
from another abuse which had crept into them. Plays,
interludes, and farces, were there often acted in defence
of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the mul-
titude for ancient principles and modes of worship, was
thereby gradually effaced. We do not hear that the
catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this power-
ful engine against their adversaries, or endeavouring,
by like arts, to expose that fanatical spirit by which, it appears,
the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps
the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side:
pertaining greater simplicity and the more spiritual
abstract worship of the protestants gave less hold to ridicule,
which is commonly founded on sensible represen-
tations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable concession,
which the king made to the catholic party, to suppress
entirely these religious comedies.

Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds,
and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to a uniformity in their religious sentiments: but a nation, with the greatest earnestness, into all those scholastic dis-
putes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply
themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain
afterwards to tell them, that in the present age the protestant church would restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Henry, being determined to avenge him-
self on the King of Scots for slitting the ad-
vances which he had made him, would gladly
have obtained supply from parliament, in order to
procure that enterprise, but as he did not think it prudent
to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their
frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued,
however, to make preparations for war; and as soon as
read. There were but 500 copies printed of this first authorized edition of the
Bible; a book, of which there are now several millions of copies in the
kingdom.


Q Burnet, vol. i. p. 110.
he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifest, by which he endeavoured to justify his hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in relieving the Earl of Angus; and for the escape of the queen of the quarrel; but in order to give a more specious colour to the enterprise, he mentioned other injuries, namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some terms of his capitation to return to England.

He even revived the old claim to the vassallage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the Duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scion of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the Bishop of Aberdeen and Sir James Leurmont of Darsay, to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The Earl of Angus, and George Douglas by his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this excursion; and the forces commanded by Bowes exceeded forty thousand men, and was fit for any preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the Earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vanguard, met them, and, having engaged and overpowered the English, put them to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners.

A few only, of small note, fell in the skirmish. The Duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his encampment at Carlisle to England, and took possession of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced in the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Soutry, and was ready to advance as soon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invasion of his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelso; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country. The King of Scots, hearing of this, returned to the place of his revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was surprised to find that his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprise. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disguised, however, he held a secret session of peers and commons, sent a message to the army, deposing Lord Maxwel, their general, and conferring his command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic ensued, which took off the whole English, and, to flight, and were pursued by the enemy.

Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: among these the Earls of Cassils and Glenorchy, the Duke of Orkney, the Earl of Arran, and Sir John, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

The King of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonishe
d; and being naturally of a melancholy disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he expressed his anger of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought up in him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandon
ef himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told, the latter; he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, and it will go with one: many miseries await this poor king:

Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable estate, with able virtues and a great degree of vigilance and personal courage, for pressing those dis
orders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and great strictness; and, according to the custom of the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The Protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon.

Henry was no sooner informed of this victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he proceeded, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting the Scotch regent, Lord Andrew Stewart, with James, Earl of Edward, to the hereditary of that kingdom. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners; and after reprimanding them in severe terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to soften his danger, and proposed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty with their arms; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the Prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they were informed by Sir John Holden, for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed; and they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

The Pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton, the primatial dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privi
leges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep peace at the time, and for this purpose, he was accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess; at least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he bad read to James a paper of that import, in which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had promised to send him. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in posses
for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the resolution of suspending the ancient establishments. So loud was the popularity of the prelates, that the land was persuaded the softness of the law preachers was equivalent to a formed design of choosing the national religion of which, as was afterwards shewn in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. This was shown by the reception that his son was accorded by the clergy, from the.spreadings of affairs during that age, which rendered it impossible
son of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the Earl of Arran.

James, Earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account he was entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had obtruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partisans; and though his character indicated little space for a great man, a prospect of which he had not foreseen, he was not afraid to apply to the electorate of his province with the offer of the crown. These adherents, joined to these same of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Bolton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The Earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed.

Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of Lord Seton; and a negociation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the Prince of Wales. The following conditions, or Treaty with Scotland, were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age: the cardinal was then to be sent to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges. By means of these equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared so well concerted. He collected the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if intrusted to his management, he hoped to defraud them of their revenues. He persuaded the partisans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, to raise up the zeal of those who were attached to the catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as a threat to the security of the nation and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and through the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those invasions, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: but Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the discovery of the hostilities. He then declared in the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to remove any of the nobles or to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and requisition of the present of the sums which they had promised of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hostages.

This behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not attended with any evil. Henry foresaw that all those persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to England for assistance of that ancienly, during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unsatisfactory season. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resistance against Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great though fruitless efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother: and he promised to the queen-mother, if she would assist him in military success, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran, the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he resolved to manage matters with his enemies, and to intrust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grisahams, Areskines, Landseys, and Livingstones. The arrival of Lenox, in the interests of the English, to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indispensible.

The opposition which Henry met with in the Restoration with Scotland, from the French intrigues and the resentment, and further confirmed the resolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaints against the French king, which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example, in separating himself from the league of the North: to the contrary, he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James, his nephew, had been allowed to marry, first, Magdelene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; then James, in these alliances as pledges, which Francis gave, of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England. He had been informed of some rancours which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was very disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, and sent him to Scotland, to rally the allies; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouanne, and Arras, as a security for the regular payment of the sums which they had promised of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis.
Guizene; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy, and some other territories. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solym-
man, and to make reparations for all the prejudice which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural con-

dercy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was de-
cclared against him. But it is proper to remark, that the partisans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical King of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with the Turk; both having at last provoked a breach of the solemn promise which he had given to Cle-
ment VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

While the treaty with the emperor was

a parliament, negotiating, the king summoned a new session of parliament, in order to obtain supplies for his

projected war with France. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years: it was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual. The convocation gave the

king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three

years. Greater sums were always, even during the estab-
lishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laymen. Charles, in his

day, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and

courtiers, that he had killed the men which brought him the

muniments of state.

The parliament also facilitated the execution of the

former law, by which the king's proclamations were made
equal to statutes: they appointed that any nine coun-
sellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobe-
dience to proclamations. They declared it a case of

criminal causes, as well as of all parliament, seemed, if

the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of

this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, en-
powering any judge or justice, to arrest and imprison

the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobe-
dience to his proclamation. It is remarkable, that

Lorde Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it

is equally remarkable, that no protest is the only one

entered against any public bill during this whole reign.

It was enacted this session, That any spiritual person

who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, The Evolution of Christian Man,
or contrary to any doctrine which he should thereafter

pronounce, was to be admitted on the first conviction to

renounce his error; on the second, he was required to

carry a fugger, which, if he refused to do, or fell into a

third offence, he was to be imprisoned in the house for

the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment.

Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the pre-

scriptions of the statute, therefore, determined, distinctly.

These penalties were lighter than those which were for-

merly imposed on a denial of the real presence: it was,

however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the Six

Articles was still in force. But in order to make the king

more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, That

he might be hereafter, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause, both parties were retained in

subjection; so far as regarded religion, the king was

invested, in the fullest manner, with the sole legislative

authority in his kingdom: and all his subjects were, under

the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to recom-

mend to them.

The reformers began to entertain hopes

that this great power of the crown might still be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine of
di Court; and his choice was considered a monument of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine.

By this marriage, Henry confirmed what had formerly

been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a

wicked queen. With which the emperor seemed

a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between

the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confedency between

Henry and Charles were insensible during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victo-

ry gained by the Duke of Cleves, France's ally, over

the forces of the emperor. As a rejoinder to this, it will be proper to remark, that the partisans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical King of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with the Turk; both having at last provoked a breach of the solemn promise which he had given to Cle-
ment VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

20th. July.

that his party was stronger than they supposed, that they were not

twelfth shilling for five pounds, paid eight shillings in the pound; from five

to ten pounds, six shillings; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, five

shillings; from twenty pounds to one hundred pounds, four shillings; from

one hundred pounds to five hundred pounds, three shillings; from five

hundred pounds to ten thousand pounds, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from


q Burnett, p. 322.

b 41 and 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

d Memes de Belier, lib. 4.
their services. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose him; but he foresaw that Lenox could not long submit so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him. He seduced his followers by various arts; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: and Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of the terms of accommodation with the parliament. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession of the crown. After declaring that the Prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate inheritors of the crown, he next restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. This seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing to be regarded as a betrayal of his paramount power, under so circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice. Though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his disposing of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foresee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his various and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all his acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes which he was bent to attain.

An act passed, declaring that the king's usual style should be, King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland. It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of defender of the faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining the former position of Luther; and to shew his ecclesiastical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court. An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the realm, and with easily believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the Pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The freile law in which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the Six Articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oaths of the parties. English commissioners were authorized for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days after such preaching.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention of any want of a supply: but as he was both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expense, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the payment of some of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects; and he promised gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine-pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywhere serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a bounteous, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectations of the commissioners, was enrolled as a foot soldier; where he was sold to be ransomed to William Read, who had been already refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty, but by paying a large composition. These powers of the prerogative, (which at that time passed unquestioned,) the compelling of any man to do service for the king in time of war, and the demoralizing a man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of exacting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

Early this year the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley, Lord Lisle, commanded the sea forces; the Earl of Hertford the land forces. They were discharged with the utmost success, and after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down, (for little or no resistance,) and the English first pillaged and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The Earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English had so completely the advantage, he retired to Leven, which Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England, where Henry settled a pension upon him. Some years after he married Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude.

Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subdued their spirit; and it was commonly said, that he did too much, if he intended to solace an alliance, and too little, if he meant a conquest. But the reason of his releasing the troops was, that he resolved to carry on a projected enterprise against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of the monarch, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries; they were to enter on no stage; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. France could not resist to the formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.
Henry, having appointed the queen, returned, during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men; accompanied by the Duke of York, John Erroll, Earl of Arundel, Vere, Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Surrey, Paulet, Lord John, Lord Ferrers of Charleyst, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. King Henry was attended by the Count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was driven to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: he there procured to Commandery on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: he next had siege to St. Diacre on the Marine, which, though, during a week place, made a brave resistance under the Count of Santerre, the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time, the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement by forming sieges, or, perhaps, foreseeing at last the resolution of the Earl of Carlisle of attacking the French power, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The Duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: the king himself that before Boulogne. Verrin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corne, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He did not yield, but gave battle to the French, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry, by the cowardice of Verrin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation.

During the siege of Montreuil, the Charles had taken St. Diacre, and finding the season much advanced, he began to hear a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with the forces of England; but that for the present, he would bring the concert, by besieging St. Diacre. This answer served

Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milton, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured, partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign, by the Count of Angoulé, over the Imperialists, at Cerisoles, in Piedmont, partly by the objects of the English, which they projected against the Protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, made, at a great expense, an acquisition which was of no importance.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now Lord Evers, Duke of Northumberland, and Suffolk, Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of and fortified. The governor assembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his gates than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army, and fled to Dubar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English; but his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the cause of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The Duke of Norfolk, who knew what difficulties such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English showed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country, when intelligence was brought him, that some Scots for the most part the abbey of Melrose. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighboring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Leith, and the Earl of Forth, commanded the English army, with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a peace, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near An-cram, the assault of the English. The English, whose parties were large, and pursued with too much to despoise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retreating; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order, and supported by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis, some time after, sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomerie, Lord of Eglinton. The Earl of Haddington, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The Earl of Hereford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either party. The war, likewise, between France and England, was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides galleys; and having embarked some kindred in the ships, on board, he sent them to make a descent in England. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It consisted not of above two thousand sail and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hope of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two considerable hours; and the admiral, near the Mary Rose, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so great a fleet was, to prove to the king of Scots that his force was mere gaucherie, which he resolved to besiege; and for that purpose, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended
to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assemblage on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprise.

Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who, having marched to Fleurens, in the bishopric of Liége, found that they could advance no further. The emperor could not detain them a passage through his dominions; they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them; want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them; and having seized the English camp, they were on the point of being reduced into their own country. There appears to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament.

The great expense of these two wars, upheld by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The Commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land: the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: by one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chantries, free chapels, and other foundations: he was pleased to increase it as increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that they must not touch their revenues till a general and ancientablishment of endowments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostituting parliament.

The public spirit of the parliament further appeared in the preamble of a statute, in which they recognised the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledged that the articles and other ecclesiastical persons have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate; to him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a coerecreation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have, not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

The king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors in any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite; that he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and resolve, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a coerecreation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have, not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

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natures of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the
king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to
him, that if his halduable zeal for enforcing the truth
met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the
primate, whose example and encouragement were, in
reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the
point, determined to have the primate as last; and he
desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's con-
duct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should
be committed to prison, and brought to condign punish-
ment. Cranmer, not considering the primate as last;
and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the
opposite party from animosity, began to show him marks of
neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several
hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-
chamber before he could be admitted: and when he was
at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to
send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed
to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded,
he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a
pledge of favour and protection. The council were con-
cluded; and when they came before the king, he re-
strained them in the severest terms; and told them that
he had cast aside his own merit, as well as with their
maligity and envy: but he was determined to crush
all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest
discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more
duty. He called the secretary of state, Wolsey, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their
conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set
the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an
open trial; and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as
a sign of their sincerity; which was immediately done.
Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his
part, than is usual in such forced compliances.1

Persecutions. But though Henry's favour for Cranmer
remained unaltered, he renewed his severe treatment
against him, raising his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, in their conduct or their prismatic points. Anne Askue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty,2 who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dog-
mataising on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of
showing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age,
was but the more provoked that a woman should dare to
oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by
Bonner's arguments to make a seeming recantation; but she
qualified it with a full denial of her own sentiments, and
assured the king that zealos pried. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and
discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the
consequence of her sentiments, and to maintain them unaltered;
and she even wrote to the king, and told him,
that, as to the Lord's supper, she believed as much as
Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine
discipline as the catholic church had required: but while
she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the
king's expectations, this declaration availed her nothing,
and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor,
Wrothelsly, who had succeeded Audley, and who was
much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine
her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great
ladies who were in correspondence with her: but she
maintained a high degree of fidelity to her friends, and would
confess nothing. She was put to the torture, in the most
barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserv-
ing secrecy. Some authors add an extraordinary cir-
cumstance: that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the
bestemmed to be taunted with the rack still further; but
that officer refused compulsion: the chancellor
menaced him; but met with a new refusal; upon which
that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but into whose wisdom and discretion to confide was not
able, was at lengthужит the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore the

body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the bar-
barity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts
to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned
alive; and being so disloqued by the rack that she could
not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. To-
gether with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian, a priest,
John Lassels, of the king's household, and John Adams,
a tailor, who had been burned with the rack; and they
were all tied to the stake; and, in that dreadful situation, the chancellor sent to in-
form them that their pardon was readily drawn and signed,
and should instantly be granted; but they refused to accept
it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a
new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they
saw with tranquility the exequiary kindle the flames
which consumed them. Wrothelsly did not consider, that this public and noted instance intrenched their honour
the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

Though the severity and fidelity of Ann Ausee saved the
queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell
into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped.
An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added
to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body,
began both to threaten his life, and to render him even
more than usually obstinate. He had just attended him with the most tender and dainty care, and
endeavoured, by every soothing art and compliance, to
allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so
subject. His favorite topics of conversation were of
Cranmer, Squires, and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse
on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument;
and being secretly inclined to the principles of the re-
formers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on
this subject. These occasions, as well as some other incidents which would
presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy
to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to
inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's zealous con-
formity to the orthodox party of his subjects and
represented, that the more elevated the person who was
chaustised, and the more near to his person, the greater
terror would the example strike into every one, and
the more glorious would the scaffold appear to posterity.
The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious
zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his
own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his coun-
sellors, went so far as to order a representation to be
drawn up against his consort. Wrothelsly executed
his commands; and soon after brought the paper to him
to be signed: for as it was high treason to throw slander
upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned
for his treason, had he satisfied the court. It was
read to the queen, and fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who
immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was
seemingly of the extreme danger to which she was exposed;
but did not desert her supported. She made her way,
and in the most graceful manner, to the court, and expressed
her address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies.
She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a
more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He
entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and
he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity.
She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that
such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural
nebility of her sex. Women, she said, by their first
creation, were made subject to men: the male was created
after the image of God; the female after the image of the
male: it belonged to the husband to choose principles for
his wife: the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt im-
plicitly the sentiments of her husband: and as to herself,
it was doubly her duty, being blast with a husband who
was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise
and knowing of every nation. Not so, said the king;
replied the queen; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and
better fitted to give than receive instruction." She
meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was
entitled to these attempts, but she knew she was
not the less entitled to speak, when any of the king's
questions the truth of this circumstance. Fox, however, describes her own
poem, where she relates it. Unusual and, in justice to the king, that he dis-
approved of Wrothelsly's conduct, and condemned the lieutenant-
his majesty, he well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not renewed by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to reign a con traritry of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she could most easily incite him to the proposal of marriage. Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the Lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repose, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

Actuated by these motives, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the morrow new arrived in the Tower.

Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them except in cases

During this whole reign. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians, who were suspected to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to Cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was suspected of holding a correspondence with that unwholesome prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which made him suspected of aspiring to the crown, though hitherto the object of universal and open conviction. During more than twenty years, maintained that his innocence, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquence and spirited defence, condemned the Earl of Surrey to be put to death; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

The innocence of the Duke of Norfolk

Attainted of the

was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His duchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, he married a mistress of her to the designs of the court; yet, with all these advantages, his accusers discovered no greater crime, than his once saying that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom in any cause of the crown, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required; but nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled a parliament as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the proceedings of it, however without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the Commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the Commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of Earl Marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son Prince of Wales. The subsequent proceedings, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But before he was carried to the Tower, that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign with so great a step in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so weak that one durst inform him of his condition; and as some per-
sons during this reign had suffered as tractors for forstilling the king’s death,” every one was afraid lest, in the transports of his fury, he might, on this pretext, punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last, Sir Thomas More set in motion some appearance of secrecy, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though perspiring with all the violence of his desires. Cranmer came; and he gave some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate’s hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by laying the crown, first to Prince Edward, then to the Lady Mary, next to the Lady Elizabeth. The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, Marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister, the French queen; then on Eleanor, Countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the Queen of Scots, his elder daughter: he had a political, not a personal, design; but as he subjoined, that, after the failure of the French queen’s posterity, the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether the crown should be more sincere and religiously preserved to the English nation. It was thought that those princes were not the next heirs, after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. It was, indeed, on this ground which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and cuprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his character, most clearly reflected with regard to strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of their souls: and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtless in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question.º

His character. The principal qualities of this prince were so different from himself in different parts of his reign that, as it is well remarked by Lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him, in some degree, to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: and though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were applied at times in his interests, and others for the benefit of the commonwealth and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, which was one reason why he was sometimes very liberal, sometimes very severe. His heart was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: the treatment which be met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme measures; and at the same time, it is plain that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnificent in his character: the emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered him all the more insatiable in the pursuit of a conduct, of great importance in Europe: the extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

It may seem a little extraordinary, that notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred: he seems even, in some degree, to have possessed, to the last, their love and affection.º His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and personal heryery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: and it may be said, with truth, that the English, in that age, were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were inclined to adore those tyrants in whose hands they were exercised over themselves, and at their own expense.

With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, and maintained it, though these were more sincere and religiously preserved to the English nation. Their common jealousy of the Emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters, (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light,) served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king’s death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: he foretold that he should not long survive his friend; and he lived in about two months after him.

There were ten parliaments summoned in succession by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently; but though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devote submission to Henry’s will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country seats, produced a quick despatch of the bills, and made the sessions short duration. All the king’s capitulations were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedents. Even words to the disarrangement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contained obvious contradictions; and such that, had they been strictly executed, every man without exception must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute,º for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king’s marriage; and by another,º to partake of the communion, or to use the elements; and by another,º to say any thing either to the disarrangement or slander of the princes, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious, would no doubt have been construed to their slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with regard to these delicate points, he able to save a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason: and the king’s representative was to pose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages: if the person were silent, he was a traitor by law: if he answered either in the negative...
or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submissiveness of his parliaments. It is hard to say whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny. It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the cathole superstition lasted, the prince had no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: the privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy: it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abolished these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of murder, theft, or any other crime. It was next, in the case of murder, felony, and rape. A final and limited them in other particulars. The further progress of the Reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. Some consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age was, the reviving and extending of some old statutes passed for the employment of archers, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow; butts were ordered to be erected in every parish: and every man was to be furnished with two arrows, or bows, which were to be made, to two of elm or oak for the service of the common people. The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled upon occasion to engage in close fight with the enemy. Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called. The military spirit of the English, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of command over all his subjects, in all cases of necessity, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men. Discipline, however, was no advantage wanting to these troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first, Boulogne afterwards, served to increase the number. Every one who served abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will. The parliament was so little jealous of the rights of the crown, that in 1560 a statute was passed (as used to be at that time, scarcely worth preserving,) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the Lower House some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Statuaries courts in Cornwall: heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: yet all the notice which the public took of this enormity, even at such a pulley court, was to enact, That no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: for as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which shows what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges, and of the rights of the sovereign. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and though he levied it during the first four years of his reign, without that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but even in this concession they plainly show themselves at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or to consider any part of himself to levy it. They say that the imposition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king and no longer: they yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the present king: they observe that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: they affirm, that he had sustained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that supply during his life time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors, for more than a century, persevered in the like irregularity, for a period of a certain term in which the whole nation acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the same course which had now received the sanction of many generations, so much were the opinions of men altered, and the spirit of the times changed, that the first pretext was the loss occasioned by the foreign nations, partial or ignorant, still represent this measure as a most violent and unreasoned enormity in that unhappy prince.

The parliament was allowed to make laws for Wales without consent of parliament. It was forgotten, that with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was abolished by the statute, which gave to the royal proclamations the force of law.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them to the eastern parts of Europe: Hence the mutual dependence of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the trading uncour was not on a large scale, yet the yielding up to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. But such a supply as cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual. They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them. An agreement was at last made, to continue the commerce between the states, even during war. It was not till the end of this reign that any salaried, car- rotes, turnips, or other edible roots, were produced in Eng- land. (cabbage and celeriac were at that time, scarcely worth preserving,) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the Lower House some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Statuaries courts in Cornwall: heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: yet all the notice which the public took of this enormity, even at such a pulley court, was to enact, That no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: for as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

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en went to foreign traders; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditions of some of Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection in the city itself. They early rose in London, by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Mestus, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed several of the household, and burnt his house. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened Cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he threatened to send a committee to the provincial town, and return himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day, the Duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and confined for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy; and Henry, in his own name, was pleased to pardon; be dismissed them without further punishment.

So great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that, at least, fifteen thousand Flemings alone were, at one time or another, in London. It was the ambition of the state, or at least of the state, to keep the city poor. Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine; Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed amongst the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities. He also asserts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread. And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign merchants were prohibited from having above two foreigners in the same house, either by themselves, or domestics. A lea jealously arose against the foreign merchants; and, to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens. The parliament had done better, to have encouraged foreign merchants and artisans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above; which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts, that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign, for theft and robbery, which would amount to 20,000 annually. As he adds, that in the last year of Elizabeth's reign, there were not above 400 in a year: it appears, that in all England, there are not at present 50 executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there has been a great improvement in morals since the reign of Henry VIII. That this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and which is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

There is a remarkable clause, in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign, by which we might be induced to believe, that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been in the reign of Edward VI, that no magistrate, in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep peace, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or venison. The apprehension of this statute, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize; yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that, since the making of that statute and ordinance, many and the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporates, have been reduced into the state of decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of such substance, as at the time of making that statute: for at this day the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain few others to bear the expense; so that many are prone to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without further evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opinion adverse to the regular policy established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in a former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave their towns and become proprietors of country houses. Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly.

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and population, in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and restraining holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not, in other respects, well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted: 3 luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes; and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter. A statute was even made that tin, copper, lead, or iron, should be sold at a halfpenny a pound; mutton and veal at a halfpenny a farthing, moneys of that age. The previous, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed. The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasture, was continued; 4 as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farmhouses were allowed to fall to decay. 5 The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or farmer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure. 6 It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: for it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire, which was let at a little above a shilling, was raised to five shillings in the acre. It was raised to five shillings in the acre, by the increase of revenues and the increasing expense of our present money. 7 This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age. Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convicts formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The reason of this statute is, that it treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: and the pretexts still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing and even subsequent reigns, is abound with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general. There remain still
too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exercising any trade, who was not of the corporation.

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this, with all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and was as frequent as an animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked, that the churchmen who approved the former pronunciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations in this particular, and to prevent the students from using the Greek Alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it would be better that the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge. Wolsey intended to have enriched the library of his college; but being at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican, the countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: England, which speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has not at least been mentioned among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.

CHAP. XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.


A.D. 1547.

The late king, by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, the king, that was to be so frail, had so great an interest in the safety of which the succession had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his lifetime, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed as well as by the limitations of the succession, projected to reign even after his decease; and as Edward was then only a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen counsellors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, Archishop of Canterbury; Lord Wriothesley, chancellor; Lord St. John, great master; Lord Russell, privy seal; the Earl of Hertford, chamberlain; Viscount Lisle, admiral; Tostal Bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Budge, tiller of the marches; Sir Thomas Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was intrusted the government, the regal authority, were added a number of other counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the Earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gascoigne, controller; Sir Robert Paget, vice-chancellor; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Pocham. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such rank as the Earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

But the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the distant restraints of the regency. They proceeded to the transference of every office which they believed their predecessors had been able to fill, as well as to the transference of every office which they believed their predecessors had been able to fill, as well as to the establishment of the church, which was already in a state of desolation. The king, who was then but a boy, did not resist the wishes of his regency; and as they were, in the opinion of the prelates and people, a body of men totally unlike to be the guides of a young prince, they appeared to be exercised in their office with some approbation. Sir Thomas Wotton, the lay bishop, was at first partial to them; but he was afterwards struck with their inability to do any good. The king's uncle was banished from court; and his place was filled by Sir Edward Wotton, the treasurer. The young king was then so immersed in the business of the regency, that he neither had time to think of anything else, nor even the power of exercising his will; for that was divided among the council. The business of the regency was in the hands of the commencement of the reign, and the measures which were executed, were all approved by the king. The counsellors, who were not of the most active spirit, and who were resolved to devote their lives in an great measure upon himself. He opposed, therefore, the proposal of choosing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought to be observed as the law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority which had established it. But he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. The counselors and counsellors were mostly courtiers who had been raised by Henry's favor, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been sufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretensions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquiesced more willingly in a proposal which seemed calculated for preserving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on the Earl of Hertford, who was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to interest the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the administration; and despatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them information of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former connections, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their offices during pleasure; and it is there expressly affirmed that

1 Sir pp. 149.
2 See Strype, vol. i. p. 117.
4 Power, vol. i. p. 117.
5 See Strype, vol. i. p. 117.
6 See Strype, vol. i. p. 117.
all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown. The executors, in their next measure, showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, when he had restored nobility, in order to supply the place of those peers which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promises, which had been given in the most amicable manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created Duke of Somerset, marquess and lord treasurer; Wenceslas, Earl of Southampton; the Earl of Essex, Marquis of Northampton; Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sidley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby; and Sir Edward Hillary, chief justice of the court of king's bench. Several to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promise, the bestowal of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient time. Sir Edward Hillary, as an executive, the Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and jurisdictions, it was thought that following spiritual benefits on laymen began now to prevail.

The Earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that faction, which had secretly prevailed, even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, bad, of himself and from his own authority, put the greater credit in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonol, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute, in his absence, the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable, and the more so, as two of the commissioners being the same lawyers suspected that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council, who, influenced by the protector, gave orders that the chancellor should be summoned. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial so parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other injuries might be committed on him. But still further assurance was given.

On presence that the whole of the council, without choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overthrew the will of Henry VIII., and produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have overthrown all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself Protector with full regal power, and appointed a council consisting of all the former councillors, and all the executors, except Southampton. He reserved a power of naming any other council of late at pleasure: and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever. Eten had this patent been more moderate in its concessions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, the legality might have been questioned; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons intrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: but as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The confidence, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his protectorate. Several, on the contrary, were made on the ground of true, that the known division by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to intrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitance of faction, and restore the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exceptions were made. Nor were claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some alarm to the nation.

The extensive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection; but, upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformation; and, being made reconciled to all, from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the protestant innovations. He took care that all persons who had been attached to the old church might be attached to the same principles; and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themselves in favour of those tenets which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to the new religion; but the council of England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable. Their reputation, in the chief seats of religious spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular, clergy; and they knew that while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiasties, they could never hope to succeed in that way.

The numerous and burdensome superstitions with which the Romish church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion, and all arts, corruptions, pomp, order,
and exterior observances, were zealously proscribed by them, as hindrances to their spiritual contemplations, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this during spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making proselytes, the furious persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the literate by, and tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the Reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and the futility of all the tenets, which, though less durable, were, for some time, not less dangerous than those which were connected with the ancient superstition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the ancient reign was preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the Reformation, made always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine, discipline, and worship, which he deemed perfect. He probably also foresaw that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformulation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion, merely spiritual, with which the first fervour of new sects, so often upon the relaxation of these, naturally gave place to the meads of superstition. He seems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being supported, instead of being set up, would stand as an perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished, or entirely evaporated.

Opposed with greatest authority, any further advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late discoveries which had been made against him to Henry, was enticed by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and sincerely revered by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were vigorously attacked by the new sects; and he persuaded them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude. He even designed to write an apology for holy water, which Bishop Ridley had spoken against in a sermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spitile and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind. Above all, he insisted, that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament.

But though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with any immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely, in the present case, be maintained with any plausibility by Gardner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of law. The ancient bishops, having been deprived of their jurisdiction, and suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laymen, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting improprieties and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain for the present all images which had not been abjured by the parish church, and to instruct people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, the wearing of consecrated candles, or the use of consecrated banners, in order to drive away the devil.

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally propagated, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of Synod, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were fed by interest, as well as by incensation from this source; for so much was necessary for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which were enjoined to read to the people; and those who ventured to expound the most pure and ancient principles, were denied permission, from preaching anywhere but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestants, by the grace and privilege of the present, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bonner made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited and tenacious. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "'Tis a dangerous thing," said he, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old and sacred, you are to think that to water is apt to have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indulgences at pleasure." "For my part," said he, on another occasion, "my sole concern is, to manage the third and last part of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature confirmed to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence; nor so much as beg me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, are entertained by me as the first of all the principles. For the thing else takes its leave; and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best on it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then I am ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferences." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

One of the chief objections urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "an insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God, nor had any power of the principal demonstration." The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all these mysterious doctrines, and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the other; that was not acquainted by himself, and had no acquaintance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretell its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, old and superstitious, of the church; by exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all
claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement which generally have place in religion.

Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, many of the more solemner public protests, was despaired of; but no further severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

The same religious zeal which engaged Foreign affairs. Somerset to promote the Reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. In such a policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision.* The more difficult task for the legates was, to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred the sudden council to Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more under the direction of his Holiness. For the emperor, no less than the Pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy, as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and opposing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep air, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburgh from the protestant conference: he took arms against the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse; by the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: he employed treachery and prevarication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe-conduct which he had granted him. He suppressed the power of his half-sister, the Electress; he roused the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were further discouraged, by the intelligence, which they had received, of the death, at last, to Henry VIII., of the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were further discouraged, by the intelligence, which they had received, of the death, of the last, and of Francis II., their usual resources in every calamity.

Henry II., who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but less hasty in his resolution than Francis, and less inflamed with rivalry and animosity against the emperor Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalandic league, and promised them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that it all depended on his policy, of which he could at any time lay hold of.* He was much governed by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in choosing rather to give instruction to his clergy, and to engage the multitude, of which he was by the last at the beginning of Henry VIII., had learned the lesson of the protection of the French monarchy.

The hatred between the two factions, the partisans of the ancient and those of the reformed religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution, which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in the kingdom. This man was sent to Rome, in the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning; but these praises cannot be much depended on; for we know, that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of talents, and virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted, that the Old alone was the word of God.* But, however the case may have stood, with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for setting the example of the multitude. The magistrates of Dun- de, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed by his progress; and being unable, or unwilling, to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and, in a manner, the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation, that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proles. Meanwhile, a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaiming, that the town had drawn down the vengence of Heaven, hindered the pious preacher, and that the priesthood would never cease, till they had made him atone for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their dispossession of his mission, but he erected to his pulpit on the top of a gate: the infected stood within; the others without. And the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the imminent terror of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission.*

The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to Cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of the recusant, to curb the zeal of the reformers, and to engage all into other innovators. He engaged the Earl of Both- well to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell to that unhappy man; and by a lettre de cachet, he was sent by the gale of mixture, to St. Andrews, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had saved him, he, by concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the insulting envy. He fore- told that, in a few days, he should, in the same place, lie as low as now he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the imposition of a cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they con-
ducted their enterprise with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning the enterprisers entered the cardinal's palace, which he had not yet fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shouldered their prey against the door, they proceeded deliberately to execute upon the cardinal their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricaded the door of his chamber; but finding that the rioters for force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins pressed upon him; but a third, James Melvill, more calm and more considerate in villany, stopped their career, and bade them reflect, that this sacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be attended with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these bands: it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God, to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of the diabolical portion of thy people, which moves me to seek thy death: but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to deliberate his resolution, to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This murder was executed on the 26th of May, 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a naval king; and he promised to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animosities of the great. But, besides these innate and ancient evils, a new element had arisen that would destroy all these: the contents of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the most settled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and virtue, seemed much to affect the welfare of the dominion. A queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and she did as much to support the government, and supply the want of Arran, the governor, as could be expected in her situation.

The Protector of England, as soon as the news of the Caste state was brought to some composer, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the looking had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,500 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, on board of which he himself had embarked, armed with provisions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to Lord Clinton: he himself marched at the head of the army, entered by the Earl of Warwick. These hosts were more successfully employed in revenging some depredations committed by the borderers: but besides that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He said, that there seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the sea, he had pointed out to the inhabitants the danger, necessity, and importance of the education and customs of the people concerned with nature; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and concord: and to bring order and security; and thus had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealousy, either of honour or of interests, to which rival nations are naturally attached: that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and happily the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age, the most suitable to each other: that the hostile dispositions which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extirpated, after a long and secure peace had established confidence between them; that the memory of former miseries, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then serve only to make them cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long unknown to their ancestors: that when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present engaged in the same wars, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience; that as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independence, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people; that though England could change the state of her sovereign, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal; and that, besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what their interest and safety so loudly demanded.

Somerset soon perceived that these reminiscences had no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the Catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to carry the depredations of the English over to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without making any serious halt. But the Queen was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal; and that, besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what their interest and safety so loudly demanded.

Somerset in short set out on the 20th of June, 1547, to invade the borders. He met with no opposition from the English; except from the small castles which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force: but they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours' respite, till they should prepare themselves for death; and after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy.

The governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. The Scottish army, under the eye of the English, had a perfect view of them. They were very confident of revenging some depredations committed by the borderers: but besides that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the supremacy of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

A. D. 1547.—CHAP. XXXIV.

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would stipulate not to contrive the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector must either enter on either side, or stand still; and they were confirmed in their fear, that he was now contented to abide so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were desirous, because of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; but he did not intend that he should be distinguished as the Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

Somerset was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been defeated by the French, he made himself master of his opportunity. He ranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which they placed them, till the enemy attempted to advance. He was impatient of battle; and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van was posted Lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered them to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

While the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: the eldest son of Lord Graham was killed: the Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: when Lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honours of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay across the front, and disordered the movements of the English cavalry. In the assault the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English, they were easily dislodged and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him; the standard was near being taken; and had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger.

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry. Warwick showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse recoiled: he made Sir Peter Maitels advance, captain of the foot horsearchers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish horsearchers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They matched to the slough and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: the ships called them from the flank; the artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front; the English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them; and the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely, and in great numbers. Among these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the front which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strewn with dead bodies; broken pikes above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkie, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time, the Earl of Lenox and Lord War-ton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and proceeded to devastate over all the neighbouring counties. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation: but he returned to England with some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Ilum, Dunglass, Eymouth, For-bridge, Roxborough, and some other small places, having received the submission of some counties of the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the shipping along the coast, took Broughton in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they left it a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Beefour for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate: but no commissioners were appointed from Scotland; nor agreed. The overthrow of the Scots was an article to gain time till succours should arrive from France.

The protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament; and being some time after, what was talked of as an assurance against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench, at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that he usually enjoyed, as though he were his son, or his eldest brother, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedence enacted during the former reign. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much power, he, on the other hand, deserved great praise on account of a parliament, in which the repeals of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the Six Articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Hereby, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime was to be defined or punished in a circumstance which might either be advantageous or harmful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

A repeal also passed of that law, the destruction of all
laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute. That other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four-and-twentieth year of his age: be could prevent their future execution; but could not recall any past effects which had ensued from them.

It was also enacted, That all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the Pope's, should, for the first offence, be confined in the Tower, and suffer the pillory; for the second offence, should incur the penalty of a premonstrate; and for the third, be attainted of treason. But if, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any other manner, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the lords of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: some few appeared zealous for the Reformation: others secretly harboured a strong propensity to the catholic faith; but the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reqeusting faction.

The convocation met at the same time with the parliaments; and as it was found that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the Six Articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was put in practice by parliament. The lower house, as well as the house of peers, was heard in the same manner. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday, wafers for ancient religious practices, or new-termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion.

An order was also issued by the council for the removal of all images from the churches: an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence for it then regarded as the most important part of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable. As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new profession service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent. This was a prejudice to the entire alteration of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guidance an entire ascendant over them. And it may justly be said, that though the priest's action, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstition, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent reliance on the religious ceremonies.

The people were at that time extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and as the greater part either feared, or suffered, to escape the prison during pleasure; for the second offence, should incur the penalty of a premonstrate; and for the third, be attainted of treason. But if, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any other manner, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the lords of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: some few appeared zealous for the Reformation: others secretly harboured a strong propensity to the catholic faith; but the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reqeusting faction.

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Scots to be subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could continue the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desert, when they found that their wishes were so small as to become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully advanced among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of Duke of Chateaulain, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms. And as the clergy dreaded the consequences of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principle or interest could impel.

Young Queen

of insatiable ambition; arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not, to the same degree, the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address, he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the denounce of the king: insomuch, that had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtfu to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave unavailing to the Duchess of Somerset, who, unequipped as she was, the brother's wife should have the precedence, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too good, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The first symptom of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the councillors; was corrupting by presents the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgences and liberalties, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any disaffection between him and the protector would be irrecoverably lost, of effect the ruin of both. Finding the remonstrances of Paget were unheeded, and the young monarch to have been supplied with the clearest intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attacks of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more formidable; he proposed to the king, as he had acquired many partisans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector in the kingdom had been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not safely be lodged in any subject.

The young king was even prevailed on to write a solemn letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two Houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him, but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that if he were thwarted in his attempts, he would make this parliament the blackest ever cast in England. Paget, the Secretary of State, sent for him to answer for this conduct; but he refused to attend: they then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him that the king's letter, instead of averting any thing to the execution of his wishes, was only a demonstration to him as a criminal enterprise, and be construed as a design to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall some menace of sending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

The mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprises of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in childbirth; but so far from regarding this as a check to his aspiring views, he grounded on it the scheme of a most extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom the hurry of business and the pursuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, discourse entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as his proposals were not acceptable, he gave up all hopes of succession, if they married without the

y Heyward, p. 704.
c Harney, p. 88. 90.
d Ibid. p. 12.

Edward VI. Ch. XXXIV.-A.D. 1548. 
It was apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some defect in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely applicable to an equity; many others might be susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that, though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt seems to have consisted in some unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid upon the merchants. But he was not proceeded against, at that time, an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or to the evidence which would be produced against them. A session of parliament being held, it was to be solved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was laid on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the Upper House; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning Lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. The court received as undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partisans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or the interest to assert or defend him, except in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the House of Commons; there were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent to the House to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed upon to acquiesce! The bill passed without any objection. Lord Seymour was beheaded on the 20th March. House to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed upon to acquiesce! The bill passed without any objection. Lord Seymour was beheaded on the 20th March.
tradition, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: and they flattered themselves that they had established nothing that was new, but had recovered, or rather added, what Christians might without scruple concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the ecclesiastics, that the king was indeed the head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower, and threatened with further effects of the council's displeasure.

These severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed, in that age, a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline; but there were in it circumstances of allusion, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, even those that had the assurance to differ from them.

A commission, by act of council, was granted to the prime, and some others, to examine and search after all anaabaptists, heretics, or contrivers of the book of common prayer. The commissioners were empowered to impress and imprison, to impose pence on them; and to give them absoluteness: or, if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: and in the execution of this, they were so bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council. Tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might be perishing, the inward was alive in all the guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pernicious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, that Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it, but the word; by the consent of all the heretics, which was all that was necessary.
at last metamorphosed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heinous which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the fagots that were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age.

These rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the national doctrine and the national worship. The Lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established mode of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council.

CHAP. XXXV.


A.D. 1549.

There is no abuse so great in civil Discourses of society, as not to be attended with a variety of personal consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Source any institution can be imagined less favourable, in the main, to the interests of mankind, than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having consequently the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, always residing in their convents, in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the increase of public reicles, yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme pressure of want and necessity. It is also observable, that, as the friars were limited by the rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they wereadena by the law, as they were not in England, in Roman Catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leases at an under-value, and to receive, in return, a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often spent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater incapacity of the stewards. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had much less success than the knowledge of a profession which, of all mechanical employments, requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home; pasture was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: whole estates were converted by enclosures into pastures as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery: and a decay of manufactures, as well as the diminution of the former

plenty, was remarked in the kingdom. This was now of an old date; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep had become in England a more venemous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The commercial system which had been practiced in Europe, after the discovery of the West Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand, in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habituation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of tax, and complying with such measures were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to society, yet it was difficult for the people to shake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but necessity could compel them to such an exertion of their faculties.

It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithstanding the advantages to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been engaged, had reduced them to carry goods and commodities at an abuse. The usual consequences ensued: the good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, contented with their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; and a universal decay and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

The protector, with loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning enclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late enclosures to be had open by a day's notice of the owner; and with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders; but were quelled by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power, to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. As this commission was disagreeable to the men and nobility, they endeavoured to make it as unprofitable and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be cluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms; this rising began at once in several parts of England, as if a universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonality. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert; those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by Lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties were quelled by severer expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

The commonality in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against enclosures and against oppressions from the gentry. At Whalley, while priest or curate had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made the ministers immediately suppress the formation. In Lancashire still further, but not closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to 20,000 men; and the troops, after having been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negotiate with them; and the tumult was at an end, by cluding their fury by delay, and of

b. Burnet. vol. ii. p. 115. 1

p. 102. 3
dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the state should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the Six Articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. The council, however, declined to discuss the remission of taxes, and the sending of regular troops, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter; but he sent before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other emblems of Christianity, together with the host, which they covered with a canopy. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by means of a mortar, and then by scaling, but without success. Russell, meanwhile, lay at Homiton till reinforced by Sir William Herbert and Lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian archers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners. Another leader, sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law. The year of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his head upon his horse's neck. The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against enclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new councillors about the king, and the re-establishment of some of the ancient rights. One Ket, a tenant, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Hovereld-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The Marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action where Lord Sheffield was killed. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels; he therefore sent the Earl of Warwick at the head of a great army to the relief of Norwich; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick, having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand prisoners were taken at Norwich castle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offer of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector.

But though the insurrections were thus at first made known to the Scots, and their leaders present in Scotland, and so numbers of them seemed to remain, they were attended with our interests in the nation. The forces of the Earl of Warwick, which might have been employed against Donald, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that county to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughly, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though Lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to relieve the garrison, it was found at last very charged, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was in commotion, and the English, and could afford no supply to the garrison:

the place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort such provisions thither: and as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given by the council to disband Hervey and his garrison at Berwick; and the Earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

The King of France also took advantage of the disturbances among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, that territory which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulognois, took the castles of Sellefa perforated, and dislodged, though not supplanted with garrisons, ammunitions, and provisions. He endeavoured to surprise Boulogne, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he ordered to Paris, left the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon, so famous afterwards by the name of Admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to pursue the French, during the late insurrections against the place; but they all proved unsuccessful. Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in the account of the event. As soon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; and he sent over Secretary Paet to Brussels, where Charles then kept court, in order to assist Sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by the aid of the part of France of the Catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of securing the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account of this negociation is given in the letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerequisites of a King of England were more extensive than those of a King of France. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins an observation, that in the one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England. Somerset, despairing of assistance from the protector, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclin’d, complete the marriage contracted with Edward; and as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1547, it seemed impracticable. In a letter of a few years, the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The protector ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector. After Somerset obtained the patent investing him with regular powers, the Scotch council paid no attention to the opinion of the
other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pimper, he thought that every one ought to yield every thing to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt; and while he showed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. We shall see, however, that he made a conciliating and cautious exordium, and, having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector.

The malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the prudence which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his prostration, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people; and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any other pretence could be brought against it. They might with certainty deserve that approbation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobility, the surest support of monarchical authority.

But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The cathedir party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies, and took advantage of every opportunity to deride his conduct. The attenders and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: their amusements were profane, and all that expense of the church and of the crown rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand, served by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances, which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops' houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure: not content with that outrage, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose: but the parishes rose in a tumult and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then had his palace at St. Paul's church-yard, with a cloister and chapter house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced: and the bones, being carried away, were buried in unconsecrated ground.

All these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the Earl of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public groan and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of the realm, at the same time that of the progress, and requiring their assistance: they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the Duke of Somerset. They then went, to the great indignation of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Chief Justice Montague, 
founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal. But such niceties were, during that age, little understood, and still less regarded in England.

A session of parliament was held; and as it was the usual maxim of that assembly to acquire in every possible way that authority which had been established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed on to reconcile himself, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdeemours to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in lord. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and William Earl Marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no further. His fine was remitted by the king; he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking that he was now free from all suspicion, and his mind lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, Lord Dudley, with the Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

During this session a severe law was passed against riots. It was enacted, That if any to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up poles about enclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: any attempt to kill a thief or a taker of game, or set a fieltri on a thief, or to receive stolen goods, was now made an act of treason.

The bishops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power, by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the discipline of the church; from which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had ever everywhere received great encouragement, and increase. The design of some was to revive the pontifical duties of the primitive church; but others thought, that such an authority, committed to the bishops, would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical immunities of the Roman superstition. The parliament, for the preservation of the government, were content with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners, to compose a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting, that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of Lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder.

This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and Bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent that he had become a very honest man.

When Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties and embarrassments that had embasset the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerou to a divided nation; and an imperial war, and an imperial execution, had any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset, had served them as a pretext for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending Sir Thomas Cheney to the empor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Bouligne, they found his emissaries unsuspected, and illegal. It was now determined to have him made, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The Earl of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget and Petro, were sent over to Bouligne, with full powers to negociate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his subjects acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: but he offered the income of his dominion in Bouligne.

Bouligne was seized March 25th.
the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A last was selected of such points as they thought would be the hardest of digestion; and, not content with this, they also insisted on his submission, and the payment of a sum for an annuity of past errors. To make this subscription more mortifying, they demanded a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit; but Gardner, who saw that they intended to extend his ruin and discredit him, would not consent. He was not to gratify his enemies by any further compliance; he still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should receive a warrant for the bishop. For this pretended offence, his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or more properly, to condescend to him. The commissioners were, the prime, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded; sentence was pronounced against him: he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody in his books and papers were seized; he was sequestrated from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages.

A.D. 1554.

Gardner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure, only that the council had a mind to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, either to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater misdeeds and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day, Bishop of Chichester, Heath of Worchester, and Vossy of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Lincoln, of Salisbury, and Smyth of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers. The plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes; and delivering their furniture to Anthony Aucher. Many of these books were plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and other works were destroyed; the volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding; those of literature were condemned as useless; those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing fit for a Christian. The unlearned, who had not the power to oppose these barbarous violences: they were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the Earl of Warwick and his associates.

Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the Lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to object the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during some time, connived at; but at last, her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkeley, were thrown into prison; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her conduct and influence. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in Scripture for the breakers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, for the substitution of the sacred: and they desired her to persuade St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories. The Lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than renounce her religion: she only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause; and forprotestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading further violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered, she was not furnished with the necessary means; she trusted in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, of liberty of conscience were refused her: but though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with courage a war, was not unprepared, they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he could not participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: and when, at last, the importance of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poore, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant party, was papists, both by profession, and engaging, the papists. Those they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partisans by fire and sword: they had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other more important concerns of the state. Papists were regarded as the object of such furious quarrels and animosities, and they threw the whole kingdom into combustion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in these days, Bucer, Faustus, and others, found a temporary shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John Alscas, a Polish nobleman, being a great friend to the beginnings of the Reformation, sought protection, and settled, during some time, at Emden in East Friesland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he resolved to seek safety, and to engage, with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine, but the exercise of other religions, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendent and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in many respects, without distinction.

These differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics, who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all claim of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Praver suffered in England a new renewal, and some rates and ceremonies, which had given offense, were omitted. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate further divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith, and is also taken to extort from, not only that not heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the same danger. The ordinances of the church are now revised, and corrected. The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have been uppermost in their thoughts: they even found leisure to attend...
to the public interest; and, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Estrangers, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III., had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges by which they were exempt from all duties paid by others. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the merchants of the Stil-yard, engaged, even down to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, their navigation of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought, proper by the council to seek pretexts for annihilating the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprised to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubec, Hamburg, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effect was, that some of the English merchants, under pretense of innocence, to the English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to raise their industry, or engage them to increase trade. But it was also then resolved, that when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom.  

About the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, King of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities with ease, bound at such a price of bullion to no other prince; that if he sent oxen, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that if he sent other merchandise, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger.  

The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, set the mint at work: good specie was coined; and much of the base metal formerly coined was recalled: a circumstance which tended extremely to the confidence of the nation.  

But all these schemes for promoting Indian trade were likely to prove abortive, by the following apprehensions of domestic convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwick. The dread of domestic convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwick, and the jealousy of English merchants, with the station which he had attained, carried further his pretensions, and had gained partisans who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last Earl of Northumberland, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of Duke of Northumberland. His friend, Sir John Somers, Lord Somers, was created, and the earldom of Warwick, in like manner, was created.  

The ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or his partisans, as steps only to further acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, and even lessoned in the public opinion, by his speechless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to run the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between two of the most powerful families had perished, no civil union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more cert.

HCaptacy the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: he sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland; at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passing word which his private suppliants uttered; and the schemes which they themselves had first suggested: and Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.  

In one night, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Harrowden, and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested and committed to custody. Next day the Duchess of Somerset, with her favourites, Crane and her wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North, to attack the garrison of Newcastle on a muster-day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: but, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once had a project for uniting Northumberland, Somerset, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given by them to Lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned. Unfortunately no regular counsel had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.  

Somerset was brought to his trial before the Marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom the former, having been drawn as judges in the trial of the man that appeared to be their capital enemy, Somerset was accused of high treason, on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony, in laying a design to murder his private councillors.  

We have a very imperfect account of all state trials during that age, which is a sensible defect in our history: but it appears that some more regularity was observed in the management of this prosecution than had usually been employed in like cases. The witnesses were taken, examined at least examined by the privy-council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner, circumstances required by the strict principles of equity for the discovery of their disposition to the jury. The proof seems to have been lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: the intention alone of assaulting the privy-councillors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: and when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs which he had heartened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which the witnesses were examined, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: but their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony.  

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to propose the young king against his uncle; and lest he should retract, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from refreshing his mind with his companions and amusements. At last the prisoner's execution was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, as he met in the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in...
to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relic; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, worshiped him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptional, seems in general to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were weakness, not wickedness, not bribery, not robbery. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness, he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those calumnies and violations of his name, which at one time he was addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partidge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed; great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was convicted in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the Garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office, on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shown to Somerset.

The House of Peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the Commons, not choosing that a money-bill should begin in the upper House, amended it in the same purpose. By this act the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers intrusted to any body of men, was a proper object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers.

There was another occasion on which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays. But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church; the general humour of the time rather than for any good end, to allow and even to palliate their property: many clergy, about this time, were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or tailors, and some kept ale-houses.

The bishop of Durham made a very useful discovery to reduce the poor, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Toynel, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of the age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for the great learning which he had acquired, and also for his fertility of invention, his wit, and learning, and humanity, and beneficence. He had oppo-ed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had concurred in the solemn act of submission. The bishop's character was so respectable, that the house of commons, by a majority of 370, passed the bill to make the bishop an accessory to felony, and to that effect, that for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should incur a praemunire; for the third, should be attained for treason. But if any should unavoidably utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the Lady Mary, were professedly of different religious; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime so severely punished by the statute, and the jealousy of the Commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treasons sent to them by the Lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

But the Commons assured him to this House which was of more importance than that which is not, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason, unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The Lords for some time scrupled to pass this clause, though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that House trusted for protection to their present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of principle.

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not have been practiced, or even imagined, in an age when there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freetholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience to inform the capital and great courts of the proceedings in the articles of attachmement, that the king continued in these words: "and yet, nevertheless our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them, shall, or on behalf, recommend, within their jurisdiction, men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire; that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsels. Some letters went from the king recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; Sir William Druyty and Sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of congé d’élire from the king, the recommendations from the privy council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole, of the kingdom."

It is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only person that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transcribed.

The parliament answered Northumberland's first march, land's expectations. As Tontslad had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the scotomet of lay commissioners appointed to the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The realities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given to that little umbrage as to be taken notice of by any historian. For involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debts, embossing the coin, and giving occasion for irreversible relations, the debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chancy lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretense of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use; yet such had been the capacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds; and great dilapidations were at the same time made of the royal demesnes. The young prince, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have recovered them; however, great, that is, to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant.

That nobleman represented to the prince, changed, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate. He read to the king, not doubting by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: that they were the king's sisters by the real marriage; that the bishoprics were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heir and successors: that the Queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a prey to her design of acquiring by marriage a predominant interest in that kingdom. It was the opinion of the parliament, that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the Queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the Reformations, and the establishment of the usurpation, idolatry, and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conso- lentable to public opinion, and not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: that when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the Marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the Duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioness was the Lady Jane Grey, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasons made impres- sion on the prince; and above all, his attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigoted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he wore a tender affection to the Lady Elizabeth of Pembroke, liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the Duke of Suffolk by a second venter having died this season of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the Marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new Duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the Lady Jane, the mar- riage to his fourth son, the Lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by further alliances, he negociated a marriage between the Lady Catherine Gray, second daughter of Suffolk, and Lord Herbert, son of Bess of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntington. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity, and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear witnessing in their own persons such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

Edward had been seized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health: and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there overheated himself in exercise: he was the king's sick, seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: several violent hemorrhages: it was thought wise, that as the season advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his blood and vigour insensibly decay. The general apprehension to the young prince, joined to the industrious game the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Ed- ward had every moment declined in health, from the time that Lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The languishing state of the young Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity; he preserved the most anxious concern for his

health and welfare: and by all these arts he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council, where, after some minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the forms of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it. The more the judges doubted, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act passed in the beginning of this reign, a device was devised to any of the heirs, the issue of abetters, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended, would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges, that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said, the judges were more traitors than he. Sir Henry gave him the like answer, as that of Lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced in great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority.8

The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last, Montague conveyed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown, that patent should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the Bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to give the great seal affixed to it, this prelate requested two of the judges should immediately sign it. Cranmer at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of Sir James Hales, who was one of the judges, gave the proper prejudice, on particular occasion, to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent: the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. 8

CHAP. XXXVI.

MARY.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen.—Deserted by the people.—The queen proclaimed and acknowledged.—Northumberland executed.—Catholic religion proscribed.—Proposals to Henry VIII.—The queen's marriage.—Queen's marriage with Philip.—Wyatt's insurrection.—Noy's revolution.—The last days of Lady Jane Grey.—A parliament.—Philip's arrival in England.

The title of the Princess Mary, after the decease of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections started by the Lady Jane's partisans were weakened by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extracted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public had long been familiarized to these sentiments: during all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor; and, in the eyes of the nation, the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred universally entertained against the Dudleys,4 who, men foresaw, would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with the party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession, had dispelled Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty, by which that project had been conducted: that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had been sacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprises. The general reverence also paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miseries of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing to return from the horrid edge, to incur the danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princes into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them, in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on precaution that his inftant state of health required the assistance of their coun-

on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, expressing apprehensions for their religion; but when she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily pressed her to deliver, and take possession of the county against her: she immediately made haste to retire; and she arrived, by quick journeys, first at Kemingham in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where, with purpose and effect, she sent letters, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession.

She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England; commanding them to assist and defend the crown and person of her sister, and to despatch a message to the council, by which she notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a secret to her, promised them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her Queen.

Northumberland found that further dissimulation was fruitless; he went to Non-house, accompanied by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the Lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she found herself placed in a situation, who, who wished to remain true to her father, was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, accomplished parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater facility to acquire every part of mankind and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and experienced the advantages of a sumptuous establishment of amusements, usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the Lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gayety. Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the counsellors immediately withdrew the thought of ever intruding noriwise agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present; pleaded the preferable title of the two princes; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprise so dangerous, not to say so criminal; and, desiring her husband to remain in the same station in which he was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the Kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were ordered to attend her to that fortress; and by this means became, in reality, prisoners in the hands of Northumberland; whose will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to prevent the Keg of England from reaching London, and these were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: the people heard the proclamation with silence and concern; some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a victualer's apprentice, was severely punished for this offense. The Protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless; and Ridley, Bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, was removed to the bishopric of London, and kept in the Tower only.

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance

6 Haylin, p. 154.
12 Ashworth's Works, p. 279.
his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with his exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. The people everywhere, on the queen's approach, to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the Lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horses which that prince, who had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper,

The queen gave orders for taking into custody the Duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the Earl of Arundel that arrested him, and abjectly begg'd his life. At the same time were committed the Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew, his brother, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confided the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Gray, and Lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recanted his liberty; and he owned this indulgence, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the king and had not been admitted on his jury. 'The love of his country,' he said, 'had made him acquiesce, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profession of the Catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family, Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the Lady Jane, and Lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth yeare, pleaded sufficiently in their favour. Whereupon, as he ascended the tower, the Duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtenay, son of the Marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tostal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. They were all of them restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in parliament, was represented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no formal matter had been charged against him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his ancestors, without giving any offence, had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtenay soon after received the title of Earl of Devonshire; and though edged in such close confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years of his life. He also besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the na-

tion, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament.

The joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir, and from the removal of the usurper, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and proceedings of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princess, being brought up with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence, she believed, all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprang. The discouragements which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her, during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her further in her principles. Naturality of a sort and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of forming an opinion on the difference of opinion to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution, of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was feared, lest the example of her father might be repeated.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tostal, Day, Heath, Catholic religion and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, restored either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the same, by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and proceedings during his father's reign. The public opinion, which had been dissoluted by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tostal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to foresee that none but the Catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Judge Bate, Archdeacon of York, Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, Redley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whether old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and preachers encouraged by her absence, and driven by her severity, that she would not pardon, continued to publish, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten; because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion; one in particular was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion, and though the queen still promised in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

The merits of Cramer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had taken in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the Reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending that princess, she had made him the victim of her resentment.

The private, therefore, had reason to ex-
pect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet real that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to be desired to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifest in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the queen was a far from the beginning, and her father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: that this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and design; and that the order to which he was called was far from the example of Cranmer's name and authority: and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to scripture and the inspired word, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies.7

The publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the Lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of this particular, was yet pronounced against him, and he must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow, and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Peter Martyr, seeing a persecution gathering against the queen, desired leave to withdraw; and while some zealous catholics mov'd for his commutation, Cardin 

bono pleased that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey; but as bigoted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill.8 The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign confessors, were also exposed to public contempt, and cast into the flames at Cambridge.9 John à Lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants forsook the kingdom, and the nation lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the Reformation.

26th Oct. During this revolution of the court, no parlament protection was expected by protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. A zealous reformer pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of the queen was required to pass the necessaries of government, there is no part of the proceedings of the last parliament which is not confirmed by the queen's personal authority. If every thing in the queen's right was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the Commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, a committee of twenty, little opposition was expected from that quarter.

In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two Houses, a mass of the Holy Sacrament in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament.10 Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the House. The queen, however, had decreed to all the clergy of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intension of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revis'd.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of death before the birth of Edward IV.11

The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer,12 whom she greatly blamed. This act is a breach of the office made by her, however, is made of the Pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of King Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote.13

The attainder of the Duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaration of that attainder invalid, without further authority. Many charges of the riot act, passed in the late reign, were revived: a step which, though in a great measure, the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament.

Notwithstanding the compliance of the two Houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband, in particular, was the most important; for though they were determined not to submit tamely, in that respect, to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages,14 concerning which it was supposed that Mary had determined after the accession. The first to her was Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections,15 and hints were dropped him of his favourite dispositions towards him.16 But that nobleman neglected these overtures, and seemed rather to attach himself to the Lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he found more to his taste than the caprice of her sister. This choice occasioned a great coldness in Mary towards Devonshire; and made her break out in a declared animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quartet between the queen and her sisters, the grand heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion, offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in disguising her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance.17 But when the queen found that Elizabeth had received no arts, and had given no hopes, touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger.

Cardinal Pole, who had taken the queen's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole, for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity, on the death of Paul III.;18 the queen's affection for the Countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had long been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed, on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unequalled for the legislature of a court, and the hurry of business.19 The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: but as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his administration of her government.

She secretly entered into a negotiation with Comendone, an agent of Cardinal
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that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged, at the same time with further changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection; that the marriage, being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged; and that it was even necessary, previous to the undertaking, to engage the people to the venture, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would seem to insure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient privileges.

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of conversion; that the undertaking was to be done with an eye to the interest of the nation, and the present advantages offered to the English nation. He also prevailed on her to go in person to Dillingham, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negotiation for the marriage, nevertheless, was not made; nor was anything but the marriage of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation.

The Commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed at this, and they thereupon refused to contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to demonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent further applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament. A conversation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points of controversy which had occasioned them to espouse the cause of the emperor; but the queen resolutely refused it, and on the 6th of December, 1553, she gave her consent that the marriage should take place.

On the 15th of February, 1553, the duke of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to balance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a husband, and an emperor, and without a successor. The Duke of Guise, who defended Metz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobles of France, exerted such vigour, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it impossible to persevere any longer. He retired, with the remains of his army, into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune which, in his declining years, had so fatally overtaken him.

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and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commis-
sioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefices. It is to be observed, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII. which were still in force.

This violent and sudden change of re-
ligion inspired the protestants with great
discontent; and even affected indiffere-
tent spectators with concern, by the hardships to which many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and inde-
pendence of the nation; for, after the arti-
cles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur, of England. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her 
pittance; that the male issue of this marriage should in-
herit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that of Don Carlos, Philip's son by his 
former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit 
Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

Such was the treaty of marriage signed by Count Egmont and the three other ambassadors sent 
over to England by the emperor.

These articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to 
the nation: it was universally said, that the emperor, in 
order to confirm his possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no serious intention of ob-
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Queen's mar-
riage with 
Philip.

engaged the Duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering 
the crown for the Lady Jane, to attempt raising the mid-
land counties. Carew's impertinence or apprehensions en-
gaged him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before 
the day appointed: he was soon superseded in the 
post of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this 
intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the 
town, with his brothers, Lord Thomas and Lord Leonard 
Gray; and endeavoured to raise the切 members of the 
warwick and Leicesteb, where his interest lay; but he 
was so closely pursued by the Earl of Huntington, at the 
head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to disperse his fol-

In this desperate hour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur, of England. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her pittance; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that of Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip. Such was the treaty of marriage signed by Count Egmont and the three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor.

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ture, and that its institutions, as far as they were published, 
and it was at last seized, and the last by Sir Maurice Berkeley. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion:

Four hundred were more conducted before the queen with 
rungs about their necks; andfty were branded and 
were executed as traitors, on the scaffold, before the whole 
people, fully to acquit them of having any share in the rebellion.

The Lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated 
with great harshness by her sister; and many studied 
instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the Countess of Lenox and the Duchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate; her friends were banished, if they could not discontinue a correspondence with her; which were now become eminent, drew her to the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation; the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the process to retire into the country. Mary seized the 
opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her sister to some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the
public declaration made by Wat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence which might have offered; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. This was done, and her husband, who had been offered her with the Duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Woodstock. The Earl of Devonshire, her equal in rank, was confined in Fotheringhay castle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to the Lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband: the Duke of Suffolk, who had promised to her father the union of a marriage between Dame Mary, and a misfortune to the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every particle of the constitutional and misfortunes, and, united to his wishes, the constable, which he had ordered, was to have immediately suspended, some regard to her eternal welfare. The Lady Jane had been of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all means, but to procure her release, and to pay due honour to her sister in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance.

On the day of the execution, her husband, Lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their Situation would make it a fortune for both to be separated; of which much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them; their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon regain each other in a scene where their afflictions would be for ever united, and where danger, persecution, and misfortunes could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity.

It had been intended to execute the Lady Jane and Lord Guilford together on the same scaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should have the preference of both. On the scaffold the Lady Jane Gray.

She saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity the event of his own elevation within the verge of the scaffold, where he was released for some time from the executioner; and was not deterred from the moment, in which she appeared to be the most ready to adopt the utility, and not to disturb their eternal felicity. The executioner, her husband, Lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their situation would make it a fortune for both to be separated; of which much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them; their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon regain each other in a scene where their afflictions would be for ever united, and where danger, persecution, and misfortunes could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity.

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The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the arrears of their demands, which had been for so long a time the staple of their agitation; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law, in which they declared that the sovereign should become a Lutheran, that the crown should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and unimpaired a degree as by law or usage heretofore she might claim or have laid to the Prince of Spain, either as tenant, by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means. 4

A law passed in this parliament for re-electing the bishop of Gloucester, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward. 5 The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put tốtental in possession of that see; but though it was usual, at that time, for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for revising the law of the Six Articles, together with all other legislation, which was going on. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not serve all her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them.

May. Mary's thoughts were now entirely engrossed by Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. This princess, who had lived so many years in a very reserved and private manner, without any prospect or hope of a husband, was so smitten with love at the first sight of him, that she could not rest till she was married to him. She had that occasion as a pretext to go to her own chamber; and when she found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event, to which she directed her fondest wishes, she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. A squadron, under the command of Lord Effingham, had been fitted out, to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then resided; but the admiral informing her that the discontents ran very high among the seamen, and that it was not safe for Philip to trust himself in their hands, she gave orders to disband them. She then dreaded lest the French fleet, being masters of the sea, might intercept her husband; and every rumour of danger, every blast of wind, threw her into panics and convulsions. She lived, indeed, in a state of continual terror, and her hopes and fears, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension, lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip. 6

At last came the moment so impatiently awaited, and expected; and news was brought the queen Philip's arrival of Philip's arrival at Southampton. 7 A few days after, they were married in Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the jealousy entertained by the queen against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrench himself in form and ceremony, that the greatest authority was vested in him. The circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her linband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondest wishes. Though they were married to secure her own entertainment; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and the only means he employed for procuring and securing his affections, was to render him master of England. The interest and liberty of her people were considerations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining the sway of the realm. The queen, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members. 8 The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured him a House of Commons, which were entirely at his command, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members. 8

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them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing.

Notwithstanding the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates, and they were not backward to make those concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances from the Pope, as well as the queen, that the plunders which they had made on the ecclesiastics should never be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the Pope, into an act, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures.

The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose; and the legate, in his humble name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared that notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its return. For, as to the ecclesiastics, the remaining ecclesiastics were for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these aristocrats, powerful, and buoyed princes, while the transaction was yet recent, could not pretend to the church properties so lately ravaged from her; and no expediency were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised, and which had reappeared to the people, ignorance, hatred, and superstition, to produce their effect on mankind.

The parliament, having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the supremacy, than those to whom they had observed the due, sanctuaries laws against heretics, which had been restored in the former parliament: they also enacted several statutes against sedition words and romours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen. Each parliament lurthero had been induced to go a step further than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to nation's interest. He had hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the Commons in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: the usual anarchy and jealousy of the English against that kingdom, s. emed to have given place, for the present, to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the presuppositions entangled against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction: Lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmund Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicious or resentment of the court. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation, than his protecting the Lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip of sentiment of which he was wholly destitute: but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the Queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

The Earl of Devonshire also received some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty; but that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel, and he soon after died at Padua. As to some, as is mentioned, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last Earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Her pretenders compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped in his mother's belly at the salutation of the Virgin. Despatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: orders were issued to give the queen the necessary assurance of the family of the young prince was already settled; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, Bishop of London, made public prayers, he said, that Heaven would please to render him beneficial to the young prince, before the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved to be a girl; and the blessing of the MCCII, and superstitious, to produce their effect on mankind.

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[This text is a continuation of the previous passage, discussing the events and measures taken by the English parliament during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, focusing on the relationship with Philip II of Spain and the attempts to suppress the Catholic party.]

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[A.D. 1554.—CHAP. XXXVI.

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...and the Pope, according to his convenience or power, they either allowed it or records from this declaration. But every ear gave obedience to the right of the Pope on all church lands, and the ecclesiastics of the Pope, so that none, indeed, of property at subsequent times was more limited on the ecclesiastics than the ecclesiastics of the Pope.

m 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, p. 66. 2

n. H. 1, c. 5. 9


o Memor. fol. 292, 172. Godwin, p. 477. 1

p. M. 1, c. 57. Godwin, p. 476. 1


s. Dup. c. 50. Godwin, p. 476.

t. Hone, vol. ii, p. 97. 8 8

u. H. 8, c. 50. Godwin, p. 499.

v. Mem. fol. 292. Godwin, p. 477. 1

w. M. 1, c. 57. Godwin, p. 499.


y. Dup. c. 50. Godwin, p. 476.

z. Hone, vol. ii, p. 97. 8 8

* Vol. v, p. 499

that it exercised even the power of the Pope to alienate any church lands; and the Pope, according to his convenience or power, they either allowed it or records from this declaration. But every ear gave obedience to the right of the Pope on all church lands, and the ecclesiastics of the Pope, so that none, indeed, of property at subsequent times was more limited on the ecclesiastics than the ecclesiastics of the Pope.

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z. Hone, vol. ii, p. 97. 8 8

* Vol. v, p. 499
Chap. XXXVII.—A. D. 1555.

MARY.

Chap. XXXVII.

Reasons for and against toleration—Persecutions.—A parliament—the queen's extortions; the emperor indignant; his crown: Execution of Casimire, the son of Charles of Hungary.—Battle of St. Quintin.—Calais four years.—French—Alburns of Scotland—Marriage of the dauphin and the Queen of Scots.—A parliament.—Death of the queen.

A. D. 1555.

The success which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points to which, it was believed, they bore an extreme aversion, had so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or control. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than as a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to check the freebold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously concerned for the safety of the church, and never thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shown that he had not been pushed to extremities under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established. This was the well-known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference.* This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the means of dissolving the inclination of the people, it came the subject of discourse throughout the nation. We shall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each side supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been urged for and against it, and find that what ever has been, and ever will be, so much canvassed.

Reasons for and against toleration—Dealers of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religions; and the theological animosity so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof that they have never respected any serious persuasion with regard to these remote and sublimine subjects. Even those who are the most impatients of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and whoever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the natural result of so disagreable a state of the understanding. They then easily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as more or less capable of infamy, and can also find colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrolled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely, never extenuate was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion in questions, which of all others are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted preconception of one opinion by religious subjects can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, so stubbornly sought after, but by banishing for ever from every country the least sparks of science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate, that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will some time pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed in time that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous viole where any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any differences in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of persecution, the cases in which it can be admitted, and the errors to which it can be applied, are so few, and the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpose intended; and serves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their professed enemies. The melancholy with which the fear of defeat, torture, and persecution, inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal; the prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments; the glory of martyrdom stimulates all the most furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent adherence of their doctrines: and the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are easily seduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost superhuman. Open the door to toleration, men can and will relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the armoury of disputation, and the same man who, in other circumstances, would have been a crier and certain to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily, at one blow, be extirpated without leaving the seeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

Though these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtilty of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant imperty, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in the intellectual distinctions of church and state, that it is not only impossible to distinguish between the sectaries of Heaven from the mere figments of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they
may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison, under a pretense of food, to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children, at least, ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, would be educated in the orthodox tenets of their religion.

It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspreakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil society; and if matters be thoroughly examined, every appeal to this topic will appear so universal, so certain in favour of toleration as by some it is represented. Where sects arise, whose fundamental principle on all sides is to execute, and abhor, and damn, and exterminate each other; what choice has the magistrate left, but to take part, and by rendering one sect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the public tranquility? The political body, being here sickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of sound health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a covert preference, may serve only to encourage the hopes of all the sects, and keep alive their animosity. The protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and degrading heresy, and for the same minutes, which they were entirely masters, they enacted very severe, though not capital, punishments against all exercise of the catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained from it. To these laws and examining officers are instances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions; Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and anabaptists to the stake; and if persecution of any kind be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effective. Imprisonments, fines, confiscations, whippings, severe, only to irritate the sects, without disabling them from resistance: but the most inhuman, the most cruel, and the gibbet, must soon terminate in the extermination or banishment of all the heretics inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.

The arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed, the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law not to execute violence against the protestants, and desired her to consider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life to exterminate hersy, had, in the end, repented nothing but confusion and disappointment, the schism was then there reigned, as it was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.

The persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or reformation, would naturally have influence on the multitude; but he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all sects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, besides his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his sincerity after his condemnation, that the pokers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep when the hour of his execution was come. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.\(^a\)

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror to all his subjects. Persuaded, perhaps, that a sentence of condemnation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony, by his death, to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it: but, before he could rest his head upon it, the king, to merit by a recantation what he had done before, did not hold thus easily: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked: one of his hands dropped off; with the other he continued to beat his breast: he was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, swoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.\(^b\)

Sanders was burned at Coventry: a pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! I welcome everlasting life!" Taylor, parson of Hadleigh, was punished by fire and sword, that he might致敬 his religious exertions and perseverance. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English: one of his guards struck him in the mouth, and bade him speak Latin: another, in a rage, gave him a strong blow only upon the head, which happily put an end to his torments.

There was one Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, inflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arab, he spitted in his adversary's face to show the great detestation which he had entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmanly expression of zeal: he said, that he was led to it in order to reform the infidels, and remove the concurrence of that horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any christian.\(^c\) Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to be almost a general rule, that in all religions, except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom who would not also inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. To such zeal for speculative opinions, is the cause of both.

The crime, for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was their refusal to acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament: this was the first of the accusations which these examples would strike into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devoted the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of prophetic manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers.\(^d\) He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to renounce his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.\(^e\)

It is needless to be particular in enumerating the cruelties practised in England; for during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative of the greater terror in our flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony, by his death, to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it: but, before he could rest his head upon it, the king, to merit by a recantation what he had done before, did not hold thus easily: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked: one of his hands dropped off; with the other he continued to beat his breast: he was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, swoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.\(^f\)

\(^{a}\) Burnet, vol ii. p. 47. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave the order: those who say "he himself was not present, but that with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Hamburgh, Beuntrugio, part i. lib. iii. 3.


\(^{d}\) Heylin, p. 40, 49. Gardiner, p. 22. He seems to have been very long on the scaffold with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Hamburgh. Beuntrugio, part i. lib. iii. 3.

\(^{e}\) Fox, vol. iii. p. 106.

\(^{f}\) Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.
diocese; and his appeal to Cardinal Pole was not atten-
tended to. Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly Bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy, which was the mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall not be extinguished." The executioner, who had been so merciful, (for that clemency may more natu-
really be ascribed to them than to the religious zealots,) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures: the explosion made the flames leap up in the face of the executioner, who was in his old age; Ridley continued alive during some time in the midst of the flames.

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had un-
wisely desired the real presence. Suspected of his danger, he immediately absconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was con-
demned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

The execution of him and his friends, though it was an example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

We tender sex. itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of it against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution, in particular, was remarkable; an oxidume, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of their un-
usual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture, that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it; but a magistrate, who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he said, that the child should share the disgrace which sprung from so obsti-
nate and heretical a parent.

The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing contrary to the establishment of the church, or such persons as were suspected of heresies, or other crimes; but letters and articles being offered to them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames.

These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; constancy of mind was the object of admira-
tion; and as men have a principle of equity engravèd in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pius dispositions, ex-
posed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subservive of civil society.

To exterminate the whole protestant party, was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to tortures, which were the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engravèd in their minds, which even false religion was not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pius dispositions, ex-
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posed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subservive of civil society.
burn them, without reading them, or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels: and, without any further delay, be executed by martial law. From the state of the English government during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against the Wight, though committed on during a course of three years: that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violations and bar: arises. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-five persons were brought to the scaffold; besides those who were punished by imprisonments, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergy, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbands, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet it is much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author* computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, burned alive, or burnt, an account of religion: and that in France the number had also been considerable. In both countries, in both ancient and modern times, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded, by these persecutions.The burning of heretics was a very natural method of recovering the public credit, and maintaining the Hierarchy, and little solicitation was requisite to engage the Pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such considerable profit: yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created Viscount Montacute, the Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church! Paul V. had now brought to the stage those of the most haughty pontiffs that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles that of Queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: but to avoid all disputes with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was a usual artifice of the Popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent,* and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Pope Paul thought that by his submission, the English would be induced to come to the see before he would bestow it upon her, he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner. Another point in discussion between the Pope and the English ambassadors was not so easily terminated. Paul insisted, that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the utmost power: that whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in consideration of the humble submissions of the English, make them a present of these ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that so great a patronage of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blast all their future felicity: that if they would truly show their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges of the Romish church, and Petrus had risen against the price among the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detainted from him his patrimony on earth. These causes of contention were, he believed, removed to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown: and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were deserted, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England. These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place so easily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: the great seal was given to Heathie, Archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastical might still be possessed of that high office, and be better able to wield authority, to forward the persecutions against the reformed.

These persecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament, summoned to meet at Westminster. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tents and first fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the House of Commons. An application being made for a subsidy, during two years, and far two fifths, the latter was refused by the Commons; and many represented that the same authority, which computed the value of its revenue, was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return, under certain penalties, and another for expunging from the public records the names of persons from being justices of the peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the Commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

The spirit of opposition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as she was otherwise in very bad humour, on account of her husband's favours, who, tired of her importunities, had grown jealous, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over, last summer, to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the disappointment in her imagined progamy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects; by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had neglected his attentions to her, and afforded her so little of his love. This extraordinary increase of her resentment was the occasion of her being of the session of her council, and the queen was represented as having a son: Philip, who, for love and affection, and thesının of Mary, my God, that I have even spoken of the matter to thee. The queen, considerably distressed, was so far from being jealous of her, that she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had neglected his attentions to her, and afforded her so little of his love. This extraordinary increase of her resentment was the occasion of her being of the session of her council, and the queen was represented as having a son: Philip, who, for love and affection, and the
engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exporting of any English cloth or kerseys to the Netherlands; an expedition which procured a good market for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give ends of sections of the woof, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities under which she laboured, occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals, he employed his leisure either in examining the controversies of theology, which he had so much agitated, and to which he had hitherto considered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is said to have been so much pleased with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked, how impracticable the art was in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur; and how impossible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion.

He survived his retreat two years.

The Emperor Charles had, very early in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his eldest son to be elected King of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his schemes, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted that he must dismember such extensive states as he had acquired; and he showed himself entirely indifferent about her interests.

Philip was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive empire in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the Emperor Charles V., who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for the most austere and laborious sorts of life. The emperor, he was eldest in the imperial succession, in the case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the Pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was, in every thing, conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince; that he was above all potenates of the earth; that he would not accept monarchical or temporal crowns, to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to elect kings and emperors; and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far as to say, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under those feet: so saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: for he was now past fourscore years of age.

The world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles V., a prince who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the decline of age, and had descended from the throne, in order to set apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a priest who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion; he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far as to say, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under those feet: so saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: for he was now past fourscore years of age.

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between the two crowns seemed almost inevitable. Philip, though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted to the intrigues of the cabinet, where he believed his caution and secrecy and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For that purpose, as from the desire of settling his own empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that without sacrificing his honour it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with such industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that measure, he thought the declared fondness, which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore to him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her husband, which was every day becoming more odious, seemed unable to maintain itself even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with Spain. For her, as was the case in the same kind of thing, the government extremely unpopular. Crammer had long been retained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satisfy her ministers, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the Pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not apprizing the Pope of his removal, broached and burnt. Hence, Bishop of London, and Thurlby of Ely, were sent to degrate him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Crammer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the injury of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, and to secure the government, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he were driven to them, by a recommendation of the advantages and long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the false love of life, terrified by the craft, and craft of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence, without any condition or reserve, which determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people.

A.D. 1556.

Carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary example, and, what seemed, the desire well approved of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the law; but this duty extended no further than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, the expatriations they proposed upon him: that is, a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his country, to the Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind; that there was one discourse in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insinuate declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: and that, as his hand had erred, by bringing his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its own crime, amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He gave himself up to his fate, and by the meekness of his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, This hand has offended. Satisfied, to reduce that stone, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of his sufferings, of his own guilt, and the strokes from his execution, which, by the meekness of his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, This hand has offended. Satisfied, to reduce that stone, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of his own guilt, and the strokes from his execution, which, by the meekness of his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, This hand has offended.
300,000 pounds. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still more prove unequal to the expenses of war. But though the queen and others pressed for the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and in order to support her war-like preparations, she continued to levy money in the same manner, and only in the manner that had been practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many pernicious seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not vitally by reason of the dearth of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbances in the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed; they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

The King of Spain had assembled an army which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Don Alberich, Duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The Duke of Savoy, after being bloodily repulsed, suddenly sat down before St. Quentin; as the place was weak and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But Admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quentin, with some troops of French and Scottish gendarmes; and by his exhortations and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He could not obtain such favourably conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The Duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprise, which France, during her greatest successes, had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked that as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnann bridge, the English were not late accustomed, by the weakness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumns, and to recall them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais: he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers, and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quentin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the Duke of Guise.

Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships being ordered into the coast, were armed under colour of quietly providing the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnann bridge.

The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the ravelin, which guarded the entrance of the harbour, by means of which the castles seemed entirely to become secure. The governor, Lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was enclosed in the castle of Newnann bridge and the ravelin, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which, without their assistance, he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnann bridge was so happy as to effect the purpose; but that of the ravelin could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The Duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprise, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach, and having ordered Amleot, Coligny's brother, to draw the fosse, he continued two months a violent assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guernes fell soon after; and thus the Duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guise, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quentin, had an impregnable fortress; and as it was, their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place which no former King of France, even during the distractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had most important possessions belonging to the crown. On the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the imprudence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war,
for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. A treasury exhausted by expenses, and burdened with debts, and people divided and debased; a sovereign negligent of her people’s welfare; were circumstances which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promises of Philip, gave them small hopes of receiving a change. And as the Scots, instigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conquests.

Thus, to pursue the peace which, in consequence of Scotland, King Edward’s treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen-dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the Earl of Huntley, Sutherland, Marshall, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was to take measures for engaging the Earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the Duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and by his authority the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Camery of Kinnard, Panler, Bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor’s, she persuaded them, by their means, to consent to this resolution; and when every thing was prepared for her purpose, she took a young man to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: a written answer, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of insuring a durable peace between them. For his part, the queen-dowager, he never could think of marrying a princess of a family so full of aristocracy, and great offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess, had had recourse to arms and violence, and had constrained the Scottish nobility to send their sovereign into the kingdom; and in order to induce this kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence.

When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfill his engagements; and after many delays and disputes she, at last, persuaded him to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it meet to submit to her bargain and having stipulated that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the title of Regent. It was a usual saying of this princess, that provided she could render her friends happy, and could insure to herself a good reputation, she was entirely indifferent what befell her; and though this sentiment is generally purposely held in contempt, when it is extended to the whole and exclusively and wholly on secular motives, it discovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D’Ozel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambassador from France, but in reality served her with his counsels in so delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the invasions of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles. But though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the people, and some circular letters, after ingenuously

8 Keith, p. 59. A 1654 April, 1504.
9 Knt., p. 69.

confessing, that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects. This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet she was sometimes drawn from that, by the same mischievous advice which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she sought to involve the convention of an act between himself and which she had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she sought to involve the convention of an act between herself and King Edward in de jure in de facto, which the sovereign was bound to ratify; and had her deputies sent to the Scottish parliament to assent at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

The close alliance between France and Scotland threatened to become more closely connected with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young prince and the daughter of Mary; a deposition was sent to the Scottish parliament to assent at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. And such an emergency usually gives great advantage in undertakings to the people, and as the parliament during this reign had shown, that where the liberty and independence of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were prone to entirely overawe the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should at least be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. The Commons were for the second time dissatisfied with the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, and also the subsidy of the laity, in four years, by equal portions.

The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or could be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in Mary’s present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to bestow an extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the House of Commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power therein, might alter the succession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir; but his words were thought irrelevant to her majesty: he was committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms; and though he had been allowed to offer his defence, he was not released till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

The English nation, during that whole reign, were under a sensible change, with regard only to the
succession, but the life of the Lady Elizabeth. The violent
hurt she by the queen bore to her broke out on every
occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as
well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects
of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing
that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her time
wholly in reading and study, undisturbed in no busi-
ness, and saw very little company. While she remained
in this situation, which for the present was melancholy,
but which, under the circumstances, was the best which
her life was afterwards so much distinguished, proposals
of marriage were made to her by the Swedish
ambassador, in his master's name. As her first question
was, whether he was informed of these proposals? the
ambassador told her, that his master thought, as he was
a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his
addresses to herself; and having obtained her consent, he
would next, as a king, apply to her sister. But the
princess would allow him to proceed no further; and the
queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired
to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals.
Elizabeth, though exposed to many present dangers and
mortalities, had the magnanimity to reserve herself for
better fortune; and she covered her refusal with profes-
sions of a passionate attachment to a single life, which, she
said, she infinitely preferred before any other.3 The
princess showed like prudence in concealing her senti-
ments of religion, in complying with the present modes of
worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that
delicate subject.

The marriage granted by parliament, enabled the queen
to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which being
joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand
land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the
cost of France. ALady Jane, to whom the command was
entrusted by the States General; Count de Clion; the
lands forces by the Earls of Huntington and
Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so
dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and
were speedily in readiness for it. They had not the
preparations so well guarded, as to render an attempt on that
place impracticable; but finding at Conquest, they plundered
and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were
proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Hermon, a
Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell
upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their
ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of
ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging the
loss they had sustained by Marloa and Thermes; Marshal de
Clion, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into
Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and hav-
ing forced a passage over the river An, had taken Dunkirk
and other towns; and now prepared to attack the
port, but Count Elingmont coming suddenly upon him with
superior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being over-
taken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a
battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the
engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the pre-
cautions possible; and posted his right along the river An,
which he reasonably thought gave him full security from
that quarter. But the English ships, which were accident-
ally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing,
sailed up the river, and thanking the French, did such ex-
cursion by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and
they made a complete victory.

Meanwhile the principal army of France, under the
Duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the Duke of
Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy,
and as the two kings had come into their respective camps
attended by the flower of their nobility, it was expec-
ted that some great and important event would follow
from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip,
though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enter-
prising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, not
withstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two
great victories which he had gained at St. Quentin and
Gravelues, to put a period to the war by treaty. Nego-
ciations were entered into for that purpose; and as the
terms proposed by the two monarchs were somewhat wide
of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters till
the princes could come to better agreement. Among other
conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre
to its lawful owners, Philip, that of Calais, and its territory
to England; but in the midst of these negotiations, news
arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer con-
ected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that
capital event. This was the only circumstance that could
have made the death of that princess be regretted by the
nation.

Mary had long been in a declining state of health; and
having mistaken her dropy for a pregnancy, she had made
use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily aug-
mented. Every reflection now tormented her. The con-
sciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of
Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to
which the catholic religion stood exposed, detection for
the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs,
and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband,
who she knew intended soon to depart for Spain, and to
settle there during the remainder of his life: all these
melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her
into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five
years, four months, and eleven days.

It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing
the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities
either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little
engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinate,
bigotry, violence, rapacity, malignity, were the banes of every
circumstance of her character took a tincture from her
had temper and narrow understanding. And amidst
that complication of vices which entered into her composi-
tion, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity, a
quality which she seems to have maintained through her
whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the
necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promis-
es to the protestants, which she certainly never intended
to perform. But in these cases a weak bigotted woman,
under the government of priests, easily finds casuistry suf-
ficient to justify to herself the violation of a promise. She
appears also, as well as her father, to have been susceptible
of friendships and enmities, too capricious and inconstant which were so remarkable in the
conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in
many circumstances of her life she gave indications of re-
solution and vigour of mind. A quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.

Cardinal Pole had long been sickly, from an intermit-
ting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about
sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this pre-
late, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made
him be universally beloved; insomuch, that in a nation
where the most furious persecution was carried on, and
where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire
justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his
merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV., had entertained
some prejudices against him; and when England declared
war against Henry, he availed this as the opportuni-
ty of revenge; and revoking Pole's legatine com-
mission, appointed in his room Cardinal Peyp, an
Observantine friar, and confessor to the queen. But Mary
would never permit the new legate to act upon the com-
mision; and Pole was afterwards obliged to restore
Cardinal Pole to his authority.

There occur a few general remarks, besides what have
already been made in the course of our narration, with
regard to the general state of the kingdom during the

And what the word did make it
I have done, and take, as the

Which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more

valid than at first sight appears; at least, it serv'd her harm, at that
time, which by a direct answer she could not have done.
Baker's Cursillo, p. 700.

Hollingshead, p. 118.
reign. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualing it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a year would leave a profit to bear all necessary charges.\(^5\) No arbitrary proceedings of the queen above mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this process, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and though all other successes in Europe, they were either not permitted, or did not find it necessary, to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the still-undefined colonies; yet it was not till immediately after her marriage, complied with the solicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, suspended those laws.\(^6\) Nobody in that age pretended to question this exercise of power, and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

An absurd law had been made in the preceding reign, that the man of one making could not alter his will, unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen; and this plain reason given, that it had occasioned the decay of manufactures, and had found the trade and several towns.

It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and still more strange that it should still subsist.

The passage to the exchange had been discovered by the English during the last reign; and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embassy was sent by the Czar to Queen Mary. The ambassadors were shipped over on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and solemnity.\(^7\) This seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A law was passed in this reign,\(^8\) by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, saddle, and other weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen; with furniture and weapons proper for them: he was obliged to have forty corslets furnished; fifty alman revets, or, in summer, coats of plate or bucklers; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty shafts of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black hussards, and twenty morons or sallets.

\(^5\) Burnet, vol. i. p. 259.
\(^7\) i. 3 Mar. Petil. cap. 1.

**Chapter XXXVIII.**

**ELIZABETH.**

Queen's prosperity.—Establishment of the protestant religion.—A parliament.—Peace with France.—Intrigue between the queen and New. Queen of bees.—Affairs of Scotland.—Restoration in Scotland.—In her first reign, the queen's government was singularly successful. Her friendship with France procured her much support in the affairs of Scotland;

She was a firm and steady friend to the cause of the party in England. The queen's friends were generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction. The queen's government was singularly successful. Her friendship with France procured her much support in the affairs of Scotland; her firmness and fidelity were the cause of her much respect.

In a nation so divided as the English, it could be the object of universal satisfaction. The queen's government was singularly successful. Her friendship with France procured her much support in the affairs of Scotland; her firmness and fidelity were the cause of her much respect.

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joy, that the sceptre had passed into the land of Eliza-
Queen's popu- beth. That princess had discovered great
prudence in her conduct, during the reign of her sister; and as men were notable of the unmita-
danger to which she was every moment exposed, com-
passion towards her situation, and concern for her safety,
rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favourite of the
people of England, for a few days before Mary's death; and when he came, Archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely
an interval of regret appeared; and the two Houses imme-
 diately resounded, with the piercing note of joy, with
which they expressed the gladness and glory which, during its whole course, so uniformly at-
tended it.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days, she went thence to London, through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On
her entrance into the Tower, she could not forbear reflect-
ing on the happy situation in which she found herself, and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay
there exposed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She
must not forget the gratitude she seemed to have
for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her
from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no
less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the
lion's den. A frequent visit to the Tower, and the prospect which she enjoyed of the
present grandeur seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered
any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and
magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in ob-
livion, and received with affability even those who had
acted against her. Her present state and situation, led Sir
Harry Bemmell himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never
did, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of
resentment. Yet was not that gratitude reason which she
gave to the messenger and undistinguishing. When
the bishops came in a body to make their obsequies to her,
She expressed to all of them sentiments of regard;
except to Donner, from whom she turned aside, as from a
man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror
to every heart susceptible of humanity.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic
affairs, Elizabeth was now ready to attend a public service;
its nature and import were that Her Royal Highness,
the wife of Henry VIII., must be called, in the name of
the king, to the queen's court, and to attend the coronation
of the Duke of Ferrara, his ambassador at London, to make
proposals of marriage to the queen; and she offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. But
Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal. She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aven-
ue to the Spanish alliance, during her sister's reign; and
that one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed, was the friendship which had so happily com-
<snip>
on protestants all preterest in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to secure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the Reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should espouse. During the struggle she resolved to proceed by gradual and sure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigotry of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasure of one Ramsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her, in behalf of other prisoners, called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: she readily replied, that it was her pleasure to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them.

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert, in favour of the remnants of some acts of power, which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that they were supported by armed and armed men, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence, and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of the new sect, she took care that those should see to the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws, so far as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels, to be read in English, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the hoste to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

These declarations of her intentions, concouring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresees, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty that the Bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, she concealed her person by the eagle, on one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment, placed it next her bosom, and declared to the assembled clergy in which the clergy had that day given her of their attachment, that present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted, to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: and while a young princess of the first rate, (for that was her age at her accession,) who possessed all the graces and insinuation, not only all the beauty, of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority was confirmed by the real bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A sovereign of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have availed themselves of their great stronghold of superiority, and the Houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them. They began the session with a unanimous declaration, that the queen was so much moved with her regard to the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the calm, the undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII.

This act of recognition was probably dictated by her zeal herself and her ministers; and she showed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage; or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy; she knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on his conduct as well as the hers. She might have thought it sensible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and cuprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly which had been dissolved for a cause which would involve variable, servile, and inquietious decisions. Satisfied, therefore, in the general opinion entreated with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undisguised, the less a difficulty to her anxiety, she found no occasion to acquire; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as insured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish the succession.

The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tithes and first-fruits to the queen. This point being brought without much debate, by bills then introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denounced as heresy, not lead, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, as the crown for the suppression of heresy. She had the power acquired; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as insured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish the succession.

Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted, to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: and while a young princess of the first rate, (for that was her age at her accession,) who possessed all the graces and insinuation, not only all the beauty, of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority was confirmed by the real bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

Camden, p. 371.
[It is not clear where the 15th of August is mentioned in this context.]
Ibid. vol. i. p. 54. Stowe, p. 535.
[Note: Indicating a ms error, the word "in" is missing in the last line here.]
[Note: It's not clear what "an education as a pensioner of the late Henry VIII" means in the context.]

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [Chap. XXXVIII. A.D. 1558.}
once gave the crown alone all the power which had
formerly been claimed by the Popes, but which even these
urging prelates had never been able fully to exercise, was
now recognized by the nation as the situation.

Whoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the
queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any
office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to
deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the
first time, all his goods and lands, and for the second,
was subjected to the penalty of a preunium; but the
third offence was declared treason. These punishments,
however severe, were less rigorous than those which were
formerly inflicted against kings of this reign of her father and brother.

in liked cases.

A law was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted
in King Edward's time with regard to religion: the
nomination of bishops was given to the crown without
any election of the chapters: the queen was empowered,
on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities,
and to bestow on the bishop elect an equivalent in the
impropriations belonging to the crown. This
determined privilege was common in much inferior
value, thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed
the example of the preceding reformers, in committing
depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

The bishops were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than
twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to
be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an
example of the real and principal objects of church
are not the revenues, but the duties.

This method of pillaging the church was not remedied
 till the beginning of James I. The present depression of
the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the
latter never stopped till they had reduced the church to such
poverty, that her plunders was no longer a compensation for
the odium incurred by it.

A solemn public disputation was held during this
session, in presence of Lord Keeper Bacon, between the
divines of the protestant and those of the catholic
commun. The champions appointed to defend the religion
of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely
triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced
refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprison-
t. Imboldened by this victory, the protagonists
were therefore the last and most important step, and brought
into parliament a bill for abolishing the mass, and re-
establishing the charge of the fifteenth of a pound
on all estates, as well as against those who departed from this
mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves
from the church and the sacraments. And thus in one
session, the denomination, tumult, or clamour, was
the whole system of religion altered, on the very com-
 mencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman,
whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to
great objections; an event which, though it may appear
surprising to men in the present age, was every where ex-
pected, on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

The Commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more
difficult to obtain than that of any of articles of faith: they
voted a subsidy, during her pleasure, on the land, the pound
and shilling and eight pence on moveables, together
with two fifteenths.* The House, in no instance, departed
from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards
her Majesty; for though she had been accustomed to
order them, on her conclusion of the session, to fix her
choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very
disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was
ouched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with
a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, that as
this application was made in the House of Commons in
the terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending
to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take
offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new
instance of their affectionate attachment to her: that any
further interposition on their part would be considered as
an encumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere
in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom
was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely
dedicated to the interests of religion, and the
happiness of her subjects: that as England was her
husband, wedded to her by this pledge, (and here she showed
her finger with the same gold ring upon it with which
she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at
her inauguration,) so all Englishmen were her
children; and while she was employed in
rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem
herself burdened, or her life useless and unprofitable: that
if she ever entertained any thoughts of choosing her
subjects, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost
in her thoughts; but she would live and die a virgin, she
doubted not but Divine Providence, seconded by her
laws, and measures, would effectually prevent her
from all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them
a sovereign, who, perhaps, better than her own issue,
would imitate her example, in loving and cherishing her
people; and that, for her part, she desired that no higher
character, or fairer remembrance of her, should be trans-
mitted to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved
on her tombstone, when she should pay the last debt to
nature: * Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a
marden queen.4

After the prorogation of the parliament,8
the laws enacted with regard to religion were
put in execution, and met with little opposition from any
quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar
version, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the
clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to four-
teen by a sickly season which preceded; and all these,
except the Bishop of Landaff, having refused compliance,
were degraded from their sees: but of the inferior clergy
throughout all England, where there are near 10,000 pa-
rishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries,
were deprived of their incomes: the church, to
their and the temporal losses, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles.8

Those in high ecclesiastical stations, being exposed to the
eyes of the public, seem chiefly to have placed a point
of honour in their independence; whereas, in the lower
estates, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear
to have been much more rigid and conscientious. Though
the catholic religion, adapting itself to the senses, and
enjoying observances which enter into the common train
of life, does at present lay faster hold on the mind than the
reformed, which, being chiefly spiritual, resembles
more a system of metaphysics; yet was the proportion of
real, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after
the Reformation, much greater on the side of the protest-
ants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and supinely,
in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices;
but the reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion,
and inflamed to a tenaciousness, long as they did not
be persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their
tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and

* Edw. cap. 2. 4 Strype, vol. i. p. 79.
4 ibid, p. 94.
4 u Ead. cap. 3.
4 This parliament also granted a sum of £12,000 for the
deities of tonnage and poundage: but this concession was at that time regarded only as a matter
of convenience, and without any intention to confirm the
principle. But there was another exertion of power which she practised, and which must be a
source of grief to every good subject. In the
published laws, and in the publicacts, many
acts, may be apt to think a little extraordinary.
Her sister, after the conclusion of the war with Spain,
imposed four marques on each ton of wine imported,
and increased the poundage on all moveables.
In Elizabeth continued these
impositions as long as she thought proper ever. The parliament, who had
as paid an opposition of resentment in this, when they had
voted the tonnage and poundage, thought proper to make any mention
of them. They knew that the sovereign, during that age, pretended to have the
laws and regulations of foreign trade, and that their interfering
with that prerogative would have been on their part a
hostility, not dissimulable. See Echols, vol. i. p. 137, 138. We know certainly
from the statutes and from royal proclamations, that no
were granted by
4 II is in thought remarkable by Calamy. But though this session was the
last of the reign, no provision was made on the subject of
being
in blood by the parliament: a good summary of the facts, at least
of the truth of the provision, of the executions, is to be found in
Parr, remar dable, a proof of the ignorance of previous rulers.4
small variations.
even their lives, in support of their speculative and abstract principles.

The forms and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended further to reconcile the Catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were adherent to the Roman communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would still have been more agreeable between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the Catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed, to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cases, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifested danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

Peace with France While the queen and parliament were considering the terms of settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were still conducted, first at Cerca- 


camp, then at Chatea-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though anxious to have reason not equally to sacrifice one side in the transactions. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnity England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and now, when the change of religion in England deprived him of all such hopes, his ministers hastened to offer a proposal, which may be regarded as reasonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were settled, he deemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction; provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years; but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected that proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration; the divisions by which her people were divided, and that nothing could restore tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. She, therefore, communicated the true solution, to Henry put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergency, of recovering it by treaty; she was willing rather to suffer that loss, than submit to such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambassadors, Lord Effingham, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negotiation, and to settle a peace with Henry, on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin, and the eldest son of Elizabeth; and to engage for the restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess; but as the queen was sensible that this treaty would be unfavorable to the world a misled upon more equitable, at least more plausible, conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that in case of failure, he should be compelled to take a perpetual resolution, of no more with longer. Henry acquiesced in the terms which were proposed to him, and the negotiation was brought to a conclusion. The queen's title to Calais still remain; but he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should, even in the event of hostages till that security were provided; that if Elizabeth should make the pretended peace with France, the Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to

Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. All men of penetration easily saw that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen's conduct, out of the necessity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence in submitting, without further struggle, to that necessity. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the course of the war; and Philip espoused the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the brother of the youngest of Henry's children. The Duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a queen and ground of quarrel, of the most serious nature; Mary, Queen of Scots, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VII. that with Catherine of Aragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it was a mighty point in the negotiations that both were regarded as valid and legal: but still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages, to which that of her sister Mary was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained her a crown of great, if not of ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for Protestants, as well as Romanists, to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, and convention, were strongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession. The next heir of blood was the Queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The King of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negociated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the French ambassador, finding with this repulse: the Duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit, if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim, and by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the Queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of England, and it was strongly argued by the French minister, that this practice had ever prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretence was of the most specious kind, and that the rest of her sister Mary; and that therefore the King of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she sent her ambassador to the court of France, to conclude the marriage of Mary and the Duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor Francis II. still con-
tinued to assume, without reserve, the title of King of England, she began to consider him and her queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of recovering the injury, and providing for her own safety. The murder of the cardinal primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity, courage, and capacity, had rendered him a safe and formidable opponent to any incursion into his kingdom; and the execution of the laws against heresy began thereupon to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counsels; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the church to the demands of her bishops, her enemies, she deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to consort at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power entirely to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the crown of England, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ather with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors. But the progress and revolutions of religion are little governed by the usual maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the English clergy removed to France, and Holland, and Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration, and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the Presbyterian form of government. They showed their disciples the fate which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should obtain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A harrily, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, was enabled to grant a toleration to sectaries, and the more it soiled the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages which the legal establishments bestow upon it. But where superstition has obtained, it must ever continue in the same height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a necessary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of innovators, besides religious zeal, have so many other motives, derived both from public and private interests, to engage them on the side of innovation. But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes when severities tend to pass into despicableness, and make the breach more and more manifest through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever considers merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to pronounce it fatal, while the additional and ever enlarges his view, and reflects on the situations, will remark the necessary progress of human affairs, and the operation of those principles which are inherent in human nature.

Reformation in Scotland.

Some heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the Earl of Argyile, his son Lord Lorne, the Earls of Morton and Glencairne, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or association; and called themselves the Congregations of the Lord, in contumclusion to the established church, which they denounced the Congregation of Satan. The terror of the bond was as follows: 2 We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the Antichrist of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, on that account, according to our whole duty, and in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the Majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace shall zealfully and diligently pummel our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour, by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, true and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people: we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, who are arrayed against the said congregation: unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions about it, and shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions. At Edinburgh, the third of December, 1557. 3

Had the subscribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretensions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praise of opposing tyrannical laws, enacted to support an establishment prejudicial to civil society; but it is plain that they carried their views much further; and their practice immediately discovered the spirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority which they thought belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue should be used in all the parish churches of the kingdom; and that all public prayers, that were scarcely practiced in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers. Some bonds of association are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invasion of the established religion was the actual commencement of it.

Before this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progress of the Reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power, which they were enabled to do, by the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton the primate seized Walter Mill, a priest of irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for heresy. Such general aversion was entertained against this barbarity, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail upon any one to act as a part of a civil judge, and pronounce sentence upon Mill; and even after the sentence had been pronounced, all the shops of St. Andrews being shut, no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate himself was obliged to furnish this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage, which, though usual on such occasions, is not always sufficient to arrest the ardour of the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace. It is in vain for men to oppose the severest punishment to the united motives of religion and public applause; and this was the last barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

Some time after, the people discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate which was awaiting them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the protestants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church; and the procession of the clergy, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace. It is in vain for men to oppose the severest punishment to the united motives of religion and public applause; and this was the last barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

Encouraged by all these appearances, the Congregation...
proceeded with alacrity in openly soliciting subscriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the accession of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to increase their hopes of final success in their undertaking. They ventured to present a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the worship, sanctioning, and detectable lives of the prelates and ecclesiastics. They framed a petition, which they induced her to sign, and, in short, after persuading that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuses of the papistical church, they desired that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the Scripture should be made use of, and their opinions examined. The regent petitioned the convocation, and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the clergy of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parochians. The regent prudently temporized between these parties; and as she aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the dauphin, she was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them.

But after this concession was obtained, she received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent spirit of her brothers, to proceed against the reformers, and to restore the royal authority by some signal act of power. She made the more eminent of the protestant teachers to be cited to appear before the council at Paris; they were called the following and other ministers in thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and counter- tend them, she entertained apprehensions of an insurrection, and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers of religion, whereas, however, she was pleased, by the execrable pronouncing rebels, on account of their not appearing: a measure which enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force. They proceeded to extort from the clergy of the established religion.

In this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had laboured, from his commence with Calvin, the highest fanatics of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the Reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the present ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his usual vehemence against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to extort their utmost zeal for its subversion. A priest was so incensed at his discourses, as to destroy in his rectory his images and relics, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience, exalted to a disposition for any furious enterprise, were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: they attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases; and left no implement of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, entire or undefended. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monasteries of the grey and black frars, which they pillaged in an instant: the Carthusians underwent the same fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices were left standing. The inhabitants of Coupar, in Fife, soon after initiated the example.

1 Knox, p. 127. 2 ibid. p. 127. 3b. 38. 42. 38. 46. 6. 7, etc. 4 These sanguinary acts afterwards moved the people to the utmost extremity, alarmed all the ministers of the regular establishment, but did not reprihend her with this breach of promise. If she had received it as the result of a similar spirit, they would probably have nothing but a remonstrance abroad to call the popes. If the people have sometimes maintained, that no law was to be kept with heretics, she probably thought she was not in the habit of speaking thus, and that no form of any kind, when applied to the regular establishment, did not cherish all the discontents of the regular establishment, do not reprihend her with this breach of promise. It
the late violences; and some companies of Scotch soldiers, supposed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town: which the officers, as an imposition, and in addition to their pay, loudly complained against by the Congregation. It is asserted, that the regent, to justify these measures, declared that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept with heretics, that, if previous to the change ofRGB colour, she would willingly receive all these men of their lives and fortunes. But it is nowise likely that such expressions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous prince. On the contrary, he had sounded to these violences disagreeable to her; that she was in this particular overruled by the authority of the French counsellors placed about her; and that she often thought, if the management of those affairs had been intrusted wholly to herself, she could easily, without force, have accommodated all differences. The Congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by these disappointments, remained long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and whilst they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had signed a new covenant, in which, besides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in destroying every thing that dishonoured his holy name; and this covenant was subscribed, among others, by Argyile, and the Prior of St. Andrew. These two leaders now deprived the Queen of Scotland, the author of this new violence, and openly joining their associates, than the complained, however doubtful, or rather false, of her breach of promise. The Congregation also, encouraged by this accession of force, gave themselves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fifes, like depredations on the churches and monasteries with those formerly committed at Perth and Cupar. The regent, with matchless agility, having sent his army, finding their power so much increased, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers besieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury; and finding nothing able to resist them, they went their march to Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France. And as the Queen employed her partisans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and she endeavoured to convince them, that the Lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed their destruction as a branch of the declaration of the title of the sovereign. By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the Congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of subsistence: and the regent, observing the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the Duke of Chatelet, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their faith, and they engaged to commit no further depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publish only the articles favourable to themselves, and they were guilty of an imposture in addition to their number, namely, that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed. An agreement, concluded while men were in this disposition, could not be durable; and both sides esteemed it necessary to strengthen themseves against the ensuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of one thousand men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the Congregation seduced in the county the Duke of Ulster, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at last determined by the arrival of his son, the Earl of Arran, from France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the Duke of Guise. More French troops soon after disembarked, under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by the Bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These last were supplied with a store of syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which they justly presumed would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery. The constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the Queen of Scots, and had foretold, that by forming such close connexions with France, they would be the instruments of the subversion of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would soon become, instead of allies attached by interest and inclination, the most inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event seemed now to have justified the prudence of that aged minister, it is not improbable, considering the violent counsels by which France was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a favourable event; and a firmer pretence for sending out armies, for entirely subduing the enemies of the reigning house, and for preparing means to invade England, and support Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the Congregation, well acquainted with these views, were not insensible of their danger, and saw that their only safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became the name masters of Edinburgh, but found it impossible to keep long possession of that city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated upon the least disaster, or even any delay of the success of the enterprise, and were incapable of resisting the attempts of the French, who were also supported by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom, the Earl of Bothwell distinguished himself. Hearing that the Marquis of Elbrouf, brother to the regent, was levyng an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excus'd for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom. This measure was inexcusable, and in the true sense furnishing a just occasion of guilt. It is impossible to form no less than of interest. MaTh of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly
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were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themselves for defence. The English army, reinforced by five thousand Scots, sat down before the place; and after two skirmishes, in the former of which the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and though resisted with considerable loss to a rash and ill-conducted assault, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties. Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion of the garrison, and the appearance of a powerful dis¬

abled by the orders of Elizabeth. Authoritative and unpremeditated, in agreeing to this request, which con¬
ccurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil, in particular, represented to the queen, that the union of the crowds of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as Protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negotiation, to prevent it; that the claim which Mary advanced to the crown, ren¬
dered the present situation of England still more danger¬
ous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution; that the capacity, ambition, and exalted views of the family of Guise, which governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known; and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: that deeming themselves secure of success, they had already, somewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the mask; and Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, sent over, by every courier, incontrovertible proofs of their hostile inten¬
tions; 1 that they only waited till Scotland should be en¬
tirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's au¬
thority: that the zealotous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, and satisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them considerable reinforce¬
ment; and would disturb every measure of defence against that formidable power: that the only expedient for prevent¬
ing these designs was to seize the moment, to take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scot¬
land; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure, founded on such evident neces¬
sity, and possible only to the end of preventing what though a French war, attended with great expense, seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the mal¬
contents in Scotland, that power, if removed to the con¬
tinent, might in a short time be turned against England, and small disturbance at present would, in the end, be found the greatest frivolity: and that the domestic dissen¬
sions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, not only founding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise.

Elizabeth's propensity to caution and economy was, though with some difficulty, overcome by these powerful motives; and she prepared herself to support, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the Congregation in Scotland: for she had prepared a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the frith of Firth: she appointed the young Duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and she assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men, under the command of Lord Gray, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France, sensible of the danger, offered her to make immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland; she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; 2 and she still kept up her preparation. Nor did she conclude a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, whereas it was to last during the marriage of the Queen of Scots with France, and a year after; and she promised never to desert till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. 3 And having thus taken all proper precautions for success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the appear¬
ance of the articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

A. 1559. Appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the 12th Jan.

foot disconcerted the French army, who


to this assembly, in which they were not contented with desiring the establishment of their doctrine; they also applied for the punishment of the catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman bartlet; and they asserted, that among all the rabble of the clergy, such is their expression, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yes, rebels and traitors to civil authority. and others of the clergy, some cold, some hot, some lukewarm, and some grossly wicked, had an union, and a compact, of their several interest, and a view of their pernicious designs. The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a confession of faith agreeable to the new doctrine, they passed a statute against the mass, and by it only abolished the church of Rome, and declared, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be excommunicated, for the first offence, with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrates; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; the presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics whom they called superintendents. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the invasion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them, all their exclamations, and desire of their ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as nobody presented himself, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint.

Sir James Sandilands, Prior of St. John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament not established by her authority, and refused her sanction to those statutes. But the protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution; they abolished the mass; they committed every one where furious devotions on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without cognisance, of the greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their passion; and factions concerning with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the impetuous character of their queen, who guarded herself but in the protection of England; and they despatched Morton, Glencarne, and Lindsay, to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and to represent to the English council their reasonable petition. Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reason for French affairs to maintain a union with the Scottish protestants; and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former dispositions, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title, and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them, refused to ratify the treaty of Edin- burgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal affront which they had put upon her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition which had arisen against the measures of the Duke of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by his four brothers, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Orleans, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis; no less ambitious than himself, had engaged all the authority of the crown; and as he was possessed of every quality which could command the esteem or seduce the affections of nations, he could, by his intrigues, and the passions and pretensions. The constable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power:

| John, p. 477, 480. |
|***ibid., p. 564.*** |
| Peter, vol. i. p. 211. | Thurgood, about this time, annulling to the princes of the blood, the King of Navarre, and his brother, the Prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour; the queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining; and as Francis, a young prince, inborn both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his consort, who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles, men despised of ever obtaining the crown, and were named by them, with contempt, Medici. It was the contests of religion which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose their unlimited authority. The theological disputes first started in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the protestants were secretly increased in every province. Henry I., in imitation of his father Francis, had opposed the progress of the reformers; and though a prince addicted to pleasure and society, he was transported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predecessor. Rigorous punishments had been inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party; and a point of honour seemed to have been declared, whether the one sect could exercise, or the other, a greater degree of barbarity. The death of Henry put some stop to the persecutions; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and lives. The Duke of Guise, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to support the established religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malcontents to secret places. The prince and his adherents sought obedience; the ambassadresses, which Elizabeth had probably some intelligence, every place was full of distribution, and matters hastened to an open rupture between the parties. But the house of Guise, though these factions had obliged them to remit their efforts to Scotland, the Scotch affairs being in their own hands; and when the Duke of Guise's success, were determined not to relinquish their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of seizing the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; they threw the former into prison; they obtained sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put the sentence in execution, when the king's sudden death saved the noble prisoner, and interrupted the prosperity of the Duke of Guise. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her son, Charles IX., now in his minority: the King of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the constable was recalled to court; and the family of Guise, though they still enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoise to their authority. Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of these events against the Queen of Scots, whom she still regarded as a dangerous rival. She saw herself free from the peril attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis; but she considered, at the same time, that the English catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princess with greater avidity; and as she saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather advanced with the advance-
tage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave
orders, therefore, to her ambassador, Throgmorton, a vig-
}lant and able minister, to renew his applications to the
Queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty
of Edinburgh. But though Mary had desisted, after her
husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of Queen
of England, she still declaimed against Elizabeth in the
most unmeasured article; and being seized with the ambitious
suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal
renewance of her pretensions.

Meanwhile, the queen-mother of France, who impeded to
the amicable negotiations which she had not with
during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by
like injuries; and the Queen of Scots, finding her abode in
France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her
ancestral dominions. She had been sent in 1555, by
petition from the States, to invite her over, seconded these
intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Orsæl, for
a safe-conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through
England; but she received for answer, that, till
she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of
Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom
she had so much injured. This denial excited her indigna-
tion; and she made no scruple of expressing her senti-
ments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications
to gratify her mistress in a demand which he represented as
so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants,
she said to him, "How weak I may prove, or how far a
woman could be divested of her rights, to transport me, if
I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my in-
fringement as your mistress had at her audience of my
ambassador, D'Orsæl. There is nothing disturbs me so much,
as all these small. I see by this, with so much more, a
sagacity, a firmness, a finesse, in which it was of no consequence for me to
obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country, without her
leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of
her brother, King Edward; neither do I want means for
both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have
brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make
an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of
any old enemies. I have been sent in
by you, that a good correspondence between her and myself
would conduce much to the security and happiness of both
our kingdoms: were she well convinced of this truth, she
would hardly have denied me so small a request. But,
perhaps, she bears a better inclination to my rebellious
subjects than to me, their sovereign, her equal in royal dign-
ity, her near relation, and the undoubted her of her
kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her
hands, but to be restored to the dominions she has
left me in affair of her state: not that I am ignorant, that there are
now in England a great many malcontents, who are not
friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to up-
haul an opinion of me, and little experienced in the world; I
freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I
am already old enough to acquit myself honestly and courte-
ously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no
reports of your mistress, which would make become a queen
and her kinswoman. I should also say, by her leave,
that I am queen as well as she, and not altogether friendless:
and, perhaps, I have as great a soul too: so that methinks
we should be upon a level in my treatment of each other.
As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom,
I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and I am
the more intent on my journey, in order to make the
quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends
to stop my journey; so that either she will not give her
satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps
on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. She
has often reproached me with my young being; and I
must say that, if she is indeed, and as it were, matters of such great concern and importance without the
advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all
friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks
thoroughly, what I have done nearly all my life to
her in affection as in blood: for that, indeed, would be
the most valuable alliance."

Such a spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging
terms interpersed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate
friendship between these rival princesses, or cure those
mutual jealousies which had already taken place. Eliza-
beth equipped a fleet, on pretense of pursuing pirates, but
probably with an intention of intercepting the Queen of
Scots in her return homewards. Mary em-

barked her in Calais; and charged the pilot, that if in
the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her,
and afford her one parting view of that country, in which
all her affections were centred. The weather proved calm,
so that the ship made little way in the night-time; and
Mary had not a scruple to tell: however, I
am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my in-
fringement as your mistress had at her audience of my
ambassador, D'Orsæl. There is nothing disturbs me so much,
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sagacity, a firmness, a finesse, in which it was of no consequence for me to
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advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all
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thoroughly, what I have done nearly all my life to
her in affection as in blood: for that, indeed, would be
the most valuable alliance."

Such a spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging
papists; and though she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside the jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission to enter a Marcher in her chapel; and was, by no means, the people appeased, that, if she had here met with a refusal, she would instantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that small indulgence. Though she once more attempted to be again erected within the realm! It was asserted in the pulpit, that one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade the kingdom. Lord Lindsey, the lieutenant-governor, exclaimed, "That the idoler should die the death," such was their expression. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worship, was arrested and insulted in the court of the palace: and if Lord James, and some popular leaders, had not interposed, the most dangerous uproar was justly apprehended from the unbounded fury of the multitude.

The usual prayers in the churches were to this purpose: that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obdurate against him and his truth; or if his holy will be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and hands of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants.

Nay, it was openly called in question, whether that prince's power, and the wealth he possessed, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters.

The helpless queen was every moment exposed to contumely, which she bore with benignity and patience. Soon after the event above detailed, it was discovered that it was there contrived, that a boy, six years of age, should be let down from the roof, and should present her with a hibere, a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Lest she should be at a loss to understand this insult on her as a papist, all the instruments expressing the honour of Corde, Thuh, and Abram, and other punishments inflicted by God upon idolatry. The town council of Edinburgh had the assurance, from their own authority, to issue a proclamation, banishing from their district "all the wicked rabble of antichrist, the Pope, such as priests, monks, friars, together with adulterers and fornicators." And because the privy council suspended the magistrates for their insolent speech, the passionate historians of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable, that the magistrates were afterwards recalled to their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed.

But all the insolence of the people was inconsiderable, in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this harmless queen. The first of these churchmen framed an address, in which, after telling her that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expressed their hopes that she would, ere this time, have preferred truth to her own pre-conceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail, in his anger, to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people. They reproached and upbraided her, and her unprotected adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded with demanding for themselves some addition both of power and property.

The point-elder in all these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrollable authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contemptuous usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though some idea of her situation, which he had a con- tectiun, to win his favour, all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promised him access to her whenever she demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blamable in any thing, to reprove her freely in private, rather than viliy her in the pulpit before the whole people: but he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry intrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and for saying, that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation.

The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition as his theological was of rage and bigotry. Though he once so far as to tell the queen, that he would submit to her, in the same manner as Paul did to Nero; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel feared none but slaves."

Knox, who was the real Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, though King Abah was present. Phineas," added he, "was no magistrate; yet feared he not to strike Cohhi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your Grace may see, that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God."

Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: the title of it is, The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regi- men of women. He was too proud ever to recant the sentiments of this book, and even to apologize for himself if the conduct showed, that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female sex. The whole life of Mary was, from the demonstration of her masses and superstitions, and the apostle scruples not, in his history, to inform us, that he once treated her with such severity, that she lost all command of temper, and dissolved in tears before him; yet, so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he furnishes us with his insolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct. The pulpit had become mere scenes of rai- ling against the vices of the court; among which were always noted, as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant. Some ornaments, which these ladies at that time wore upon their pectorits, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed, that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm.

Mary, whose acquaintance, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, was curbed in all amuse- ments, by the absurd severity of these reformers; and she found, every moment, reason to regret her leaving that country, from whose manners she had, in her early youth, derived that beauty, and that royal dignity reduced to that condition, the Duke of Aumale, and the Grand Prior, with the other French nobility, soon took leave of her: the Marquis of Elbeuf remained some time longer; but after his departure, she was left to the society of her own sub- jects; men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversa- tion, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted beyond their usual rusticity, by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to restore the ancient religion, her popery was a sufficient crime: though her behaviour was atheistical irreproachable, and her manners tender and engaging, she was regarded as signs of absolute vanity. And to the harsh and post- pesterable usage, which this princess met with, may, in part, be ascribed those errors of her subsequent conduct, which seemed so little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

There happened to the Marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her situation, which though he had not the means of conveying to her, Bothwell, and some other young courtiers, had been en- gaged, after a debauch, to pay a visit to a woman, called

1 Knox, p. 267.
3 Knox, p. 179.
4 Ibid. p. 179.
5 Ibid. p. 260. 6 Ibid. p. 260. 7 Ibid. p. 260.
8 Ibid. p. 275. 9 Ibid. p. 275.
Alison Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and because they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thrust up their heads, and deliberately committed some disorders in the street for the damask. It happened, that the assembly of the church was sitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with several of the nobility, they presented an address to the king, praying that these acts, which were produced with the most awful preamble: "To the Queen's Majesty, and to her secret and great council, her Grace's faithful and obedient subjects, the professors of Christ Jesus's holy evangel, with humble petition," etc. The sense of this petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her Grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God against every city or country where horrible crimes were committed, compelled them, with just and reasonable sense, to act in this case; that if severe punishment of such as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realm; that the iniquity of which they complained was so heinous and so horrible, that they should esteem themselves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or servile compliance, to pass it over in silence, or bury it in oblivion; that as they owed her Grace obedience in the administration of justice, so were they equally entitled to require of her, in return, the sharp and condign punishment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom; and that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aside all private affection, and let the action of the actors in so base a crime, and enormously a villainy, and without delay bring them to a trial, and inflict the severest penalties upon them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory address, and lastly accepted the of her thought, that breaking through the windows of a brothel meant not such severe reprehension, she only replied, that her uncle was a stranger, and that he was attended by a young company; but that she was determined in order to him, and all others, that her edicts, and subjects should henceforth have no reason to complain. Her passing over this incident so slightly, was the source of great discontent, and was regarded as a proof of the most unpardonable malice. It is not to be omitted, that Alison Craig, the cause of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the Earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the Reformation, was, without scruple, indulged in that faculty.

Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her absence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the king, of considerable magnitude of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy sacraments, he there said, are abused by profane papists; the mass has been said; and in withholding the same, the priests have not only nullified the law, but even the conjuring of their accursed water, that had ever been practised in the time of the greatest blindness. These violent measures for opposing justice were little short of rebellion; and Knox was summoned before the council to answer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his insolence. He scrupled not to tell the queen, that the pestilent papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manseer from the beginning. The matter ended with a full acquittal of Knox. Randolph, the Edinburgh chancellor, had reason to write to Cecil, speaking of the Scottish nation: "I think marvellously the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, most unconstable, and cumbersome people, no more power nor subjection, than the very subregions of the world."

We have related these incidents at greater length than the necessity of our subject may seem to require; but even trivial circumstances, which show the manners of the age, are often more instructive, as well as entertaining, than the great transactions of years and nations; even, which are nearly similar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

The reformed clergy in Scotland, had, at that time, a very natural reason for their ill humour; namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any provision for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their possessions. The secular clergy of the catholic communion, though they lost all ecclesiastical fiefs, still kept in possession of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themselves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The greater part of the society was thus subverted chiefly by the voluntary obligations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious sentiments, this establishment was regarded as very saucy and very wrongful proceeding. It had this tendency to the subversion of the established order, and to demand the establishment of a new order; and though almost everything in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. The fanatical spirit, which they indulged, and their industry in decreeing the principles and practices of the Romish communion, which placed such merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very sensible obstacle to their acquisition. The conversion, however, passed a vote, by which they divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty-one shares: they assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors; of the remaining seven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found insufficient to public expenses, they imposed the overplus on the religious and ministers. The queen was empowered to levy all the seven; and it was ordained that she should afterwards pay the clergy what should be judged to suffice for their maintenance; though the king was still lord of the greater part of the courtyards, and the small affliction which Mary bore to the protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that the crown could not take their names or their goods, and that rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were necessitated to betake themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, monastic manners, and the semblance of order, and though the liberality of subsequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected, in some degree, those bad habits; it must be confessed, that while many other advantages attend presbyterian government, these inconveniences are not easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical polity.

The Queen of Scots, destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth, who, in the name of God, and her service, had acquired such authority over all these ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lindsay was sent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation, (for the difference between these securities was not then deemed very considerable,) be declared successor to the crown. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture.

The queen, therefore, was informed of her intention not to wait for the succession, but to come, without ceremony or reservation, illumined by the title of Queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her crown; and all through her whole life, on all those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most important consolations which her husband could persuade her, had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than to ratify that equitable treaty: that her partisans every where had still the assurance to insist on her...
title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate; that while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly recognized as a serious pretension, was the subject of all who were ready to acknowledge her pretensions it would be in her be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor; that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good-will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was less intimate, and when such an enterprise might indeed be a cause of disgust and jealousy, or had already been given, and which was still continued, on the part of Mary: that she through that she was willing from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her; that it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think that services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the successor; and that she should esteem herself scarcely a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare herself a successor in the present divisions in religion; that she was ignorant that the same party which exceeded her to impeach her by these accusations in the general good of the state, might imagine that the title of that princess was superior to her own; that for her part whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die the Queen of England; and that she did not, on this account, that she would be thought on that account, better entitled to succeed in his addresses. Eric, King of Sweden, and Adolph, Duke of Holstein, were encouraged, by the same views, to become suitors to the Earl of Pembroke, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, had private hopes of success. The Earl of Arundel, a person declining in years, but descended from an ancient and noble family, as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also Sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late Duke of Northumberland, Lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favorite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was he her great favour ascribed to some violeat affection, which could thus seduce the judgment of the penetrating minds of her enemies; and he might even have thought that he would obtain the preference above so many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she should leave it to the persons who had the most interest in her affairs, if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions. It is also probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though she was determined in her own mind never to share her power with any man, she was not displeased with the courtship, solicitation, and professions of love, which the desire of acquiring so valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is most singular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor as a matter of law, which had been much debated by her predecessors; she furnished them with no evidence of any pretensions on her part to the crown of Scotland, and other places: engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers; and the whole of the sea; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the Restorer of Naval Glory, and the Queen of the Northern Seas. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished them with no evidence of any pretensions on her part to the crown of Scotland, and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers; and the whole of the sea; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the Restorer of Naval Glory, and the Queen of the Northern Seas. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

Wine gens only of her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the numerous spirit of her own subjects; and instead of going Scotland, for the present, any inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people.

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husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his misdeeds, and made him no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's consent, was entirely suitable to both parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severe measures on this occasion shewed the necessity of a prompt conference into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their purity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but by bridling their keepers, they found means to have further intercourse; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their cohabitation. This was more unexpected than the irregular marriage, the queen, of fifteen thousand pounds be set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. This extreme severity must be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealousy of the queen, who was afraid lest a pretender to the succession should acquire credit by having issue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, those natural pleasures of love and posterity, of which her own ambition and desire of dominion made her renounced, as a suit of herself for perfection.

There happened, about this time, some other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and desisted from the Duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Fortescue, who had married a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the Duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary, Queen of England, and Arthur Pole, Duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never meant or expected these projects, during the queen's life-time; they had only deemed such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretendors to judicial astrology had assured them, they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were accordingly demed by the jury, but received a pardon from the queen's clemency.9

CHAP. XXXIX.

State of Europe—Civil wars of France—Mary Stuart considered that fiancée.—Pope and Isaac—Mary sent to France—Mary and Francis meet at York—Hague Conference—Mary's death.

A.D. 1562.

After the commencement of the religious struggles in France, which rendered that fiancée, of every European nation, a matter of doubt, and danger, to the existence of the church of Rome, a question of grave importance between the sovereigns of those countries, which were so near to each other in interest, and faith into partisans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he seduced, every where, the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their own sovereigns, as well as to the church of Rome. The course of events, guiding and concourting with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the Protestant cause. But her easiness in negotiation, and the meekness with which she encountered the attacks of her adversaries, had been more suited to those of the ancient octogenarians, than to the subtle intrigues of the fanatic and impatient Protestants, throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity


maxims which governed his counsels, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into confusion. After Philip had concluded peace at Chateau-Cambresis, and had remained some time to the Netherlands, in order to settle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and at the time of his departure all his subjects were vested with his clemency, and obedience to his project, had appeared more agreeable to him than the, more likely and practicable plans of the French government. This being the case, for the future, M. d'Arcy, the intendant of the French crown, was apprised of all his extensive dominions by Spanish ministers and Spanish counsels. Having met with a violent tempest on his voyage, he no sooner arrived in harbour than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he laid before his subjects, the state of the church, as well as of his own kingdom.

Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by self-interest, seems also to have been himself actuated by an impassioned bigotry; and, as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could easily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the colour of wisdom, and find, in this system, no less advantage to his foreign than to his domestic policy. By placing himself at the head of the Catholic party, he contributed to the growth of the ancient prejudices, and the applause of the emperors, the emperors of the world, and of the inveterate enemies of the reformers. The course of events, guiding and concourting with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the Protestant cause. But her easiness in negotiation, and the meekness with which she encountered the attacks of her adversaries, had been more suited to those of the ancient octogenarians, than to the subtle intrigues of the fanatic and impatient Protestants, throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity
in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negotiations with those who were every where struggling under oppression, and goring the unimportant mountain. This noble and virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause; and fortune, in this instance, concurred with policy and nature.

The two monarchs of the continent, France and Spain; being possessed of nearly equal force, were naturally divided against each other; yet the situation, was entitled to support its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by withholding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England; yet so much were these great maxims of policy overlooked, during that age, by the disputes of theology, that Philip's wishes and good-will towards the established government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

The Queen regent of France, when reinvested with the authority by the death of her son Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious; and, balancing the Catholics with the hugonots, the Duke of Guise with the Prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But the equal counterpoise of power, which, among foreign nations, is the source of tranquillity, proves always the footing of domestic tranquillity; and if the annuity of religion be engrossed with those occasions which present themselves of mutual injury, it is impossible, during any time, to preserve a firm concord in so delicate an situation. The constable, Montmorency, moved by zeal for the regent's interests, joined in the attack on the Duke of Guise: the King of Navarre, from his inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party; and Catharine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé, and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection. An edict had been published, granting a toleration to the protestants; but the interested views of the Duke of Guise, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their amusements and internal injuries. Condé, Cognon, and Andelot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency possessed the king's person, and constrained the queen regent to embrace their party: fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and their mutual insulutions and injuries. Condé, Cognon, and Andelot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency possessed the king's person, and constrained the queen regent to embrace their party: fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: such provinces, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and their mutual insulutions and injuries. 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carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the sword. The Earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late Duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre, with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their success at Rouen, would immediately have formed the siege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defense, but the intelligent and good dispositions of the English diverted their attention to another enterprise. Andelot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable body of protestants in Germany; and having arrived at the seat of the huguenots' power, he enabled the Prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris during some time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themselves by the further assistance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth. The catholics, commanded by the constable, and under him by the Duke of Guise, followed on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obstinacy on both sides: and the action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Mary, on the appearance of the common arms of the remnant of both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and set on fire to the miserable enterprises of his companions, in the remains of the army; and inspiring his own unconquerable courage and constancy into every heart, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

A.D. 1563.

The queen's exchequer; and, in order to obtain supply, she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament: an expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox: and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty which, in case of her death, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the Queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw that it might be possible to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. The Commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey; or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, and as at least approved, by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person to whom the crown should descend. It was, therefore, entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of the usual tranquillity, as well as of the support of that kingdom.

This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and she was sensible that great difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration of the title of the Queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal, because that princess was

commonly allowed to possess the right of blood; and the exclusion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would lose all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new settlement, and requested the Scottish line to ascend the succession, that she dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her secret enemies, by this declaration. She was sensible that every heir was, in some degree, a rival; much more one who was suspected of the kingdom secretly present, for being the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, these dangerous pretensions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her commission to the Duke, not to mention the force and situation of Scotland, was well known to her; and she saw no security that this princess, if fortified by a sure prospect of succession, would not revive claims which she could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquish. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous protestants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration, in its favour would be of such a security as to give satisfaction to the people. The republican part of the constitution had not yet acquired such an ascendancy as to control, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was still doubted, and hereditary right was the usual rule by which a parliament could confer; who could be assured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the people had not yet been accustomed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever shown itself disposed rather to change its faith than the order of succession. Even many protestants declared themselves in favour of Mary's claim; and if the debates on this subject would occasion more general disgust, than to see the queen, openly and without reserve, take part against it.

The Scottish princes also, finding herself injured in so sensible a point by the acquiescence of the nation, was not disposed to give up her enemies; and uniting together her foreign and domestic friends, the partisans of her present title and of her eventual succession, would soon bring matters to extremities against the present establishment. The queen, weighing all these inconveniences, which were great and rising, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining still an ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose that the people should run the hazard of contingent events, than that she herself should immediately endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at best, would not bestow entire security on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the applications of the Commons; and when she could not address at present her whole mouth of their speaker, further satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the first instance of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; and she added, that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that she would be contented for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this wise, and never should depart life with satisfaction till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

The most remarkable law passed this session, was that which bore the title of Annuity of the Queen's royal power and dignity, in case of marriage [238]. By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the Pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy as soon after the queen, or, in case of the queen's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of the usual tranquillity, as well as of the support of that kingdom.

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n Forbes, p. 370. Davila, lib. iii.


bill; and asserted, in favour of the catholics, that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people. It is however probable that some suspicions of their secret conspiracies had made the queen and parliament increase their rigour against them; though it is also more than probable that their party was mistaken in the remedy. There was likewise another point, in which the parliament, this session, showed more the goodness of their intention, than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which might be prejudicial to the tranquility of the kingdom. This law was actually successful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous Garrison of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in making any operations against the conspirators of this party. The queen, in taking possession of that place, had published a manifesto, in which she pretended that her concern for the interests of the French king had engaged her in that measure, and that her sole intention was to oppose her enemies of the house of Guise, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the destruction of his best and most faithful subjects. It was chiefly her desire that military operations against the constant and powerful enemy of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her soldiers in garrison; and restrain them from committing further hostilities upon the enemy. The Duke of Guise, meanwhile, was aiming, with mortal blow, at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. He had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking; when he was assas-
sinated. 5 

This was at the beginning of June. He was insti-
gated (as is pretended, though without any certain founda-
ton) by the admiral and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprise. The death of the admiral, and his son having been committed to the Tower, and though the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, still sup-
sported the interests of the family, the danger of their pro-
gress appeared not so imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French protestors. The union, therefore, between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began therefrom to be less intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling the peace; and as they were both of them insufficient to relieve themselves from captivity, they soon came to an agreement with regard to the con-
ditions of the queen-regent, whose enmity were always violent, but who endeavoured, by subtlety and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plausible terms; and, in spite of the protest-
ations they caused no trouble in the progress of the measures in favour of the country, the articles of agreement were finally settled between the parties. A Toleration, under some restrictions, was anew granted to the protestors; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and after money was ad-
vanced for the payment of annuities due to the German troops, they were dismissed the kingdom.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the Prince of Condé it had been stipulated, 6 that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the queen and the ambassadors of the French protestors. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her re-
linquishing Havre, her charges, and the money which she had advanced towards their expedition should be restored. Havre, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possessors of Havre a much better pledge for defection than her purpose, among Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the new united power of the French monarchy.

The Earl of Warwick, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred ponders, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the Prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprise; the admiral and Andelot alone, were employed to prevent everything against the queen; Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

From the force, and dispositions, and situations of both sides, it was expected that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a much easier acquisition of this important place, than was at first apprehended. The plague crept in among the English soldiers; and being augmented by the bad and dirty, (for they were both ill supplied with provisi-
sions,) it made such ravages that sometimes a hundred men a-day died of it, and there remained not at least fifteen hundred in a camp, to which the French were not equal, and which with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks success-
fully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. 8 Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, 9 was unsuccess-

ful. He found himself obliged to capitulate, and to consent himself with the liberty of his person by his guards, and his 
son. The garrison was surrendered, and the crown of 
France, as was no sooner signed, than Lord Clifton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and found the place inadequately supplied. In the event, the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. About twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year. 9

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain honour, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. 10 It was agreed that the hostages, which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be delivered for 220,000 crowns; and that both sides should retain all 
their claims and pretensions. The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a conduit was acted that the Scotch affairs had been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These 

The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a conduit was acted that the Scotch affairs had been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had...
adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Halas, who had published against her, by sending her, as Mary's Letter Keeper, Bacon, was thought to have encouraged Halas in this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and to retract his words. A remonstrance had agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York, in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of the proper means of settling the succession for England: but of Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate subject, she employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, she said, would detain her in London; and she declared not till the next year that she would attend her Majesty. It is also very probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty and address and accomplishments of Mary, she did not choose to stand the comparison with regard to those exterior qualities, in which she was eclipsed by her rival, and was unwilling that a princess, who had already made great progress in the esteem and affections of the English, should have a further opportunity of increasing the number of her partisans.

Mary's close connexions with the house of Gaule, and her constant wish to re-establish, to which she had been early educated and constantly protected, was the ground of just and insurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and who, in the conduct of Elizabeth, had agreed in her masquerading schemes, and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's son; to the King of Sweden, the King of Navarre, the Archduke Charles, the Duke of Ferriero, the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken her orders, from which he might easily be freed by a dispensation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who could strengthen their interests, or give inquietude and disturbance to the house of Elizabeth. On her part, she was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their schemes, and was particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to the renewal of the former treaty of marriage. She always told the Queen of Scots, that no one would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and she offered one of her sons to have her title extinguished, and to declare her successor to the crown. After keeping the matter in these general terms during a twelvemonth, she at last named Lord Robert Dudley, now created Earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall.

The Earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; a handsome person, a polite address, and insinuating behaviour; and by means of these accomplishments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defect of her rather odious vices, which attended this character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honour, without generosity, without humanity; and stoned not for these bad qualities, by such abilities or connections as could fit him for that high and confidential station, with which she always honoured him. Her constant and declared attachment to him had naturally imbioned him to aspire to her bed; and in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, her husband, the heeress of one Rob-Derbec. The proposal of espousing Mary was also as agreeable to him; and he was aspersed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him lose the friendship of Mary from the interest and influence she possessed as the Lady of the household, and jealousy of his attachments to another woman. The queen herself had not any serious intention of effecting this marriage; but as she was desirous that the Queen of Scots should have a husband, as she always wished, and who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she boded, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The Earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be trusted; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait she had thrown out to her rival, and was only now some time interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the Queen of Scots despatched Sir James Melvil to London, who had given us, in his Memoirs, a particular account of his negotiation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of address and conversation, with whom she had been familiarly acquainted, to whom she had been often educated, and who, by the manners with which he possessed the youngest and most frivolous of her sex, he talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, and the modes of their pursuance, and of the styles which possess the most beauty of beauty. She often had been in the French, sometimes in the Italian; and with him, he asked her which of them she liked best. She answered the Italian; a reply that he knew would be agreeable to her, because that was the woman's mode of garb, sometimes in the French, sometimes in the Italian; and she asked him, which of them became her best? He answered the Italian; a reply that he knew would be very advantageous her flowing locks, which he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, she fancied to be the finest in the world. She desired to know of him what was reputed the best colour of hair; so he asked her which of them he thought the finest hair: she even inquired which of them he esteemed the fairest person; a very delicate question, and which he prudently eluded, by saying, that her majesty was the fairest person of any English, and of any part of England. She next demanded which of them was tallest; he replied, his queen: then is she too tall, said Elizabeth; for I myself am of a just stature. Having learned from him, that his mistress sometimes receded herself by playing on the harpsichord, an instrument on which she herself excelled, she gave orders to Lord Hunsdon, that he should lead the ambassador, as it was customary, into an apartment where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as ravished with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, she pretended to be displeased with his intrusion; but still took care to ask him, whether he thought Mary or her the best performer on that instrument? From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, assure his mistress, that she had no reason ever to expect any cordial friendship from the Queen Elizabeth, and that all her professions of amity were full of falsehood and dissimulation.

After tw~ years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary's subjects and counsellors, and probably herself, began to think it full time that some marriage was concluded; and Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lenox, was the person in whom most men's opinions and wishes centred. He was Mary's cousin-ereman, by the Lady

Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII, and daughter of the Earl of Angus, by Margaret, Queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the Earl of Lenox had constantly resided, since he had been born by the surviving partner of Dalarny and, as Dalarny was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely person, tall, and delicately shaped, it was hoped that he might soon render himself agreeable to the crown in order to preserve the franchise of the Hamiltons of the same family with herself; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart: he was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and the great interest presented to exclude him by his father, or to make him a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It seemed no incon siderable advantage, that she could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Englishman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the proposal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princess.

There was a secret informed of these intentions; 1 and was secretly dis pleased with the projected marriage between Dalarny and the Queen of Scots. 2 She would rather have wished that Mary had continued for ever in a single family, and in the hands of her friends. The scheme effectual, she was satisfied with a choice which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with Leicester, her favourite. In her New Year's Day speech the year before, she had secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his attitude, and to restore him to his honours and fortune. 3 And when her request was complied with, she openly courted, and would preserve the blood of her father into Scotland; but no sooner did she learn that the Queen of Scots was taken with his figure and person, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to order Dalarny immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the Countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure, 4 she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous wrongs in the world.

The politics of Elizabeth, through judicious, were usually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more so than in her transactions with the Queen of Scots, where there entered so many little passions and narrow jealousies, that she durst not give to the world the reasons of her conduct, scarcely to her ministers, and scarcely even to herself. But besides a womanish rivalry and envy against the marriage of this princess, she had some motives of interest for feigning a displeasure on the present occasion. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England; a point to which, for good reasons, she was determined never to consent. It was also useful to her, for a purpose still more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the discontent and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics.

Nothing can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a sovereign attached to a religion different from the established; and it is scarcely possible that mutual confidence can ever, in such a situation, have place between the prince and his subjects. Mary's conduct had been hitherto in every respect unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had she not made such progress in acquiring popularity, as might have been expected from her gracious deportment and agreeable accomplishments. Suspicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the catholic faith, and especially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the scheme for exterminating the professors of the reformed religion throughout all Europe. She still retained the influence of Parliament, and had established the Reformation; she made attempts for restoring to the catholics some part of their civil jurisdiction; 5 and she wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, besides professing the most ardent attachment to the catholic faith, she took notice of her title to succeed to the crown of England, and expressed her hopes of being able, in some period, to bring back all her dominions to the bosom of the church. 6 Those hopes of being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It seemed no incon siderable advantage, that she could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Englishman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the proposal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princess.

1 Keith, p. 561. 2 Ibid. p. 230. 3 Jubb. vol. ii. p. 65. 4 Ibid. p. 299. 5 Ibid. p. 27. 6 Ibid. p. 52. 7 Keith, p. 166. 8 Father Paul, 166, 46.
of rebellion; and, besides mutual accusations of the former kind, which is difficult to clear up, the malcontent lords, as soon as they saw the queen's marriage entailed, entered into a conspiracy against their sovereign. They met at Stirling; there pretended an anxious concern for the security of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made application for support and protection. The queen, as princess, after publishing the expressions of her displeasure against the marriage, had secretly ordered her ambassadors, Randolph and Throgmorton, to give, in her name, most urgent speculations of support to the English malcontents; to which had even sent them a supply of ten thousand pounds to enable them to begin an insurrection. Mary was no sooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than she summoned them to appear at court, in order to answer for their conduct; and, having seized some forces to execute the laws, she obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take shelter in Argyllshire. That she might more effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paisley, in the neighbourhood, with about a thousand horse; and, passing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, whence they retired to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the sedulous preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enter the towns, and to make war for the defence of God's grace and glory. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved: her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: and the interested views of the nobles were so well concealed, that their perseverance of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: the rebels were obliged to retire into the south; and, being pursued by a force, which now amounted to eighteen thousand men, they found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England. Elizabeth, when she first heard of this, was much at a loss to disavow her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connexions with the Scottish malcontents, and to declare every where, that she had never given them any encouragement, or any promise of countenance or assistance. She even carried further her disavowal and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelet; and she seduced them, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the queen, her credulity and Spanish adherence; they had contributed to their insurrection. No sooner had she extorted this confession from them, than she chased them from her presence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their rebellion was that of privy councils; and assured them, that she had hitherto given them no encouragement, so should they never sinceforth receive from her any assistance or protection. Throgmorton, alone, whose honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprise of the Scottish rebels; and, being well appraised of the usual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorize the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them. The banished lords, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their crown. They had suffered after some solicitation, and some professions of sincere repentance, the Duke of Chandrelur was obtained his pardon, on condition that he should retire into France. Mary was more implacable against the uncrowned King of France for his breaking, and the queen herself was lone of whom she threw the chief blame of the enterprise; but as she was continually pled with applications from their friends, and as some of her most judicious partisans in England thought that nothing would more promote her interests than that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men of education for the sake of religion, she agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to severity, and she seemed determined to restore them to favour. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived, which was the second of which Murray complained, in which Mary was so intent, only to call them to order, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and, after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Savoy, she came to Bayeux, where she was met by her daughter, the Queen of Spain, and the Duke of Alva. Nothing was gained in the cause, but new labour and expense; the courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; and amongst these solemn appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the hope of mankind, and the peace of nations. As the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the hugonots. But that project, though equally harboured against every humane sentiment, was not only approved by the queen, but was already acted into by Alva, who, acting in the name of the queen, in the persons of her own agents, and deputed persons, she had even set to work, and perfected, in order to effect the extermination of the Protestants. The Queen of Scots, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous Conspiracies against the Protestants, and had connected herself with the harvests of the adherents of the Catholic faith; she had understood with those violent councils which were established by the other catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, when the rigour of the Alva's projects, which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh for attaining this purpose; an example of paltry and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent event, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

The marriage of the Queen of Scots with Lord Darnley was so natural, and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that prince and her council; and, while she was allured by his youth, beauty and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which now corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his resolutions; inconstant, yet encredu- lous, and easily governed by flatterers; he was destitute of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally enterprising and fond of dissipation, pretentious of love and tenderness. The Queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond

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1 It appears, however, from Randle’s Letter (see Keith, p. 390), that some offers had been made to that minister, of serving Lewis and Darnley, and delivering them into the hands of the Queen of Scots. A manuscript of which states the same story, and says, that the design was acknowledged by the conspireen- tes, and that their express consent was obtained by the queen’s party of the Rose of Hanse, as it is called, See further, Gardiel, vol. ii. p. 183. The motives of which Murray complained, in much uncertainty, are founded on very doubtful evidence. 2 Keith, p. 175, 184, 341.
measure; she had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; she intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confide upon him. His resentment against this policy of his patroness, caused him to passionately desire her death; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaved towards the court. He searched the cabinets, and found Rizzio,

Morton of Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the Queen of Scots. He was a Piedmontese, of mean birth, son of a teacher of music, himself a musician; and, finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambassador, whom the Duke of Savoy sent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, some time after her first arrival. He possessed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and as that princess found him useful to complete her band of music, she retained him in her service after the departure of his master. He seemed to enjoy, for some time previous, all the complacencies of his patroness; he incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person and manifesting himself into her favour. He was permitted to rise beyond his rank and education; and he made so good use of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded as the chief confidential, and even minister of the queen. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained of him by his intercession; all suitors were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery; and the man, insolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquisitions, soon drew on himself the jealousy and hatred of the humble and persecuted subjects of the kingdom. He had at first employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendship seemed to be established between them; but on the subsequent change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Henry, a friend to persuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouse in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth; and through the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable, if not absurd, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for so extraordinary a complacency made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility who had seized the ecclesiastical benefices, began to think themselves less secure in the possession of them: the Earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all these considerations, and still more by a rumour spread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to bestow that dignity on a mean and upstart father, ignorant of the laws and language of the court. So indiscreet had this princess been in her kindness to Rizzio, that even that strange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, insinuating himself into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to unframe the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him, that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the base stranger to the fite which his father and so worthy men were constantly desired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the Countess of Lenox, concurred in the same advice; and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, being consulted, offered their assistance in the enterprise; nor was even the Earl of Lenox, the king's father, averse to the design. But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertakings, to tend to the gloire of God and advancement of religion, and promised to protect them against every consequence which might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio. All these measures being concerted, a messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

This design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more by the circumstances 9th March. of which it attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private, and had at table the Countess of Argyle, her natural sister, with Rizzio and others. She was sensible, that any sudden noise might rouse her in her condition; and she had caused the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the Queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demurred at the entrance of them, which they told her, that they intended no violence against her person; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the design, fled through the breach left by the breach in the wall, into the garden, and escaped from the house by the back door, with a black mask, and a loaded gun. She immediately sent for the surgeon, whose advice was to follow him, and they accomplished the murder. The queen, unable longer to bear the idea of such a calamity, resolved to fly the court, and named her son as her successor, under the name of James, and the title of Lord Darnley. The queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could. The queen, under these circumstances, was not able to retain the sway of the kingdom; and the queen's escape was concerted with her uncle, who with her, and all her friends, fled to the English borders; where they were received by the king, who was at York; and all the principal nobility of Scotland dispersed themselves as far as they could.
the confidence of her husband, by her persuasion and patience, and so no sooner were the guards withdrawn, than she engaged him to escape with her in the night time, and take shelter in Dunbar. Many of her subjects here offered her their services: and Mary, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the Earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them a return into their own country.

The vengeance of the Queen of Scots was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and affection, had placed himself under all her highest resentment. She engaged him to disown all connections with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publish a proclamation, containing a falsehood so notorious as it was impracticable for him ever to avert the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation. As she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Allow, a seat of the Earl of Mar's; and when Henry followed her thither, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the strongest marks of her animosity, and contempt. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased that his mean equipment and small number of attendants should draw on him the contempt of the rest. She had not been in power four years, when she had fixed her residence in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son; and as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, she immediately dispatched Sir James Melville to convey intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melville tells us, that this princess, the evening of her arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was dispersed, when a messenger arrived, who implored with an humble air, that his wife, the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, and in the eyes of Melville, there was no reason to suspect her sincerity. While she was conversing, however, the house had been made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister.

Some time after, she despatched the young prnce with her Lussaumont, lord of Hunsdon, in order to obtain the consent of the young prince; and she sent by them some magnificent presents to the Queen of Scots.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's patriots in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession. These humours broke out with great vehemence in a new train of tumult, held after all provocations. The House of Peers, which had hitherto forebore to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the House of Commons soon after imitated the zeal of the Lords. Molinet opened the matter in the lower House, and proposed that the question of the succession and that of supply should go hand in hand; as if it were intended to constrain the queen to a compliance with the request of her parliament. The council endeavored to quell this agitation; Sir John Suddler told the House, that he had heard the queen positively affirm, that, for the good of her people, she was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys, gave their testimony to the same purpose, and they did also Sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the household.

Elizabeth's ambitious and masculine character was so well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was considered merely as an artifice, by which she endeavored to remove that positive declaration, which she had made in the beginning of her reign, that she meant to live and die a virgin. The ministers, therefore, gained nothing further by this piece of policy, than only to engage the House, for the sake of decency, to join in the question of the succession of the crown; and the Commons were proceeding with great earnestness in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the Lords, when express orders were sent from them, that the business should be put further in the matter. Cecil told them, that she pledged to the House the word of a queen for her sincerity in intentions to marry; that the appointment of a successor would be very acceptable to her, that she herself had had experience, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men were commonly disposed to make in order to remove her, and that she was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the decision of that important question. The House was not satisfied with these reasons, and in general, put off all debate on the subject. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the people.

She had already shown an administer of that profound respect which had hitherto been preserved to the queen; and they affirmed that she was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her own life, but also to regard to their future security, by fixing a successor; that she had attended her conduct, she showed herself the step-mother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem desirous that England should no longer subsist than she should enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever stood in fear of their successors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every sovereign prince, and that the queen, by her wisdom, had courage and magnanimity to put his whole trust in that honourable and sure defence.

The queen, hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker, and after relating her former imprudence, she bade him tell them this: that if any member remained still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reasons. As the members showed a disposition, notwithstanding the queen's measures, to continue the question, Elizabeth thought proper, by a message, to revoke them, and to allow the House liberty of debate. They were so mollified by this gracious concession, that they undertook to lay before the House, the smallness of the nation, the want of energy and temper; and they even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments, of a subsidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen soon after dissolved the parliament, and told them, with some sharpness in the conclusion, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that, under the plausible pretences of marriage and negotiation, many of them concealed the treacherous intentions towards her; but that, however, she reaped this advantage from the attempts of these men, that she could now distinguish her friends from her enemies.

But do you think," added she, "that I am unmindful of your future security, or will be negligent in settling the succession? That is the chief object of my concern; as I know myself to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No; it was never my design, I say, to advance to any of you, who was so unwise as to attempt the invasion of your safety. And therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, whoever holds the
reigns of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience, so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude, that, notwithstanding the disgust I have received, (for I mean not to part with you among the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their prince's good graces."a

Elizabeth cured further her dignity on this occasion. She had received the subsidy without any condition; but as she thought, being the Comptroller of Mid Territorial, her interest and the gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requests, she thought proper, on her refusal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and she said, that money in her prerogative purses was as good to her as in her own exchequer.

But though the queen was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the Queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and besides the catholics, many of whom kept a treasurable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command, the court itself of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partizans. The Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. None but the most zealous partisans adored her. The Countess of Devon, her aunt, Eleanor, Countess of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former seemed liable to some objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that side of the question, fearing the designs on the succession. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudent actions which she had fallen to, to her youth and inexperience. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, shall I say, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in the fatal ruin.

The Earl of Bothwell was of a considerable, able family and power in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the Earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; and involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himself to beggary by his profuse expenses; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate counsels and enterprises. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though that charge had not been brought to a conviction, which had fallen to, to her youth and inexperience. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, shall I say, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in the fatal ruin.

That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Norway, and had been provided a vessel for that purpose. Some of the most considerable nobility, on the other hand, observing her rooted aversion to him, had proposed some expedients for a divorce; and though Mary's inclination was to continue him her husband, and to have embraced the proposal no further than it should be true and consistent with her own honour and her son's legitimacy, men were inclined to believe that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpose, was the real cause of laying aside all further thoughts of it. So far were the suspicions against her carried, that when Henry, discouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glasgow, an illness of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized immediately on his arrival in that place, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which, it was pretended, she had administered to him.

While affairs were in this situation, all those who wished well to her championship, and who saw the state to which she was reduced, by her enemies, under the pretence of a poison, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprised, to hear that a friendship was again conciliated between them, that she had taken a journey to Glasgow on purpose to visit him during his sickness, that she behaved towards him with great tenderness, that she had brought him along with her; and that she appeared thereforth determined to live with him on a footing more suitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not distrustting this sudden reconciliation, put himself implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holywood-house; but as the situation of the palace was low, and the concourse of people about the court was necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state of health, these reasons were assigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary had thereby shown her attachment; she conversed cordially with him; and she lay some nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, she told him that she would pass that night in the palace, believing that the apartment, which was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; and was still more astonished, when it was discovered that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by guophiders; that his dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, confusion, or violence, appeared upon it.

No doubt could be entertained of the queen was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the Earl of Bothwell as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments; and all men remained in silence and mute astonishment. Voices, however, were heard in the streets, during the darkness of the night, proclaiming Bothwell, and even Mary herself, to be murderers of the king; bills were secretly affixed on the walls to the same purpose; offers were made that, upon giving proper securities, his guilt should be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward of five thousand pounds, the author of that villany, greater vigilance was employed in searching out the speakers of the bills and reports against Bothwell and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's assassination, or detecting the reportists.

The Earl of Lenox, who lived at a distance from court, in poverty and contempt, was roused by the report of his son's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring speedy justice against the assassins; among whom he named the Earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's household; all of them persons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh. Mary took his demand of speedy justice in a very literal sense; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, she sent a citation to Lenox, requiring him in answer to charge of the assassination of her husband. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other persons accused by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty; Bothwell himself was continually surrounded with armed men; took his place in council; lived during some time in the house with Mary; and seemed been taxed who had been blown up in ships. Had Henry fallen on water he had probably been drowned. a Melville, p. 76. b Cabotus, p. 130. b Anderson's Life, p. 364—367. c Melville, p. 76. d Anderson, vol. ii, p. 3. e Anderson's Life, p. 364. f Melville, p. 76. g Anderson, vol. ii, p. 3. h Anderson's Life, p. 364. i Ibid. vol. ii, p. 764.
to possess all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the castle of Edinburgh, a place of great consequence in this critical time, was intrusted to him, and under him, to his cousin Sir James, in four, who had himself been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder. 1 Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all those circumstancies which attended him; he began to entertain very just apprehensions from the power, insolence, and temerity of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, desiring that the day of trial might be put off, and required of her all the regard she bore to her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such extreme moment. 2 No regard was paid to this application; the jury was enclosed, of which the Earl of Caithness was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreseeing this precipitancy, had ordered Cunningham, one of his retainers, to appear in court, and protest, in his name, against the unqual of the criminal, the protest proceeded to a verdict. 3 The verdict was such as it behoved them to give, where neither accuser nor witness appeared; and

12th April. Bothwell was absolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehensive that their verdict would give great scandal, and perhaps expel them afterwards to some danger, entered a protest, in which they represented the necessity of their proceedings. 4 It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid against Bothwell for the crime on the ninth of February, not in the tenth, the real day on which Henry was assassinated. 5 The interpretation generally put upon this error, too gross, it was thought, to have proceeded from mistake, was, that they, from a mistaken belief, in the eyes of the court, trusting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they insured, at all adventures, a plausible pretence for acquitting Bothwell.

Two days after this extraordinary transaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwell was attended with such circumstances as strongly confirmed, rather than diminished, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on the first meeting of the national assembly. 6 In this parliament a rigorous act was made against those who set up defamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder. 7 The favour which Mary openly bore to Bothwell, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another transaction, which ensued immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament. 8 The execution, was, that the subscribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwell by a legal trial, and mentioning a further offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by single combat, oblige those who had charged him, to retract, and to withdraw the charge. This measure was intended to throw the blame on him of the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power against such calumniators. After this promise, which implied no great assurance in Bothwell of his own innocence, the subscribers mentioned the necessity of that queen's marriage, in order to support the government; and they recommended Bothwell to her as a husband. 9 This paper was subscribed by all the considerable nobility there present. In a country divided by violent factions, such a concurrence in favour by one nobleman, nowise distinguished above the rest, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at least firmly persuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this measure. 10 Nor would such a motive have sufficed to influence men, commonly so stubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by surprise, keen of ignorant of each other's sentiments, and overawed by the power and influence of persons so little governed by any principles of honour and humanity. 11

Even with all these circumstances, the subscription in this paper may justly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

The subsequent measures of Bothwell were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary going to Stirling, to pay a visit to her son, he assembled a body of eight hundred horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the return, he seized her person near Edin-

burgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melville, one of her ministers, informed him, that he saw no signs of reluctance or constraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwell's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. 12 A woman, indeed, of that spirit and resolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not usually, on these occasions, give such marks of opposition to real violence, as can appear anywise doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to a further trial, sent her a private message; in which they told her, that if, in reality, she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her. Her answer was, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but that she would preserve herself serene and composed, and willingly remained with Bothwell. 13 No one gave himself henceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own application to the king. 14

This unusual conduct was at first ascribed to Mary's sense of the infancy attending her pursuaded marriage; and her desire of finding some colour to gloss over the irregularity of her proceedings. She was a young woman, governed, no doubt, entirely from the interest of her person. The few days after, made the public carry their conjectures somewhat further. In this deed, Bothwell received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's person; and for all other crimes, which, by which the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conceived to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared scandalous to make openly any mention. 15

These events passed with such rapidity, that men had no leisure to admire sufficiently one incident, when they were surprised with a new one, equally rare and uncommon. There still, however, remained one particular, which it was not easy to foresee how the queen and Bothwell, determined as they were to execute their shameful purpose, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured this marriage, was next, by a next step, making him a husband to the queen, and who had acted this seeming violence on her person, in order to force her consent, had been married two years before to another woman, whom she had prevented from being the Earl of Huntley. But persons blinded by passion, and infatuated with crimes, soon shake off all appearance of decency. A suit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwell and his wife; and this suit was commenced at the same instant, in two different, or rather opposite, courts; in the court of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which was popish, and governed itself by the canon law; and in the new consistorial or commissariat court, which was protestant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was so calculated as to suit the principles which there prevailed; in the archbishop's court, the pretence of con-

spiration was eminently proper, because Bothwell was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commissariat court, the accusation of adultery was made use of against him. The parties, too, who applied for the divorce, were sufficiently different; one was a woman, whose husband she had put, in a former; the other was both in the former, and in the latter. And the suit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and

decided, with the utmost precipitation; and a sentence of divorce was pronounced in four days.  

The divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper that Mary should be conducted to Edinburgh, and that there appear before the courts of judicature, and should acknowledge herself restored to entire freedom. This was understood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubt that might be entertained as to the dissolution of the marriage. But the measure was then given to publish in the church the bans between the queen and the Duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, was put to do that for that purpose. This clergyman, not content with having refused compliance, publicly in his sermons condemned the marriage, and exhorted all who had access to the queen to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to answer for this liberty, he showed a courage which might cover all the nobles with shame, on account of their timeness and servility. He said, that by the rules of the church, the Earl of Bothwell, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by collusion, as appeared by the precipitation of the sentence, and the sudden conclusion of his marriage; and that the Queen, with the suspicion which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted the queen to the serious consideration of the present criminal enterprises; and turning his discourse to the other counsellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in order to divert her from measures which would ruin her with eternal infamy and discomfiture. Not satisfied even with this admonition, he took the first opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed to them his fears, that notwithstanding all remonstrances, their success could not be expected, on her fatal purpose. "For himself," he said, "he had already discharged his conscience, and yet again would take heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested that resolution, as criminal and hateful in the sight of mankind; but since the great, as he conceived, either by their flatly or silence, gave countenance to the measure, he besought the faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty, that some man, in such a situation, and with good conscience, might, by the divine blessing, be turned to the comfort and benefit of the church and kingdom." These speeches offended the court extremely; and Craig was ordered to be arrested and thrown into tis tetter, in thus passing the bounds of his commission. But he told them, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and that, if Mary's marriage tried by any of these standards, it would appear infamous and dishonourable, and would be so esteemed by the whole world. The council were so overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they dismissed him without further censure or punishment.  

But though this transaction might have recalled Bothwell and the Queen of Scots from their infatuation, and might have instructed them in the dispositions of the people, as well as in their own inability to oppose them, they were still resolved to rush forward to their own manifold destruction.

15th May. The marriage was solemnized by the Queen's own Bishop of Orkney; all persons present, who was mortally Bothwell afterwards deposed by the church for his well-scandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony; they had, most of them, estates, as well as should be conducted to Edinburgh, and should The French ambassador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the house of Guise, to countenance the marriage. The French, however, by friendly letters and messages, against the marriage:  

The court of France made like opposition; but Mary, though on all other occasions she was extremely obsequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

The news of these transactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but also on the whole nation, who seemed, by their submission and silence, and by their deliberate and General dispositions to give their sanction to these scandalous practices. The Scots, who resided abroad, met with such reproaches, that they durst nowhere appear in public; and they earnestly exhorted their countrymen, who remained at home, to free them from the public odium, by bringing to condign punishment the authors of such atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little more leisure for reflection, roused men from their lethargy; and the rumours which, from the very beginning, had been spread against Mary, as if she had concurred in the king's murder, seemed now, by the subsequent transactions, to have received a strong confirmation and authority. It was everywhere said, that even though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been produced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenor of her late conduct was sufficient, not only to beget suspicion, but to produce entire conviction against her: that her sudden resolution of being reconciled to her husband, whom before she had long and justly hated; her bringing him to court, from which she had banished him by neglects and rigours; her fitting up separate apartments for him; were all of them circumstances, though trifling; yet being compared with the subsequent events, bore a very unfavourable aspect for her; that the least which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her situation, was a maniacal acquittal and acquiescence; that she was ever so far removed from the proper tenor of the sentence, and from the terror which her known friendship for the criminal had infused into every one: that the very mention of her marriage to such a man, in such a situation, and with such a state of mind, and the contrivances of extorting a consent from the nobility, and of conciliating a rape, were gross artifices, more proper to discover her guilt than prove her innocence: that where she had been, there she must be accounted, and instead of correcting, provides only thin glosses to cover, her exceptional conduct, she betrays a neglect of fame, which must either be the effect or the cause of the most shameful and abominable actions: that to employ such expedients as she had, a few days before, been so scandalously divorced from his wife; who, to say the least, was believed to have, a few months before, assassinated her husband; was so contrary to the plainest rules of behaviour, that no pre-
several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for the crime. Bothwell himself escaped in a boat, and was apprehended near Denbigh, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after: an end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

The whole of these events, now in the hands of Improvement of Mary an enraged faction, met with such treat- ment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present interest; for, in the year 1568, when she may, resign her dignity and crown itself, rather than relinquish her affections. The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were exposed, in case Mary should finally prevail, thought themselves obliged to proceed with vigour against her; and they sent her next day under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the Earl of Murray; and as she was probably to have been lawfully married to the late King of Scots, she was really of no more account than Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness and severity.

Elizabeth, who was fully informed of all these incidents, seemed to show some compassion towards the unfortunate Queen; and all her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep, by the consideration of that run and infamy in which Mary's conduct had involved her, she began to reflect on the unpopularity of affairs, the precarious state of royal grandeur, the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; and she resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman.

She wrote to the queen, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to him, and of that generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princess, so enor- mous, and in every respect so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and though she felt the most vivid pity towards her, she had once determined never to inter- pose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was unpardonable. This resolve was avowed by the queen herself, and was so firmly determined that she was as well assured that other foreign princes, Mary's near rela- tions, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathies. Yet in this remained not so endearing; she was able to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen; that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects; but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be com- patible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: that she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary, to interpose her authority on that head; and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: that after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for her success in those two important offices, than to be educated in England: and that, besides the security which would attend his removal from a scene of faction and convulsions, there were many other beneficial conse- quences which would arise to more remote as the result of his education in that country.3

1 Melville, p. 84. The reality of this letter appears somewhat disputable; early historians had received it, and even a contemporary of it was written, to his queen for the purpose of af- fecting her before Queen Elizabeth's commissioners.

2 Keith, p. 441, 452, &c.
The remonstrances which Throgmorton was instructed to make to the associated lords, were entirely compatible with these sentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, that, whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct, any opposition to the royal council which would have been thus incompatible with all order and good government: that it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of their prince; and the only arms which, in her estimation, could have any weight against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels, and representations: that if these expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patient meekness the Almighty's will. The hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy: that she inculcated not this doctrine, because she herself was interested in its observance; but because it was universally received in all well governed states, and was essential to the preservation of civil society: that she required them to restore their queen to liberty; and promised, in that case, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for punishing the king's enemies, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: and that if the services, which she had lately rendered the Scottish nation, in protecting them from foreign usurpation, were duly considered by them, they would have found great reason for giving her their hearty thanks, and would esteem themselves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her.

Elizabeth, besides these remonstrances, sent, by Throgmorton, two articles, one of which was to suppress any reform, or change in the religion of the country, and was to propose to both parties, as expedients for the settlement of public affairs; and though these articles contained some important restraints on the sovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage and were sufficiently intelligant to her. The associated lords, who determined to proceed with greater severity, were apprehensive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being sensible that Mary was too powerful to procure from the protection of that powerful princess, they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to her. There were four different schemes proposed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen: one, that she should be sent to France, and married to Francis; another, that she should be confined to her own dominions; a third, that she should be deposed; a fourth, that she should be sent to the Tower of London. Of all these proposals, Elizabeth was most averse to that of confinement; she determined, on the contrary, to increase the vanity of the queen's situation, by the enticements and threats which she employed in her negotiations with the princes of the blood, and by her continual promises to them of a speedy and public restoration. She was, however, at last overruled by the necessities of her case. She was, at length, determined to attempt the impracticable measure of removing Mary from thence to France; and for this purpose she employed Lord Murray, a man of great influence and abilities, as the agent for the execution of her designs. Murray was accordingly sent to Scotland, and succeeded so well in his mission that he was sent back to France with the assurance of an effectual accomplishment of his plan.

Throgmorton had orders from the queen not to assist at the coronation of the King of Scots.

The council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The Earl of Murray arrived from France, and was to proceed thither with the queen: but with the intention of a visit to the captive queen; and spoke to her in a manner which better suited her past conduct than her present condition. This harsh treatment quite extinguished in her all regard for public duties; and Murray succeeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament; and that assembly, after voting that her majesty had been an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent.

The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, acted to re-establish government, and was entirely successful; he restored the peace of the kingdom, and maintained order and tranquility. He bribed Sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: he constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates; and he demolished that fortress.

But though every thing thus bore a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority, a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great disorders: and it was not likely that attending the general division, in its most settled state, possessed a very disputed authority, a new establishment should meet with no interruption or disturbance. Few considerable men of the nation seemed willing to support the government of Murray, so that he was, as it were, in a situation where he could, at will, be displaced; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The Duke of Lenox, being disappointed of the regency, bore no ill will to Murray, and the same sentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers. Several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the associates, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: and became the benefactors of some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensities to that cause, and rejoiced at the declension of so many amiable accomplishments, joined to such high dignity, should be treated with such extreme severity.

Animated by all these motives, many of the principal nobility, now adhering to the Queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of that princess.

While these humours were in fermentation, Mary was...
employed in contrivances for effecting her escape; and she engaged by her charms and cærees, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, to assist her in that enterprise. She even went so far as to give him hopes of espousing her, if her marriage with William could be dissolved by force on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertakings. He conveyed her to disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of association for her defence was signed by the Earl of Argyle, Hamilton, Eglinton, Crawford, Cumnock, Dumbarton, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentlemen. And in a few days, an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures which she had hitherto taken: and she had not employed force against the regent, during the imprisonment of that princess, she had been chiefly withheld by the fear of pushing him to greater extremities against her; but she had proposed to the council the use of an expedient, though less violent, would have been no less effectual for her service: she desired that France and England should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to the imprisoned sovereign; and she also dispatched Lightfoot into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces, to Mary; but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she dreaded the competition between the Queen of Scots and her subjects might, by that means, be entirely removed from her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland.

But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The enterprise made haste to assemble forces; and notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the Queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That dispersion was caused by the flight of the Queen of Scots and her subjects; by the departure of the French from the field of battle with great precipitation, and cause, with few attendants, to the borders of England. She here declinced concerning her next measures, which would probably have been more favourable to herself had her heart been more composed. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom; she had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour; and she was not, besides, provided with a vessel which could safely convey her thither: the late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even assistance, from that quarter; and as the present fears from her domestic enemies were the most urgent, she overtook all other considerations, and embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Wigtown, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle: whence she immediately despatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.

Elizabeth now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to the mutilation of the Queen of Scots. She had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy; she was engaged by that prudent minister, to weigh above all the considerations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere; and that if he should resist, both Murray and his friends might complain of some undue usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forestall these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the Catholic faith, and by her other concessions, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain; that Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was to secret entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more would she implicitly comply with their views; England would appear as easy, as that on her own family and of the jealous catholics was become her sole resource and security; that her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and she would alloy the greater part of the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: the same was the present caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprise, if undertaken, should be effectuated by English forces alone, and that full security should be taken in the French, and the Reformation in Scotland: that above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should return and re-establish herself in France, and should attempt, by foreign force, to recover possession of her authority: that her desperate fortunes and broken reputation faded her for any attempt; and her resentment, when she should find herself deserted by the queen, would convert her with revenge; and it was necessary to dissuade her, and render her so unremitting as well as powerful enemy to the English government; that if she were once abroad, to the hands of enterprising catholics, the attack upon her would appear as easy, as that on Scotland; and the only method, she must imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which she would seem herself equally entitled; that a neutrality in such interesting situations, though it might be pretended, could never, without the most extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requisite, whether the power of England were to effectually be established in Scotland, or it should, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble principle could never, without imprudence, be coalesced in such delicate circumstances; and, in the present state of affairs, the enterprise of rescuing the Queen of Scots from the English should be placed; where her own safety and the interests of her people were intimately connected in every resolution which she embraced; that though the example of successful rebellion, especially in a neighbouring country, would somehow be acceptable in any sovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been so great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the insurrection of subjects after such provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent against others princes: that it was first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain, in a regular and satisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects: that as no glory could surpass that of defending oppressed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the con- tagion of such dishonour would extend itself to all who countenanced or supported it: and that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her should be taken, and only those attempts justified: or if she should be found innocent, every enterprise, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious.
Agreeably to these views, Elizabeth resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious, manner with the Queen of Scots; and she immediately sent orders to Lady Scrope, sister to the Duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess. Scrope was a representative to the Queen, and was sent to express to her, in behalf of the marches, and Sir Francis Knollys, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and, after expressing the queen’s symptoms, and assuring her that she was so strongly attached to Elizabeth that her request of being allowed to visit her sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with; till she had cleared herself of her husband, she was so strongly accused by Elizabeth, could not, without dishonour, show her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation exerted within her heart, more than nature. She also considered, that though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to support the king’s cause in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted, but this penetration, and, in the end, discover this interest, and would at least afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners; and would willingly submit the dispute, which was his cause to the law.

Lord Herres now perceived that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions; he endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a cause of rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present and from England or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. Being pressed, however, with the former request, he submitted a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, which, on the contrary, renewed his consent; but a few days he began anew to recall; and it was with some difficulty that he was brought to acquiesce in the first determination. These fluctuating terms, which were unnecessarily renewed, showed his visible reluctance to the measures pursued by the court of England.

The Queen of Scots discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persuade in the agreement to which she had at first consented. This latter princess still said to her, that she desired not, without Mary’s consent or ratification, to enter into the controversy, and intended only, as a friend, to bear her justification: that she was confident there would be found no difficulty in refute all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology should fail short of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to support her cause, and procure her some reasonable terms of accommodation: and that it was never meant that she should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that she should be summoned to appear, and to justify themselves for their conduct towards her. Allured by these plausible professions, the Queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herself, by her own commissioners, before commissioners appointed by Elizabeth.

During these transactions, Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys, who resided with Mary at Carlisle, had leisure to study her character and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, resolute in her purpose, active in her enterprises, she aspired to nothing but victory. She was determined to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. Eloquent, manning, affable; she had alreadyconcerted all her friends and dependents both of her past conduct; and as she declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourse to the barons, and baronets, rather than repel the ambitious claims or the attempt of her enemies. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, accompanied her, was not easy to foresee the danger to which her charms, her spirit, her address, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expose them. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, accompanied her, was not easy to foresee the danger to which her charms, her spirit, her address, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expose them. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, accompanied her, was not easy to foresee the danger to which her charms, her spirit, her address, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expose them.

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again taken arms against her after her deliverance from
person; had rejected all her proposals for accommodation;
had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for
the safety of her person, to take shelter in England.\(^a\) The
Earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a sum-
mary account of the occurrences of the late executions: she
was, the Earl of Bothwell; the known murderer of the late
king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the
person of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he ac-
quainted with his own danger, and murdered her, as to try
her consent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a
divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate
his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transac-
tion was such, that it brought the king’s name upon her
son, and had appointed the Earl of Murray regent during
the minority.\(^b\) The queen’s answer to this apology was
obvious: that she did not know, and never could suspect,
that Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recon-
ciled to the nation and to his husband, the murderer of
the king; that she never was, and still continues, desirous that if he be guilty, he may be brought
to condign punishment; that her renunciation of the crown
was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her
life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that
Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others
of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the
only condition of escape from theSPACE残酷, and
had assured her that a consent, given under these circum-
stances, could never have any validity.\(^c\)

So far the Queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the
advantage in the contest; and the English commissioners
might have been surprised that Murray had made so weak
a defence, and had suppressed all the material imputations
against that princess, on which his party had ever so strenuously insisted; had not some private conferences
previously informed them of the secret. Mary’s commis-
sioners had boasted, that Elizabeth, from regard to her
kinwoman, and from her desire of maintaining the rights of
sovereignty, was determined, how criminal soever the
conduct of the Queen of Scots might appear, to produce
such a measure as would carry effectually the commission
and Murray, reflecting on some past measures of the
English court, began to apprehend that there were
but too just grounds for these expectations. He believed
that Mary, if she would agree to conceal the most violent
part of the accusation against her, would submit to any
reasonable terms of accommodation; but if he once pro-
cceeded so far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt,
no composition could afterwards take place; and should
she ever be restored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or
the assistance of her other friends, he and his party must
be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance? He
resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure
which it would be impossible for him ever to recall; and
he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English
commissioners, confessed his scruples, had before them the
evidence of the queen’s guilt, and desired to have some
security for Elizabeth’s protection, in case that evidence
should, upon examination, appear entirely satisfactory.

Norfolk was not secretly displeased with these scruples of
the matter.\(^d\) He had ever been a partaker of the Queen of
Scots; Secretary Lindsay, who begun also to include
that party, and was a man of singular address and capacity,
had engaged him to embrace further views in her favour,
and even to think of espousing her; and through that duke
confessed,\(^\text{d}^\,\text{d}^\) that the proofs against Mary seemed to be
unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his present reso-
nution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences
before the king and queen.\(^e\)

Norfolk, however, was obliged to transmit to court the
queries proposed by the regent. These queries consisted
of four particulars. Whether the English commissioners
had authorized the sentence of the queen against Mary,
in case her guilt should be fully proved before
them? Whether they would promise to exonerate that
authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the
Queen of Scots should be allowed to be delivered into the
hands of the regent, or, at least, be so
secured in England, that she never should be able to dis-
urb the tranquility of Scotland? And, Whether Elizabeth
would also, in that case, promise to excommunicate the
young king, and protect the regent in his authority?\(^f\)

Elizabeth, when these queries, with the other transac-
tions, were laid before her, began to think that she pointed
her own direction more clearly and more advantageously
than she had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore,
to bring the matter into full light; and under pretext that
the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her
commissioners, she desired the regent to proceed against
her, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance,
she immediately joined in commission with them some of
the most considerable of her council; Sir Nicholas Bacon,
lord keeper, the Earl of Arundel and Leicester, Lord
Clinton, and Sir Edward Wotton; and the Queen of Scots, who knew of nothing these secret motives,
and who expected that fear or decency would still restrain
Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against
her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this advantageous
resolution, and declared that the affair, being under the immediate
inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it.\(^g\) The conferences were accord-
ingly continued; and when the English commissioners
were, as before, made no scruple to be present at them.

The queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all
Murray’s demands, and declared, that though she wished
and hoped, from the present inquiries, to be entirely con-
vinced of Mary’s innocence, yet, if the event should prove
contrary, and that princess should appear guilty of her
husband’s murder, she should, for her own part, deem her
unworthy of unworthy of any protection. The regent, encour-
ged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge against
the Queen of Scots, and, after expressing his reluctance to
proceed to that extremity, and protesting that nothing
but the necessity of self-defence, which must not be ab-
doned for any reason, could induce him in such a
measure, he proceeded to accuse her in plain terms of par-
ticipation and consent in the assassination of the king.\(^h\)

The Earl of Lenox, too, appeared before the English com-
misioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of
his son, accused Mary as an accomplice with Bothwell in
that enormity.\(^i\)

When this charge was unexpectedly given in, and
copies of it were transmitted to the Bishop of Ross, Lord
Hearres, and the other commissioners of Mary, they abso-
olutely refused to return an answer; and they grounded
their silence on very extraordinary reasons: they had
orders, they said, from William and Mary, an advanced
that might touch her honour, not to make any
defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not
be subject to any tribunal; and they required that she
should previously be admitted to Elizabeth’s presence, to
whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify
her innocence.\(^j\) They forgot that the conferences were at
first begun, and were still continued, with no other view,
than to come to an agreement, that Elizabeth should have
entire power to enter into them only as her friend, by her own consent and approbation, not

\(^{d}\) Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 64. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 159. a
\(^{e}\) Goodall, vol. ii. p. 149.
\(^{h}\) Goodall, vol. ii. p. 159.
as assuming any jurisdiction over her; that this princess had, from the beginning, refused to admit her to her presence, and that the messenger, having been allowed to address her, had thereupon discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in that resolution; and that though she had granted an audience to the Earl of Huntingdon, she had not thereby implied that she would have given the same honour on Mary’s commissioners; and her conduct was so far entirely equal to both parties.

As the commissioners of the Queen of Scots refused to agree to the King’s proposal for the settlement of the dispute, the consequence seemed to be, that there could be no further proceedings in the conference. But though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers with whom she had been conversing, and engaged to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before them, and the English commissioners, and reproved for having, in the queen’s name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign; but though the Earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman; and she therefore desired to know what they could say in her defence. Murray, who had made so much difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the Queen of Scots; and among the rest some love-letters and somers of hers to Bothwell, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, and another in her own hand, for the Earl of Huntingdon, each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwell, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of thatobbyman.

These papers having been kept by Bothwell in a silver box or casket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her first husband, Francis; and though the princess had enjoined him to burn the letters soon after his marriage. The letters, he had thought proper carefully to preserve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the custody of Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the castle of Edinborough. When that fortress was besieged by the associate lords, Bothwell sent a servant to receive the casket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to him; but he could not be satisfied, and not without disgust from Bothwell, and secretly negotiating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care to convey private intelligence to the Earl of Morton, to make the papers themselves known. There was not discovered any discreditable proofs of Mary’s criminal correspondence with Bothwell, of her consent to the king’s murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwell pretended to have committed, nor even any testimonies of corresponding facts; and he added, some time after, the dying confession of one Hubert, or French Pars, as he was called, a servant of Bothwell’s, who had been executed for the king’s murder, and who directly charged Bothwell, with her being necessary to that criminal enterprise.

Mary’s commissioners had used every expedient to ward this blow which they saw coming upon them, and against which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As soon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conference from an inquiry into a negotiation; and though informed by the English commissioners, and the English council, of the many dishonourable for their ministers, to enter into a treaty with such undutiful subjects, before she had justified herself from those enormous imputations which had been cast upon her. She therefore found herself at last reduced to settle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland. They maintained that, till all these matters had been given in her answer to Murray’s charge, her proofs could not be put forward; and, without getting anything, finding that the English commissioners were still determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. These papers, least published. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force: but were they ever so spurious, they cannot now be hearkened to; since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, and it could have been ascertained, whether she had any such a dangerous lurkage, which must have rendered them infamous if discovered; since their errors, from Mary’s known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. (114) Murray opposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them, the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, Elizabeth Queen and her council, who were composed of a great number of Mary’s partisan letters. (111) He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refusing and expunging him, if she had chosen to lay hold of. (116) The letters tally well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction, that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (116) It is the first time, what no one before, what no one from the King, gave him an account of the same conversation. (94) There seems very little reason why the ministers and the associate lords should be so much at a disadvantage with which they were furnished, if not many very suspicious circumstances, and his association-oldest in the gave Mary herself an opportunity of refusing and expunging him, if she had chosen to lay hold of. (116) The letters tally well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction, that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (116) It is the first time, what no one before, what no one from the King, gave him an account of the same conversation. (94) There seems very little reason why the ministers and the associate lords should be so much at a disadvantage with which they were furnished, if not many very suspicious circumstances, and his association-oldest in the
satisfaction, was determined that the most eminent part of the court should also be associated with them in the transactions, and should be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy council to be assembled; and, that she might render the matter more solemn and impressive, and made it more sensible to the persons that then, the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worscester, Huntington, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the English commissioners were read to them: the event was more than probable, but, upon which, a great number of letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were read before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: the refusal of the Queen of Scots to accept of the commission was related also to them on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence before she had, in some measure, justified herself from the crime; that her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answer refused, she must, for her part, persevere more steadily in that resolution.\(^\text{6}\) Elizabeth next called in the Queen of Scots' commissioners, and after a laborious examination determined that it much more decent for her ministers to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of justifying herself in person, to them, that Mary might either send her reply by a pension, or accept of the commission, or else to submit to a sensible English nobleman, whom Elizabeth should appoint to wait upon her: but as to her resolution of making no reply at all, she must regard it as the strongest confession of guilt; and she even desired her friends who had advised her to that method of proceeding.\(^\text{7}\) These topics unexpectedly opened against her. Though she could not expect Elizabeth's final determination, it was of considerable advantage to her to know, if she had any, to the accession of the Scottish commissioners. That was for the benefit of the public, and of posterity. And surely, after the accession and proofs which had been given, it was not to be thought to be any further answer, Mary's information, that the queen or her nimble tongue to a demonstration of her own guilt.\(^\text{8}\) The very decision of these letters is a perversion of their authority. That answer could be accepted for no way but from the caprice of James I.'s courtiers, who were desirous to destroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The disappearance of Mary's narrative, and of its concession, from the Cotton library, Calig. i, must have proceeded from a like cause.\(^\text{9}\)\n
I find an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the secret of the parliament, which is yet to be wrote and subscribed by Queen Mary's own hand; whereas the copies given in to the parliament a few days after, were only written, not subscribed.\(^\text{10}\) Goodall, ed. p. 64. 67. But it is not considered that this circumstance is of no reason of force; there were certain letters, true or false, left be fore the council; and whether the letters were true or false, this mistake proceeds from an equal error, and is a sin in the work.\(^\text{11}\) The matter may be accounted for: the letters were only written by her the second commission, her own confection, and discovered, or admitted, as such, by her sufficient at tention, and other deeds signed by the queen, where the place and date do not agree with the dates and places, is possible.\(^\text{12}\) But the fact, that her letter which is a conclusive and material fact, is not proved, is a searching of the case, a personal influence, which he could not possibly foresee, and which no one could have suspected authority.

The account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hands is very natural. When he gave it to the English commissioners, he had reason to think it would be exclaimed with all the terror of able advantage, interested in the highest degree to refute it. It is probable that he could have confirmed it by many circumstances and testimonies, which he declared the contrary.\(^\text{13}\)

The reasons are particular, no doubt that both Rainolds and Leonard, who knew Queen Mary's style, were assur ed, when they saw them, that they could not be of her composition. Jebb, ed. p. 66. But no person is equal in his productions, especially one whose style so little bored before Mary's must be supposed to be. Not in mention that such dangerous and erring practices were the more to be suspected.\(^\text{14}\)\n
So, in short, Queen Mary might easily have confuted the whole en tropy against her husband, a stupid opinion to many one person excepted.\(^\text{15}\) Goodall, ed. p. 67. It was very difficult to conduct it so that her conduct should not be trave passed: in the present case her conduct was so great as in her every body every time, and convince those among her enemies hands, and convinced her own.\(^\text{16}\) That was the one information of her imprudence, which happily in the usual attendant of great crimes, will not be found so strikingly in the case of the Queen of Scots.\(^\text{17}\) He was in one correspondence of the foregoing narrative, contained in the history, that is taken from Kranke's account.\(^\text{18}\)

She may have been an accomplice of his murder; at least the nature of her being an accomplice in her husband's murder is un precentedly produced.\(^\text{19}\) It is true, the author, having repeated four or five lines on this account of this pretense of being admitted to Elizabeth's presence, and having expressed his opinion, that, as it had been derived from the beginning, he was to be the exponent of the conferences, she did not expect to have been associated in the writings of the narrator, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering, and then a similar manner.\(^\text{20}\) Goodall, ed. p. 66. But I must answer, and relate her answers, without inserting this condition, which occurs in the letter of the historian, that I had no reason to write, I am only to use, and to supply the omissions.\(^\text{21}\) This is wholly contrary to the intention expressed and it would be impossible (as indeed it was impossible); and not being willing to have my writings thereby, I could not be more simple, that she had refused to make any answer.\(^\text{22}\) I believe there is not one reason that can be discovered in the present state of the case, why Queen Mary must be supposed to be.\(^\text{23}\)

It is expedient to observe, that the author of the narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering, and then a similar manner.\(^\text{24}\) Goodall, ed. p. 66. But I must answer, and be very civility, and almost directly, calls the author a narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refusing answering, and then a similar manner.\(^\text{25}\) Goodall, ed. p. 66. And does not see that, accordingly to this narrative, Queen Mary would answer and relate her answers, without inserting this condition, which occurs in the letter of the historian, that I had no reason to write, I am only to use, and to supply the omissions.\(^\text{26}\) This is wholly contrary to the intention expressed and it would be impossible (as indeed it was impossible); and not being willing to have my writings thereby, I could not be more simple, that she had refused to make any answer.\(^\text{27}\) I believe there is not one reason that can be discovered in the present state of the case, why Queen Mary must be supposed to be.\(^\text{28}\)
regency of the King of Scots, she thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman, she still declined acknowledging this young king, or treating with Murray as Regent of Scotland.

Orders were given for removing the Queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with cathedrals, to Tutbury, where she was to reside in a building put up for the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princess, discouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late transactions, would be induced, in her present situation, to renounce that title which she had so recently assumed; and she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her government; and that she should remain, during her minority, in the hands of the Earl of Murray.

But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a Queen. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in her resolution, she knew, that if, in the present emergency, she made such concessions, her submission would be universally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calamities of her reign.

Mary still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the fidelity of other princes who, as she pretended, still adhered to her; or that she should come voluntarily into England, invited by many former professed enemies of her majesty, she thought that one or other of these requests could not, without the most extreme measures, be refused her. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended both these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her still a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generosity appeared much more urgent than she was willing to pretend. Necessity, it was thought, would, to the prudent, justify her detention: her past misconduct would apologize for it to the equitable; and though it was foreseen, that confinement for Mary's situation, joined to her intrigues and insinuating behaviour, would, while she remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, especially of the catholics, these inconveniences were deemed much inferior to those which attended any other expedition. Elizabeth trusted also to her own address for eluding all these difficulties; she purposed to avoid breaking absolutely with the Queen of Scots, and to hope for a reconciliation, which by degrees she was to negotiate perpetually with her, and still to throw the blame of not coming to any conclusion, either on unforeseen accidents, or on the obstinacy and perseverance of others.

We come now to some consideration some of the claims which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which seem so material a part of the present reign. The term fixed by the treaty of Chaumont-Cambray for the restitution of Calais expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demands at the gates of that city, sent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, favored her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. The chancellor, De l'Hospital, told the English ambassadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: that it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claims to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that may be urged, might be considered as an act of war, and alter peace between the nations: that though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, these governors were rebels; and a correspondence with such traitors was the most flagrant injury that could be committed on any sovereign; that in the treaty which caused upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention of taking advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France; and that though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims, this concession could not avail the English, until they expressly put forward their just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress.

The queen was nowise surprised at hearing these allegations; and as she knew that the French court intended not to begin the quarrel from first to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal on such plausible reasons, she thought it better for the present to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as well as unreasonable.

Elizabeth entered anew into negotiations for expelling the Archduke Charles; and she seems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make that farrous offer: but as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree that the Archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that princes, desiring of success in their addresses, married the daughter of Albert, Duke of Bavaria.
tice, and even the established laws; and though young Edward, desirous of promoting a man so celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal, and his morals, enjoined them to dispense with this ceremony, they were still determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the resolution rather to refuse the bishopric, than to clothe himself in those hated garments; but it was deemed requisite, that for the sake of the example, he should not escape so easily. He was first consulted by the SYNOD. Then, in the council, he was summoned to attend the Synod, if he would consent to be a bishop on the terms proposed: he was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: heuer and Peter Martyr, and the most celebrated foresters of the commons, conjured and exclaiming that it was a trap, and a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the ominous robes, but should agree to be consecrated, and to use them during cathedral service: a coudesinscription not a little extraordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformed. The same objection which had arisen with regard to the episcopal habit, had been moved against the roaiment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealats. In vain it was urged, that particular habits, as well as postures and ceremonies, having been constantly used by the clergy, and employed in religious service, acquire a venation in the eyes of the people, appear sacred in their apprehensions, excite their devotion, and contract a kind of mysterious virtue, which attaches to all the insignia of the sacred office. The surplice, he answered, was established worship: that in order to produce this effect, an uniformity in these particulars is requisite, and even a perseverance as far as possible, in the former practice: and that the nation would be betrayed, if by retaining these offensive observances, the reformers could engage the people to renounce willingly what was absurd or pernicious in the ancient superstition. These arguments, which had infuriated both men, were the very reasons which engaged the violent protestants to reject the habits. They pressed matters to a total opposition with the church of Rome: every compliance, they said, was a symbolizing with Antichrist. And this spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that, in a national remonstrance made afterwards by the church of Scotland against these habits, it was asked, 'What has Christ Jesus to do with Beral? What has halo-kneeling to do with light! If surplices, corner caps, and tippets, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry; why should the preacher of christian liberty, and the open rebel of all superstition, partake with the drag of the Romish beast? Yea, who is then free from its ensnarements? and with what sign shall he be afraid?—either a mark on his forehead, or on his forehead, the print and mark of that odious beast! But this application was rejected by the English church. There was only one instance, in which the spirit of contradiction to the Romishans took place universally in England: the altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reason why this innovation met with such general reception was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making spoil of the plate, vestures, and rich ornaments, which belonged to the altar. These disputes, which had been started during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the protestants, who fled from the persecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of these men had received an increase from the furious crueltv of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their opposition to the utmost extent in the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin, and the other reformers, who followed the discipline and worship of Genevese, continued in this obstinate resistance; and though some of the refugees, particularly those who were established at Frankfurt, still adhered to King Edward's liturgy, the prevailing spirit carried these confessors to seek a still further reformation. On the accession of Elizabeth, they returned to their native country; and being regarded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and past sufferings, they ventured to insist on the establishment of their projected model; and it was found, in many instances, that when the word of grace was administered by these reformers, who had already gone too far, in shaking off those forms and observances, which, without distracting men of more refined apprehensions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuse, and engage the vulgar. She took to have a law for uniformity strictly enacted: she was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which it thought proper; and though she was sparing in the exercise of this prerogative, she continued rigid in exacting an observance of the established laws, and in punishing all nonconformity. The zealats, therefore, who harboured a great antipathy to the episcopal order, and to the whole hierarchy, were obliged to adopt, as it were, an extra-synodal set of ceremonies, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined their avowed objections to the surplice, the confirmation of children, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kindred acts, the touching and anointing of sick; and some other strange cautively observed acts, which were rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish point. They defended these things, as things already gone too far, in shaking off those forms and observances, which, without distracting men of more refined apprehensions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuse, and engage the vulgar. She took to have a law for uniformity strictly enacted. She was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which she thought proper; and though she was sparing in the exercise of this prerogative, she continued rigid in exacting an observance of the established laws, and in punishing all nonconformity.
never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to insert in this place an account of the rise and genius of the puritans; because Camden marks the present year, as the period when they began to make themselves considerable in England. We now return to our narration.

A. D. 1566. The Duke of Norfolk was the only peer D. of Norwich that enjoyed the highest title of noblefolk's deposition, and as there were at present no princes of the blood, the splendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison the first subject in England. This great man, ranking in secret estimation: beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obstinate, he possessed, without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics, and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party; but as he had been educated amongst the reformers, he was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished. He enjoyed the esteem of his fellow, and was popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence turned; and at a very considerable distance.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the Queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: but the first person who, after secretary Ladington, opened the scheme to the duke, is said to have been the Earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland. That nobleman set before Norfolk the advantage of combining the dissensions in Scotland under the head of his country, by an alliance with the house of Stuart, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and in order to bind Norfolk's interest the faster with Mary, he proposed that the duke's daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previous obtaining of Elizabeth's consent was regarded both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the Queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own happiness to the welfare of her dear sister, and therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwell, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband.

It is probable that Murray was not sincere in this proposal. He had two motives to engage him to dissimulation. He knew the danger to which he must run in his return through the North of Ireland and Westmoreland, Mary's partisans in that country; and he dreaded an interruption in Scotland from the Duke of Châtelain, and the Earls of Orkney and Caithness, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By these feigned appearances of friendship, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen; and he persuaded the Queen to give her a new assurance of her love, and even advice, to conclude a cessation of hostilities with the regent's party.

The Duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's consent should be previously obtained before the completion of his marriage and reason to his friend that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy against her sister and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the Queen of Scots; he foresaw that the princess's espousing a person of his power and character and interest would give the greatest umbrage; and as it would then become necessary to restate her in possession of her throne on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-establishing of her character, he dreaded lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to such indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore contrived his own terms, and proposed the marriage of several of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Scotland, Sir Lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and gradually engrafted the interest of the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained some views of espousing Mary, willingly resigned all his pretensions, and seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests. There were other motives, besides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in England: and as he was governed by no views but the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever enlightened by the public good, he was the first to check those sallies of passion, and sometimes of caprice, to which she was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, and remonstrances, and his arguments, and his great art in carrying himself, seemed to have made an impression on her, and to have reconciled her to the King of Scots. He gained, however, the more credit he gained with his mistress, the more he was exposed to the eny of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her ministers, and sought to moderate it, and thought that she could support Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one had about this time for having him thrown into the Tower on some pretence or other; she never gave him such unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

Norfolk, sensible of the difficulties which he must meet with in controlling his council's counsels, especially where they collided with the inclination as well as interest of the queen, durst not open to her his intentions of marrying the Queen of Scots; but proceeded still in the same course, of increasing his interest in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility in his views. A letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that she should give sufficient entry to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom. When Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, Norfolk employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project; and besides securing the interests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at their country estates, and persons in the greatest authority of the nonconformist counties. The kings of France and Spain, who interested themselves extremely in Mary's cause, were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of these measures. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed, in expectation of an alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render her party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it.
It was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could entirely escape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn that she was acquainted with his designs; and she frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he reposed his head: but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her first by her messenger, Murray, and the more so because in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at least intended, for his own safety, and that of his party, that Elizabeth should in reality, as well as name, be engaged with the condition, and not should have her consent extorted by any conference of her own subjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more so, as those intrigues were attended with other circumstances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry that seemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, who had no other design than that of restoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expense of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the North, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the Queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to Lord Dacres, that he would flee her from confinement, and conduct her to Northumberland, or to the place to which she should think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Holstone, and other gentlemen, whose interest lay in the personal liberty of Mary, were on her side, concerned, in the same views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the scheme, a diversion should, in the mean time, be made from the side of Florida, which was discovered, and that all the suppressed, these conspiracies; both because his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpose by revolution, and because he foresaw that, if the Queen of Scots came into the possession of these men, they would rather choose for her husband the King of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, and inclination, to re-establish the Catholic religion.

When those noblemen and good principality as the Duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprises, they are commonly so unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their designs and their remorse, their fear of punishment and their consternation, they render themselves prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance; affirmed that his estate in England was not valuable, but that he was writing to the king of Spain, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the Duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour. The number of the malcontents amounted to four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England.

The queen was not negligent in her own defence, and she had beforehand, from her prudent and wise conduct, acquired such power over herself as ensured a certain security of a sovereign; insomuch that even the catholics in most counties expressed an affection for her service; and the Duke of Norfolk himself, though he had lost her favour, and was in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his situation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Sussex, attended by the Earls of Rutland, the Lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched against the rebels at the head of seven thousand men, and found them already advanced to the bishops of Durham, of which they had taken possession. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the Earl of Warwick and Lord Clinton were advancing against them with a greater body, they found no other resource than to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses; the leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found skulking in that country, and consequently, by Mary's command, in the castle of Lochinvar. Westmoreland received shelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partisans of Mary; and persuaded them to make an irruption into England, with a view of reestablishing the Bishop of Durham. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This sudden and precipitate rebellion was followed soon after by another still more imprentid,
Elizabeth now found, that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill consequences which she had foreseen when she first embraced that measure. This latter princess, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium into which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwell, had behaved with such modesty and judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed by her demeanour; and her friends were enabled, on some plausible grounds, to deny the reality of all those crimes which had been imputed to her.  

By compassion for her situation, and the necessity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partisans, to be actuated by the same motives as herself. As, at length, no further advantage was expected from captivity, it was thought, could nowise be effected by attempts dangerous to the established government, Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner; and, had she resolved to guard, by every prudent expedient, against the mischiefs to which it was exposed. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct, and observed, that in Scotland, negociated perpetually concerning the terms of her restoration, made constant professions of friendship to her; and by these arts endeavoured both to prevent her from making any desperate effect decisive resistance, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never intermitted their solicitations, sometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the same deceit by the Queen of Scots; professions of friendship were, on both sides, equally insincere; and while an appearance of friendship was maintained on both sides, the animosity and jealousy, which had long prevaled between them, became every day more strong, and more decided. The queen's address, capacity, activity, and spirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, besides her present forlorn condition, was always inferior in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power, to her illustrious rival. Elizabeth and Mary wrote at the same time letters to the regent. The Queen of Scots desired that her marriage with Bothwell might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The Queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary should be restored to her dignity on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and the admittance of him afterwards, in the regent's hands till the young prince should come to years of discretion, that she should be allowed to live at liberty as a private person in Scotland, and have an honourable settlement made in her favour.  

Murray summoned a convention of states, in order to deliberate on these proposals of the two queens. But no answer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that she had there employed the style of a sovereign, addressing herself to her subjects; but in reality, because they saw that her request was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or some powerful prince, who could support her cause, and restore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were so derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not be more deliberate concerning them: the third alone could be the subject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in proposing conditions so unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refusal of those which were most advantageous to Mary; and as it was a refusal they were not at liberty to accept, if not too soon; the terms of the third, so as to render it secure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that she was not sincere in any of them.  

It is pretended that Murray had entered into a private negotiation with the queen, to get Mary delivered into his hands; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England so dangerous, it is probable that she would have been pleased, on honourable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much inequality. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton.  

Murray was a person of considerable vigour, abilities, and constancy; but though he was not successful, during his regency, in compelling the dispensations in Scotland, he was so tenacious of more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and austere; and he possessed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that eminent capacity by which he had been distinguished.  

By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. The castle, commanded by Sir Alexander Murray and Lord Darnley, was inviolable by the French cause; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averse to her, that her authority might again acquire the ascendancy. To check its progress, Elizabeth despatched Sussex with an army to the North, under colour of chastising the ravages committed by the borders. He entered Scotland, and laid waste the lands of the Kerrs and Scots, seized the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities on all Mary's partisans, who, he said, had offended his mistress by harbouring the English rebels.  

Sir William Drury was afterwards sent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houses of the Hamiltons who were either engaged in the French cause, or suspected of being so; the English armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the Queen of Scots, who promised, in return, that no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that the English rebels should be delivered up to the queen by her partisans.  

But though the queen, covering herself with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, so far contributed to support the party of the young king of Scots, she was still cautious not to declare openly against Mary; and she even sent a request, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princess, not to elect, during some time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore chosen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards, that Mary's partisans, instead of delivering up Westmoreland and the other fugitives as they had promised, had allowed them to escape into Flanders; she permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of regent, and she sent Randolph, as her resident, to maintain a correspondence with him. But notwithstanding this step, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, she never had made her ambassador so cordial, nor quitted the appearance of amity to that princess. Being imported by the Bishop of Ross, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambassadors, she twice procured a suspension of arms between the Scottish factions, appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for the day of Appeal up to be held by the king and queen dowager Killiour to the Earl of Marche when regent; offering to put Mary into his hands. This was the first intimation given the queen of the regent, that that queen should be tried for her crimes, and that the sentence should be executed upon her. He applied to Mary, and she rejected the offer because we hear not more of it.  

1 Spotswood, p. 249.  
2 Tudor, p. 51.  
by and by that means stopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the opposite party.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130. b Sir James Melville, p. 101, 100.} By these seeming contrarities she kept alive the factions in Scotland, increased their mutual animosity, and rendered the whole country a scene of devastation and of misery.\ footnoteref{Freeland, p. 130.} She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and consequently no interest or design to instigate the parties against each other; but this consequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which she was engaged, as far as possible, to secure the peace, the title, and the person of the Queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendship with her, at least those of neutrality.

The better to amuse Mary with the prospect of an accomplished treaty, Sir Walter and Sir John had previously been sent to her with proposals from Elizabeth. The terms were somewhat rigorous, such as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of sincerity on the part of the English court. It was required that the Queen of Scots, besides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the life-time of Elizabeth, should make a perpetual lease, offensive and defensive, between the kingdoms; that she should marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any person without the consent of the states of Scotland; that compensation should be made for the late ravages committed in England; that justice should be executed on the murderers of Darnley and Murray; that the young prince should be sent into England to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the Queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other securities for the future conduct of Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promised to contribute her endeavours towards the restoration of the deposed queen. The necessity of Mary's affairs obliged her to consent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the Pope, when consulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any assistance.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.}

Elizabeth's commissioners proposed also to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; and after some reasoning on that head, it was agreed that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partisans of Mary boasted, that all terms were fully settled with the court of England, and that the Scottish rebels would soon be constrained to submit to the authority of her sovereign; but Elizabeth took care that these rumours should meet with no credit, and that the king's party should not be discouraged, nor see too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all propositions for making peace, if from him, fixed and irreconcilable, were to be discussed anew in the conference; and desired him to send commissioners who should be constant in the king's cause, and cautious not to make concessions which might be prejudicial to their party.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.} Sussex also, in his letters, dropped hints to the same purpose; and Elizabeth herself said to the Abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had sent to the court of England, that she would not insist on Mary's restoration, provided the Scots could make the justice of their cause appear to her satisfaction; and that, even if their reasons should fall short of full conviction, she would take effectual care to provide for their future security.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.}

A perseverance of the French and appointed the 1st March. Earl of Montrose and Sir James Macgill, together with the Abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty. These commissioners presented memorials, containing the defects of the proposition; and other objections were seconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottish history, with the authority of laws, and with the sentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas

which Elizabeth had entertained, of the absolute, indefeasible right of sovereigns, made her be shocked with these republican topics; and she told the Scottish commissioners, that she was nowise satisfied with their reasons for justifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they must be prepared, without the least scruple, to open the conditions which they required for their security.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.} They replied, that their commission did not empower them to treat of any terms which might infringe the title, person, or authority of the crown king, but that they would gladly hear whatever proposals should be made them by her majesty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not disadvantageous to Mary; but as the commissioners had still insisted, that they were not authorized to treat in any manner concerning the restoration of that prince, the conferences were necessarily at an end; and Elizabeth dismissed the Scottish commissioners with injunctions that they should return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.}

The Bishop of Ross openly complained to the English council, that they had abused his mistress by false promises and professions; and Mary herself was no longer at a loss to judge of Elizabeth's insincerity. By reason of these disappointments matters came still nearer to extremities between the two princesses; and the Queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, in the turbulence of the town, a final attempt.

An incident also happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius issued his bull, in which he excommunicated and deposed some of the English heretics, to this effect, that he was deposed from the sanctuary, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.} It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a measure which was at that time in agitation.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.} John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace; and scouring either to fly or deny the fact, he was seized and confined, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition.\footnote{Spenlow, p. 410. a Freeland, p. 130.}

A new parliament, after five years' interval, on 4th April, was assembled at Westminster; and as the parliament, queen, by the rage of the Pope against her, was become still more the rival of the reigning party, it might be expected, both from this incident, and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontrollable. It was so in fact; yet the queen, with some small opposition, and that too arising chiefly from the height of zeal for protestantism; a disposition of the English which in general contributed extremely to increase the queen's popularity. We shall be somewhat particular in relating the transactions of this session, because they show, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her governmeit. It will be curious also to observe the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, the jealousy with which that spirit was repressed by the sovereign, the impious conduct which was maintained in opposition to it, and the ease with which it was subdued by this arbitrary monarch.
government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negotiations, no parliament in that age ever presumed to take them under consideration, or question, in these particulars, the conduct of their sovereign, or of his ministers.

In the former parliament, the puritans had introduced seven bills for a further reformation in religion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them. The House of Commons had sat a very few days, when Sir John Downage moved the bill for the amendment of the liturgy. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the sign of the cross in baptism. Another member added the kneeling at the sacrament; and another, that it was requisite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communions should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition.

Religion was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended, that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration. The couriers did not forget to impress on the minds of the subject that discretion; although, though he allowed that any heresy might be repressed by parliament, (a concession which seems to have been rash and unguarded, since the act, inventing the crown with the supposition that it might be unassailable, gave the sovereign full power to reform all heresies,) yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship. The comptroller seconded this argument; insisted on the exalted dignity of the bishop was concerned to provide for; and his brethren, if from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with such matters. One Pastor opposed these remonstrances of the couriers. He was scandalized, he said, by the carriage of such persons (numerosity, kneeling, and making the sign of the cross,) should be passed over so slightly. These questions, he added, concern the salvation of souls, and interest every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cause he showed to be the cause of God; the rest were all but terrere, yea, trifles in comparison, call them ever so great: subjects, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had, when the whole subjects of such unspeakable importance. Though the zeal of his master seems to have been approved of, the House, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the question, that a petition should be presented to her majesty, for her licence to proceed in such acts of legislation; and if she did not give her consent, they should stop all debate or reasoning concerning it.

Matters would probably have rested here, had not the queen been so highly offended with Strickland's presumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy. This cause he seemed to have himself before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the House of Commons. This act of power was too violent even for the submissive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the House were invaded; observed that Strickland was not a private man, but represented a multitude, and moved that he might be sent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might answer for it at the bar of the House, which he was summoned to be the only competent tribunal. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with still greater boldness. He said, that the precedent was dangerous; and though in this happy time of tenty, among so many good and honourable persons as were at present invested with authority, nothing of extremiti or injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what now is permitted might hereafter be condemned; that the duty might lower of the benediction, on the ground of the present permission. He added, that all matters not treasonable, or which implied not too much derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the crown itself must finally be determined. He remarked, that men sat not in that House in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: as the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority.

These propositions were so strong, and so generous; but the open assertion of them was, at this time, somewhat new in England; and the couriers were more warranted by present practice, when they advanced a common abstract doctrine. The treasurer warned the House to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture further than their assured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majesty in any doubtful cause.

The member, he said, whose attendance they required, was not restrained on account of any liberty of speech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the House against the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with observing, that even speeches made in that House had been questioned and examined by the sovereign. Cleere, another member, remarked, that the sovereign's prerogative is not so much as disputable, and that the safety of the queen is the safety of the kingdom; and that every man was for his instruction to repair to his ordinary; and he seems to insinuate, that the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen. Fleetwood, another member, added, that he, who, in the fifth of the present session, had been called to account for a speech in the House. But lest this example should be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that in the reign of Henry V. a member was ordered to appear before the House, on account of his freedom of speech; and the parliament presumed not to go further than to humble suitors for him. In the subsequent reign, the Speaker himself was ordered to appear, that affairs might be compassed, without consulting his master; and the House found no other remedy than a like submissive application. He advised the House to have recourse to the same expedient; and not to presume either to send for their member, or demand him, as of right. During this speech, those members of the privy-council who sat in the House, whispered together; upon which the Speaker moved, that the House should make stay of all further proceedings; a motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the affair was committed, was alarmed; in her mind she was most likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the House; and lest the question should be resumed, she sent next day to Strickland her permission to give her attention to the time, that they might, if they should stop all debate or reasoning concerning it.

Notwithstanding this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the Commons still engaged them to continue the discussion of those other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a still more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the Lords condescended to be her instruments. This House sent a message to the Commons, desiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were appointed for that purpose; and the upper House acquainted them, that the queen's majesty, being informed of the articles of Reformation which they had canvassed, approved of them, intended to publish them, and make the bishops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority; and that the Lords would not permit them to be treated of in parliament. The House, though they did not entirely stop proceedings on account of this injunction, seem to have been now imposed with such harassing command; and in the issue all the bills came to nothing.

A motion made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in this kingdom, for conveying goods to the East, was seconded in questions called by the Speaker. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent orders by the mouth of the Speaker, commanding the House to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. All the members understood that she had been
offended, because a matter had been moved which seemed to touch her prerogative. Fleetwood accordingly spoke of this delicate subject. He observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to pique the validity of any patent, was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subject to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions; and that this principle, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book, to prove that no man might speak in the parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave license; because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He showed likewise the statutes of Edward I, Edward III, and Henry IV, with a saving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI's time, the protector was applied to, for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the gallant and renowned sea-adventurer, carried these topics still further. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which whoever should undertake, as much as in fact he did not, he said, could be otherwise accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between saying that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not qualified for that purpose has been the queen's money in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make subjects forget their duty; it is not good to sport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation that all horned beasts should be destroyed, instantly set off, lest her ears should be construed to be horns; and by this apologue be seems to insinuate, that even those who heard or permitted such dangerous speeches, would not themselves be entirely free from the suspicion of being the queen's money. He denied that he meddled further with these matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship.

Though this speech gave some disgust, nobody, at the time, replied any thing, but that Sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the House, and of the member who made the motion: they never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. But in a subsequent debate, Peter Wentworth, avowed free speech, but was struck with an insult on the House; noted Sir Humphrey's disposition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to the chameleon, which can change itself into all colours except white; and recommended to the House a due care of liberty of speech, and of the privileges of parliament.

It appears, on the whole, that the motion against the exclusive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who first introduced it, was sent for by the council, and was severely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the House with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror; and during some time no one dared rise, to speak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the Commons were somewhat allayed, the members spoke with extreme precaution; and by employing most of their discourse in preambles and apologies, they showed their conscious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever so gently; nay, seemed to be approached, though at ever so great a distance, ran alarm among the hearers. The queen would be offended; the council will be extremely displeased: and by these surmises men were warned of the danger to which they exposed themselves. It is remarkable, that the queen, which the queenmen so impiously provoked, was content with the profit of fines.

couriers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects.

Thus every thing which passed the two 20th May. Houses was extremely respectful and submissive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the conclusion of the session, to check, and that with great severity, those feeble efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and speeches of some members. The lord chancellor, after delivering a strong and bitter reproof to those who had ventured to ask this question, that although the majority of the lower House had shown themselves, in their proceedings, discreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had discovered a contrary character, and had most unjustly endeavored to raise up an enmity, arrogant, and presumptuous: contrary to their duty, both as subjects and parliament-men, nay, contrary to the express injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the session, injunctions which it might well become them to have better attended to, they had presumed to call the question her majesty's grants and prerogatives. But her majesty warns them, that since they thus wilfully forget themselves, they are otherwise to be admonished: some other species of correction must be found for them; since neither the commands of her majesty, nor the example of their wiser brethren, can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to encroach on the prerogative of the crown, and what lies beyond the compass of their understanding.

In all these transactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliament; and the prerogative of the crown. The prince was to be the mark of all respect and obedience; the meanest subject of the crown ought to be as careful of his duty to the crown, as the crown to the subject; and the state; still less were they to meddle with the church. Questions of either kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to those councils and ministers with whom he was pleased to intrust them. What was the manner of the House, that it should give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preservation of pheasants and partridges, for the repARATION of bridges and highways; for the punishment of mutiny or contempt of the laws. Concerning the police of the country came properly under their inspection; and the laws of this kind which they prescribed, had, if not a greater, yet a more durable, authority, than those which were promulgated directly from the proclamations of the sovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for decisions in private property, or the punishment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal laws, or in the manners of the crown, but such as the crown might derive from the crown, the crown, or the crown; nor would the courts of justice be induced to change their established practice by an order of council. But the most acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of subsidies; the attaining and maintaining of credit, and public ruin, without its being of state after his fall; the countenance of such great efforts of power, as might be deemed somewhat exceptional, when they proceeded entirely from the sovereign. The redress of grievances was sometimes promised to the people, but seldom could have place, while it was an established rule, that the prerogatives of the crown must not be abridged, nor so much as questioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies, and exclusive companies, had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increasing, to the destruction of all liberty, and extinction of all industry; it was criminal in a member to propose, in the most dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application against any of them.

These maxims of government were not kept secret by Elizabeth, nor smoothed over by any fair appearances or plausible pretenses. They were openly avowed in her speeches and messages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtiness, nay, sometimes bitterness, of expression, which the meanest servant could look for from with whose conduct, either in word or con-duct, Elizabeth continued to be the most popular sovereign that ever swayed the sceptre of England; because of the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the conduct of the reign. The maxims of government were the most gentle, because they were the most temperate. The
ments of popular assemblies on Elizabeth's successors have so changed our ideas in these matters, that the passages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even, at first, surprising; but there were so little remarked during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other historian, has taken any notice of them. So absolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and put out, as well as the fire of patriotism, and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous, and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution. Actuated by that zeal which so frequently occurs in those whose enthusiasm inspires, they hazarded the utmost indignation of their sovereign; and employing all their industry to be elected into parliament, a matter not difficult, while a seat was rather regarded as a burden than an advantage, it they first acquired a majority in that assembly, and then obtained an ascendant over the church and monarchy. The following were the principal laws enacted this session. It was declared treason, during the lifetime of the queen to affirm, that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that any other possessed a preferable title, or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel, or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown, nor the extent of the crown's power in writing or printing, that any person, except the natural issue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or successor, subjected the person and all his abettors, for the first offence, to imprisonment for a term of years, and for the forfeiture of half their goods; the second offence subjected them to the penalty of a præmunire. This law was plainly levelled against the Queen of Scots and her parasitical and immodest avowal, that Elizabeth never intended to declare her successor. It may be noted, that the usual phrase of lawful issue, which the parliament thought intolerable to the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was changed into that of natural issue, although the crown was to be preserved during the time; and some suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's demise, to produce some bastard of his own, and affirm that he was first in rank. It was also enacted, that whosoever, by bulls, should publish absolutions, or other rescripts of the Pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, such offenders, as well as those who were so reconciled, should be guilty of treason. The penalty of a præmunire was imposed on every one who imported any Agnus Dei, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition as the hands of the queen-mother, by the forementioned act, were supposed to have power to destroy. The former laws against usury were enforced by a new statute. A supply of one subsidy and two twentieths, was granted by parliament. The queen, as she was determined to yield them none of her power, was very cautious in asking them for any supply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown, or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth possessed such uncontrolled authority over her parliaments, and such extensive influence over her people; though during a course of thirteen years she had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the hasty and ill-considered insurrection in the North; she was still kept to great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries as well as in Scotland, seemed, in one view, to secure her against any disturbance; but they served, on more reflection, to instruct her in the danger of her situation, when she remarked that England, no less than these nations, was deified by the severe and intolerable measures of the James, and possessed the same enormity, and the same interminable discord; the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animosity of the opposite sectaries.

Civil wars of France. The league formed at Bavarone, in 1566, for the extermination of the protestants, had not been concluded so secretly, but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligny, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding that the measures of the court agreed with their sentiments, they were excited by the crusel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely related by blood, as well as religious sentiments, to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed, with entire submission, the orders of their leaders, and were ready, on every signal, to fly to arms. The king and queen-mother were living in great security, at Monceaux in Brie, when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiss come speedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Denis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed, combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German protestants, appeared again in the field; and raising about seven thousand, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation. So great was the mutual animosity of those religious, that even had Medici been on one side in favor of either, he would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where such extreme jealousy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a snare for their enemies. A plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance. The civil wars were renewed with greater vehemence than ever, and the parties became still more exasperated against each other. The young Duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought, in 1569, a great battle at Jarres with the hugonots, where the Prince of Condé was killed and his army defeated. This discomfiture, with the loss of so great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to despair. The admiral still supported the cause; and having posted at the head of his troops the Prince of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the young Prince of Condé, he encouraged the party to persist bravely in the field than ignominiously by the breach of the league. All the hugonots, though they had dispersed their forces, so determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head against the Duke of Anjou; and being strengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat, and to divide his forces.

Coligny then laid siege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprise, the Duke of Guise, enmous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the place, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and honour afterwards attained by this Duke of Guise. The attachment which all the catholics had borne to his father was immediately transferred to the son; and men pleaded themselves in comparing all the great and shining qualities of the eldest of the Guises, to adorn the character of the younger. Equal in ability, in munificence in address, in eloquence, and in every quality which engages the affections of men; equal also in valour, in conduct, in enterprise, in capacity; there seemed only this difference between them, that the son, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater dissolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterprises still more destructive to the authority of his sovereign, and to the repose of his native country.
Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowise pleased with this new rise of her enemies the Guises; and being anxious for the fate of the protestants, whose interests were connected with her own, she was engaged, notwithstanding her aversion from all rebellion, and from all opposition to the will of the sovereign, to give them secretly some assistance.10 In these enterprises, she lent money to the Queen of Navarre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. And she permitted Henry Champenon to levy, and transport over state funds, the regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself in that great school of military valour.11 The admiral, constrained by the impiety of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the Duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poucct, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligny, vainly flattered themselves that the force of the rebels was at last entirely annihilated; and they neglected further preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprised to hear that his leader had appeared without display in an unexpected quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even now besieging a strong place near Paris. 

The habeas practice of the crown, diminished by the continuous disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprises, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme necessity against the hugonots, was, in 1570, to conclude the accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience. 

Though a pacification was seemingly concluded, the minds of the kings were not reconciled to their rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. Of the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and to convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels which seemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiously observed to them; the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to destroy it, were punished with severe penalties, and favours, and honours were bestowed on the principal nobility among the protestants; and the king and council everywhere declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion. 

Among the other artifices employed to full the protestants into a fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connexion with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the Queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the Duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be supposed to recommend him to a woman, who had appeared not altogether insensible to these endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that article, she laid before the other operations designed for her. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed, difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insinuative, though not equals, agreed in regription to approach each other in their demands and concessions. The great 

-- HISTORY OF ENGLAND --

[A.D. 1571. — Chap. XI.

1 Obstacle seemed to lie in adjusting the difference of religion; because Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her husband; and the Duke of Anjou seemed unwilling to submit, for the sake of interest, to the dishonour of an apostasy.9 The artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed so much in her relations with the Gentile princes, she lent money to the Queen of Navarre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. And she permitted Henry Champenon to levy, and transport over state funds, the regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself in that great school of military valour. The admiral, constrained by the impiety of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the Duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poucct, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligny, vainly flattered themselves that the force of the rebels was at last entirely annihilated; and they neglected further preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprised to hear that his leader had appeared without display in an unexpected quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even now besieging a strong place near Paris. 

The habeas practice of the crown, diminished by the continuous disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprises, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme necessity against the hugonots, was, in 1570, to conclude the accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience. 

Though a pacification was seemingly concluded, the minds of the kings were not reconciled to their rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. Of the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and to convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels which seemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiously observed to them; the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to destroy it, were punished with severe penalties, and favours, and honours were bestowed on the principal nobility among the protestants; and the king and council everywhere declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion. 

Among the other artifices employed to full the protestants into a fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connexion with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the Queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the Duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be supposed to recommend him to a woman, who had appeared not altogether insensible to these endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that article, she laid before the other operations designed for her. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed, difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insinuative, though not equals, agreed in regription to approach each other in their demands and concessions. The great 

10 [Horne, p. 471.]

11 [Campion, p. 495.]


13 [Greil. Arch. lib. i. Father Paul, another great authority, computes on a passage above cited, that fifty thousand persons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.]
self. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the duchess; that Cardinal Granville entirely possessed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under Spanish rule. The discontent of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men showed a strong disposition to revolt. Assemblies were called by a like violence; petitions presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most unwarrantable disorders.

The worst part of the nobility, particularly the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which their own discontents had at first given countenance; and seconding the wisdom of the government, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, prevented the risings, and restored the people to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not content with the re-establishment of his ancient authority; he considered, that provincials so remote from the seat of government could not be governed by the same laws as the subjects, and that a prince, who must entertain rather than command, would necessarily, when resided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the popular disorders, as a pretence for excluding the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with military and arbitrary authority.

In the execution of this violent design, he employed a mass of troops, which he conducted in the hands of such a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, Duke of Alva, had been educated amidst arms; and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer the regulations of the army to all the methods of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his ardent animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation. It belongs not to our subject to relate at length those measures, which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and supported by the power of the monarch, on those flourishing provinces. It sufficed to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the Counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and then delivered over to the executioner; and notwithstanding the peremptory submissun of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth was equally displeased to see the progress of these disorders, and the determination of the protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power, in a state situated in so near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions, and promised them shelter for a long sustant without excusing some connexion, she ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. She was determined to send a fleet of armed vessels, composed of English and Flemish ships, under contract with Philip, to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by some privateers equipped by the French huguenots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended that the money belonged to the King of Spain; but the queen, finding upon inquiry that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan; and by that means defrauded the king of his greatest benefit. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated the blow by a like violence; she seized the Spaniards and their effects; and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip.

These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the ministers: but nothing could repair the loss which so well timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all the immovable goods: he also demanded the tenth of all movable goods on the people, the half of all the金银, and the half of all the gold, and a fine of five hundred per cent on all the revenues of the kingdom. This was a renunciation of the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbon; and the материалов of this scheme of extortions between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

All the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themselves for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the Queen of Scots; and the King of Spain, who was a сын of Elizabeth, had opened a secret intercourse with that prince. There was one Rodolph, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he lived, was a sufferer by the successive measures which had been taken by the Spaniards to destroy all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbon; and the материалов of this scheme of extortions between the Flemings and the Spaniards. Elizabeth, in order to revenge herself for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the Queen of Scots; and the King of Spain, who was a сын of Elizabeth, had opened a secret intercourse with that prince. There was one Rodolph, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he lived, was a sufferer by the successive measures which had been taken by the Spaniards to destroy all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbon; and the материалов of this scheme of extortions between the Flemings and the Spaniards. Elizabeth, in order to revenge herself for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the Queen of Scots; and the King of Spain, who was a сын of Elizabeth, had opened a secret intercourse with that prince. There was one Rodolph, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he lived, was a sufferer by the successive measures which had been taken by the Spaniards to destroy all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbon; and the материалов of this scheme of extortions between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

The Queen of Scots, indignation for her father's death, and her own, and her attachment to her religion, led her to be a propagator of the reformation in Scotland, and to be a principal promoter of the war against her cousin. Elizabeth, who had been so long associated with her father in the government of the kingdom, and who was so fully acquainted with the character of her cousin, was not less desirous of promoting the reformation in Scotland. The Queen of Scots, indignation for her father's death, and her own, and her attachment to her religion, led her to be a propagator of the reformation in Scotland, and to be a principal promoter of the war against her cousin. Elizabeth, who had been so long associated with her father in the government of the kingdom, and who was so fully acquainted with the character of her cousin, was not less desirous of promoting the reformation in Scotland.

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actions, he was pressed to give his consent to enterprises still more criminal. Rodolph's plan was, that the Duke of Alva should, on some other pretence, assemble a great quantity of men at the Lords' House, and should transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the Duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and subsist the question of the rebellion in the interim, or the time the prisoner should trust, to impose upon her? Norfolk expressed his assent to this plan; and three letters, in consequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolph, one to Alva, another to the Pope, and a third to the King of Spain; but the duke was apprehensive of the danger, refused to sign them. He only sent to the Spanish ambassador a servant and confidential, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of these letters; and Rodolph, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambassador, proceeded on his journey to Brussels and to Rome. The Duke of Alva and the Pope embraced the scheme with alacrity. Rodolph informed Norfolk of this as a matter of no weight; and every thing seemed to concour in forwarding the undertaking.

Norfolk, notwithstanding these criminal enterprises, had never entirely forgotten his duty to his sovereign, his conscience; and though he had thought the plan both of an invasion and an insurrection, he still flattered himself, that the innocence of his intentions would justify the violation of his measures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the Queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Elizabeth's consent to his marriage, he could not justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor. It is certain, however, that, considering the queen's vigour and spirit, the scheme, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here exposed to the utmost danger.

The conspiracy hitherto had entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secret Cecil, who now bowing to the board by Rodolph's carriage, sent from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at last to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to Lord Herries, and her partisans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannister, a servant of his, at that time in the North, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to Lord Herries. He mistrusted the money to any servant who was not in the secret, and told him that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Bannister with a letter: but the servant conjecturing, from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of treasure, the letter to Bannister; who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker, and Hecford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture made them confess the whole truth; and as Hecford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mat of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full evidence now appeared against his master. Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before the council; and though exhorting to stone for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in denying every crime with which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his sincere repentance, she would have pardoned all his former offences, but finding him obstinate, she committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The Bishop of Ross had, on some suspicion of conspiring in the council of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his share in the conspiracy. He at first insisted on his privilege; but he was told, that as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he would not be required to reveal his knowledge, and information. As he were allowed, it did not warrant him in conspiring against the sovereign at whose court he resided. As he still refused to answer interrogatories, he was informed of the confession made by Norfolk's servants, after which he no longer scrupled to make a full discovery; and his evidence then formed the basis of the trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the strict rules of Trial of Norfolk, observed at present in these matters; except that the witnesses given time to consider, and they were confronted with the prisoner: a laudable practice, which was not at that time observed in trials for high treason.

The queen still hesitated concerning Norfolk's execution, whether that she was really moved by friendship and compassion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the peace of eleemosyne, she only put on the appearance of these sentiments. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal sentence; and though her ministers and counsellors pushed her to rigour, she still appeared irresolute and undecided. After four months' hesitation, a parliament was assembled, and the Commons addressed her, in strong terms of condemnation and execration, against the execution of the duke; and the king and queen, in a general resolution, which, when added to the greatness and certainty of his guilt, would, she thought, justify, to the eyes of all mankind, her severity against that nobleman.

Norfolk was found in the most ignoble manner, and though he cleared himself of any diabolical intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. That we may relate together all of a sudden, it is said that the Earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the Regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion.

The Queen of Scots was either on the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, and might reasonably, from the harsh treatment which she had met with, think herself entitled to any expedient for her relief. Elizabeth durst not, as yet, form expensive and hazardous designs against her; but she had on her side her own daughter, and she only sent Lord Delwar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilson, to expostulate with her, and to demand satisfaction for all those parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given displeasure to Elizabeth: her assuming the arms of England, refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's consent, conspiring in the northern rebellion, in prating with Rodolph to engage the King of Spain in an invasion of England, procuring the Pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of Queen of England. Mary, in her letter to Elizabeth, in her charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others. But the queen was little satisfied with her apology, and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the Commons made a direct application as a general rule of conduct, (an intention which it is unreasonable to suppose,) would lead to consequences destructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried further than Elizabeth intended; and that the queen, satisfied with the execution of the nation, sent to the House her express commands not to deal any further at present in the affair of the Scottish queen. Nothing could be a stronger proof, that the spirit of man, prevails over the temperance of authorities derived from Scripture, especially from the Old Testament; and that the queen was so little a lover of that sect, that she was not likely to make any concession merely in deference to their solicitation. Table should have shown, that that character, which the Commons in another remarkable instance. The Commons had passed two bills for regulating ecclesiastical ceremon—A. D. 1571.—chap. XII.
ies; but she sent them a like impetuous message with her former ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, she stopped all further proceeding in those matters.

But though Elizabeth would not carry matters to such extremities as Mary, yet it is likely that a precedent, so contumaciously, by the advice of her parliament, she was alarmed at the great interest and the restless spirit of that princess, as well as her close connexions with Spain; and she thought it necessary both to increase the rigor and strictness of her confinement, and to prevent those accessions of force which she imagined her hitherto pursued in her management of Scotland.

That kingdom remained still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. By a sudden and unexpected seized, they seized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, sallying from the castle, were likely to rescue him, they instantly put him to death. The Earl of Moray was chosen regent in his room; and found the same difficulties in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and English ambassadors; and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous spirit, and scorned to submit to any dependence upon foreign powers: and Elizabeth, who had then formed intimate connections with France, yielded with less reluctance to the solicitations of that court, still maintained the appearance of neutrality between the two parties, and the balance of power was preserved. But affairs soon after took a new turn: Moray died of melancholy, with which the distracted state of the country afflicted him: Morton was chosen regent; and as this nobleman had secreted all his measures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendship of the French court, she resolved to exert herself more effectually for the support of the party which she had always favoured. She sent Sir Henry Killegrew, ambassador of her name to Scotch, who on Scotch had practised so decisive and decisive was by the discovery and punishment of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all past offences.

The Duke of Châtelherault and the Earl of Huntly, with the most considerable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on these conditions. The garrison alone of the castle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were extreme; and he flattered himself with the hopes of receiving friendship and aid from the French and Spanish court, who encouraged his obstinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give disturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger, she no more approved the adherence of the whole, and an exact register of those, who she found, would no longer be amuse by her artifices; she had an implicit reliance on Morton; and she saw that by the submission of all the considerable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an easy as well as a most important undertaking. She ordered therefore Sir William Darny, governor of Berwick, to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle.

The garrison surrendered at discretion; Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed; secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died soon after a voluntary death, as is supposed; and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any further intimation to Elizabeth.

French affairs. The events which happened in France were not so agreeable to the queen's interests and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications which had been so often made with the huguenots, gave reason to suspect the present intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were betrayed into a dangerous credulity, the egregious seditious still remained unpunished. For the abettors of the massacre were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimula-

1 D'Evr. p. 315. 2 Eliz. 437.
2 Deering, p. 155. 3 Deering, p. 136. 583.

2. 2

the massacre of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He considered besides, that as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with such fatal success, it was not unwise that Prince Charles, who had repeatedly his was the introduction, and appeared not to be exerted in any dangerous amonist or prejudices, would be induced to govern himself by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a passionate, hasty temper, and addicted to the pursuit of pleasures, such as gaming, hunting, and good company, the character, or difficult, and almost impossible, to be so uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the Queen of Navarre, and all the French nobility, betook themselves to the Court of France, and gave credit to the treacherous cursses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity; and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an amity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former, and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the humble, and plain dealing, and fidelity of those perjured French.

The better to blind the jealous huguenots, and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them, Charles offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the Prince of Navarre; and the admiral, for the satisfaction of his party, had come to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the bloody animosity of the two religions. The Queen of Navarre was persuaded by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: yet Charles re- doubting his disavowal, was still able to retain the huguenots in their security; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew's a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religious, and the king himself in person led the way to these assassinations. The hatred of the monarch of France, against the Protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son, the cardinal of Vendome, Captain Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered, without resistance; the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged, was excited with their cruelty, as if repaying that death had saved the victims from further insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre, and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly despatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the protesters; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the King of Navarre, and Prince of Conde, had been proposed by the Duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the King of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to the Catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion.

Charles, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the huguenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this intelligence. Edward, the Irish minister, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even scrupled not to declare,
that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman; yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology which had been prescribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which he knew the conduct of his master had so well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face: silence, as in the dead of night, reigned throughout all the chambers of the royal apartment; the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the presence of the king. That ceremony seemed to him with a more easy, if not a more gracious countenance; and heard his apology, without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation. She then told him, that though on the first rumour of this dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who rested secure on the faith of their sovereign, should have been suddenly butchered in so barbarous a manner, she had hitherto suspended her judgment, till further and more certain information should be brought her: that the account which he had given, even if founded on no mistake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counsellors, on whom he had the immediate proceedings of the whole. That the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, could easily have secured their persons, and have reserved them for a trial, and for proper and just punishment; which he could have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: that the admiral, in particular, being dangerously wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whose protection he seemed entirely to rely, had no means of escape, and might surely, before his death, have been constrained to the cruelties imputed to him; that it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve in his own hands the sword of justice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and avowed enemies of the person of the king, employed it without mercy and without distinction: that if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the protesants to be real, how much more so, if that crime was a calamity of their enemies, invented for their destruction! that if, upon inquiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defacers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, had murdered so many of his brave subjects, and had done what in what they lay to cover him with everlasting dishonour; and that for her part, she should form her judgment of his intentions by his conduct, and in the mean time should act as desired by the king, to incriminate her; or, by pity then, blame his master for the extremities to which he had been carried.

Elizabeth was fully sensible of the dangerous situation in which she now stood. In the massacre of Paris, she saw the result of that general conspiracy, formed for the extermination of the protestants; and she knew that she herself, as the head and protectress of the new religion, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the same conspiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perjury and barbarity, as well as political ambition, had now laid aside their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the most entire friendship, she had reason, as soon as they had appeased their domestic commotions, to dread the effect of their wishes and designs. To the Duke of Guise, the king, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a distance, had now acquired an open and entire ascendant in the court of France; and she was sensible that these princes, from personal as well as political motives, were her declared implacable enemies. The Queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and, though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit, and, besides her foreign allies, possessed numerous and zealous partisans in the heart of the kingdom. For these reasons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but still to listen to the professions of friendship which he made her. She allowed even the negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the Duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother: those with the Duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She sent the Earl of Worcester to assist in the baptism of a young princess, born to Charles; but before she agreed to give him this last mark of concession, she thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expressions of blame, and even of detestation, against those persons, whose designs on him she had formed. Meanwhile, she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists: she fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, acted with vigour for the further reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the catholics.

But though Elizabeth cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greatest security that she possessed against the designs of his implacable enemies was the existence of those difficulties which the obstinate resistance of the hugonots still continued to create to him. Such of that sect as lived in French affairs, near the frontiers, immediately, on the first approach of persons of that sect, into the principality of Orange, Germany, or Switzerland, where they excited the commotion and passion of the protestants, A. D. 1574, and prepared themselves, with increased forces and renown, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took shelter in the nearest garrisons occupied by the hugonots; and finding that they could repose no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, ventured to come within the last extremity. The sect, which Charles had hoped, at one blow, to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thousand men on foot, and possessed, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, towns, or fortresses; nor could it be that prince deemed himself secure from the invasions threatened him by all the other protestants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge; but Elizabeth, who was cautious of her people to intrust their destiny still further the quibbles between the two religions by those dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. The German princes, less political, or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the leaves made by the protestants; and the young Prince of Condé, having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, the family of Montmorency, and many considerable men, even among the catholics, displeased, either on a private or public account, with the measures of the court, favored the progress of the hugonots; and every thing escaped into confusion. The king, instead of repressing his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremities, called aloud for new vio-

lences; nor could even the mortal distemper under which he laboured, moderate the extremity by which he was actuated. He died without male issue, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince, whose character, containing that usual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting justice, was filled with implacable enmity, and threatened still worse, both to his native country and to all Europe. Henry, Duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected King of Poland, no sooner heard of his
brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France; and found the kingdom not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were now, as Henry admitted, in their faction, furious from their zeal, and mutually engrossed from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated, and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of accommodation between them. Each of the parties, indeed, appealed itself to others, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise and his family. The religious connexions led, on both sides, superseded the civil; or, (for men will always be guided by present interest,) two empires being secretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of interest to follow these leaders, to whom, during the course of past convulsions, he had been indebted for his honour and preferment.

Henry, observing the low condition of the crown, had his mind formed for taking his own authority by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the talents of dissimulation, requisite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in the propriety of conduct and the spirit of manner, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere more closely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and sincere in the cause, which they espoused. The hugenots were strengthened by the accession of a German army, under the Prince of Condé and Prince Casimir; but much to the credit and personal worth of the King of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himself at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in prosecution of his plan, entered into a composition with them; and being desirous of preserving a balance between the sects, he granted them peace on the most advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugenots; but though it was more sincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the highest disgust to the catholics; and afforded the Duke of Guise the desired pretext of declaiming against the measures, and maxims, and conduct of the king. That artful and bold leader took then an occasion of reviving his faction among his own followers, and he laid the first foundations of the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the hugenots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the past severities and violent measures of the government, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and a concession for liberty of conscience, which would probably have appeased the reformers, excited the greatest resentment in the catholics. Henry, in order to divert the force of the abilities as were neutrals between those dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young able-headed favourers, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leant entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium against his administration. The public burdens, increased by his profuse gifts to the nobility, and by a variety of other devices, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animosity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more uncomfortable than any open state of foreign, or even domestic, hostilities. Thus, A.D. 1570,

and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the Duke of Guise, on one side, and that of the King of Navarre, on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themselves, without reserve, to one or the other of those great leaders.

The civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foresight and vigilance, though somewhat restrained by her frugality, led her to take secretly some part in them. Besides employing on all occasions her good offices in favour of the hugenots, she had expended in considerable sums in levying that army of Germans which the Prince of Condé and Prince Casimir conducted into France; and notwithstanding her negotiations with the court, and her professions of amity, she always considered her own interests as connected with the prosperity of France; and was anxious to replace the ancient house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league; had entered into the closest correspondence with Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. This sympathy of religion, which of itself begot a connection of interests, was one considerable inducement; but that monarch had also in view, the subjugation of his relations hugenots in the Netherlands, as they received great encouragement from the French protestants, would, he hoped, finally despair of success, after the entire suppression of their friends and confederates.

The same political views which engaged the wars of the Elizabeth to support the hugenots, would lower countries, have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the lower countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the spot force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, kept her at a distance, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and all provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. On his part, Philip, also as a matter of glory, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes; and by these demonstrations, the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this measure proved, in the issue, extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most pernicious enterprises; and they made an attack on the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, where they met with success, and after a short resistance, became masters of the place. The Duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and stopping those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings, he hastened with his army to extinguish the flame, which, falling on materials so well prepared for combustion, seemed to promise a general conflagration. His fears soon appeared to be well grounded.

The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, few to arms; and in a few days almost the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared against the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1573.

William, Prince of Orange, descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the possessions of a sovereign family in France, had fixed

Camdon, p. 452.  1 Ibii, p. 443.
his residence in the Low Countries, and on account of his noble birth and immense riches, as well as of his personal merit, was universally regarded as the greatest subject that lived in those provinces. He had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger that threatened him. He retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in absence, was declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. When Autegoeve, he had formed an army of protestants in the empire, and had made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty; but was still repulsed with loss, by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as discipline, of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general.

The revolt of Holland and Zeeland, provinces which the Prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no less than spirit, to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundations of that union, which was intended to promote industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which re- sembled resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. Though the present greatness of the Spanish monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he still flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with assistance from neighboring states; and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmost extremities of war. From this spirit proceeded the desperate defence of Harlem; a defence which neither cowardice could daunt. But which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants. This extreme severity, instead of striking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by despair; and the vigorous resistance made at Alkmaer, where Alva was finally repulsed, showed them that their insolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at last the pernicious effect of his violent counsels, selected to be recalled; Medina-Celi, who was appointed his successor, refused to accept the government; Requesens, commander of Castle, was sent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execution to the terror of the rebels, and making his escape. During a course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of those rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioners. Requesens, though a man of milder dispositions, could not oppose the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government; and the war continued as obstinate as ever. In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive them from the enterprise; and the very peasants were active in running their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithstanding this regularity and resolution of the enemy; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants, The Prince of Orange, in their behalf, in 1575, resolved to use for foreign succour, and to make applications in one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the same spirit of tyranny and persecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domestic dissensions, seemed not to enjoy, at present, either leisure or ability to pay regard to foreign interests. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliances, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by sympathy in religion, seemed naturally interested in their defence; and as Elizabeth had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would engage her to support them under their present calamities. They sent therefore a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Donna, Nivelle, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications, and the most touching representations of the miseries of their sovereignty, of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence.

There were many strong motives which might impel Elizabeth to consent to liberate an offer. She was apprized of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the mulctedness in England and Ireland; she foresaw the danger which she might incur from a total prevalence of the Catholics in the Low Countries; and the maritime situation of those provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princes, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her empire. And the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards lose them to any consequence. This being considered, her defence might become, she must embrace it, even further than her convenience or interests would permit. For these reasons, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty offered her; but told the ambassador, that an agreement for the good will which the Prince of Orange and the States had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be proposed. She sent him to Holland to Cobham to Philip; and represented to him the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her internal disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before.

It was now the turn of the Dutch to repel the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to curb their great expedition, and threw everything into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maastricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities on the Scheldt, and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, failed in an expedition that devastated Brabant, and threw everything into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maastricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities on the Scheldt, and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, failed in an expedition that devastated Brabant, and threw everything into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maastricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities on the Scheldt, and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, failed in an expedition that devastated Brabant, and threw everything into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maastricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities on the Scheldt, and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, failed in an expedition that devastated Brabant, and threw everything into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maastricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities on the Scheldt, and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, failed in an expedition that devastated Brabant, and threw everything into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maastricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities on the Scheldt, and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue.
minded to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the prosperous successes of his youth, had opened his mind to vast undertakings: and when he beheld the united forces of the three revolutions, or provinces, he projected to espouse the Queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the British kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and some months before he had made up his mind to restore her, she determined to have a large prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, she no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with their happiness. She sent a sum of money, about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops; she concluded a treaty with them; in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thousand pounds on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was further agreed, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the States, and nothing be determined concerning war or peace without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; and that all regulations of private houses and affairs should be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that which she was to reinforce. This alliance was signed on the 6th of January 1578.1

One considerable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States was, to prevent their throwing themselves into the arms of France, and she was desirous to make the King of Spain believe that it was her sole motive. She represented to him, by her ambassador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto she had religiously acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the Prince of Orange to submit to the king; and had even accompanied her counsel with menaces, in case of his refusal. She persevered, she said, in the same friendly intentions; and as a proof of it, she would venture to interpose with her advice, for the composure of the present differences: let Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let some other prince more moderate be substituted in his room; let the Spanish armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be restored to their ancient liberties and privileges: and if, after these concessions, they were still obstinate not to return, let all her promised pains be made with them; and those of the King of Spain had force to compel him. Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen; and still continued to supply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulsed at Rinemont by the valour of the English under Norris, and though opposed, as well by the army of the States as by Prince Casimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The Prince of Parma succeeded to the throne, more at that time in adversity, negociation and military exploits, made great progress against the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During these years, while England was almost every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By supporting the zealous protestants in Scotland and Ireland and giving them the superiority over their antagonists, she had closely connected their interests with her own, and had procured herself entire security from that quarter whence the most dangerous anxieties could be made upon her. She saw in France her enemies, the Gusses, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugenots, her zealous partisans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their restless and evanescent ambition. The king of Philip gave her just ground of anxiety; but the same hugenot had happily excited the most obstinate opposition among his own subjects, and had created him enemies, whom, soon after, he conceived a great and deadly love. The Queen of Scots, her antagonist and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a prisoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high spirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partisans in England.

Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: she imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who received trust or emolument from the public: and though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament in any form, was visited by no punishment at all. So, while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, showed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship, she showed no inclination to press them to exercise their degrees reconcile all his partisans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. Envy to great parties was taken by the emissaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as possible, and to make the frequency of protestant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics. These practices, with the rebellion which ensued, increased the vigilance and severity of the government; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the nonconformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution.

The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so immediately dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by more irreconcilable obstinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline had been made; to compel them to observe the inquisition; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shown a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation, 2 though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection which these sectaries received from some of her most considerable couriers.

But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her subjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried sometimes to an extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people, who, she seemed to be accustomed by more irreconcilable obstinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline had been made; to compel them to observe the inquisition; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shown a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation, though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection which these sectaries received from some of her most considerable couriers.

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1 Uls. in p. 450. 24th, w. p. 426. 25th, w. p. 426. 3 Ulysses, p. 105. 4 Malecot, p. 146. 5 Camden, p. 446. 6 Creswicke, p. 459. 7 Camden, p. 466. 8 See Juxon's Life of Parker, p. 312. 9 See Malecot, p. 115.
HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [A.D. 1579.—CHAP. XL.

history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which required a particular detail.

A parliament, was a session of parliament, held on the 8th of February 1576; where debates were started, which may appear somewhat curious and singular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had signalized himself in former parliaments by his frequent and unqualified spirit, opened this session with a premised harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the House, and gave great offence to the queen and the ministers. As it seems to contain a rude sketch of those principles of liberty which happily issued afterwards the premeditation in England, it may be improper to give, in a few words, the substance of it. He promised that the name of liberty is sweet; but the thing itself is precious beyond the most insatiable treasure; and that it believed them to be careful, lest, contenting themselves with the sweetness of the name, they forego the substance, and abandon what of all earthly possessions was of the highest value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to observe, that freedom of speech in that House, a privilege so useful both to sovereign and subject, had been formerly infringed in many essential articles, and was at present exposed to the most imminent danger: that it was absurd to suppose that any one was hand-made, especially if it regarded religion, to surmise, that these topics were disagreeable to the queen, and that the further proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon any, that Solomon, justly affirmed, the king's displeasure to be a messenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conscience and duty, should be inclined to stop short, when they found themselves exposed to so severe a punishment. He insisted upon the employing the common sense, the House was incapacitated from serving their country, and even from serving the queen herself, whose ears, besieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered more easily to be imposed upon. He told the Commons, it was a mockery to call an assembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was so essential to its being, and without which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation. That, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themselves derive their being: that a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: that even his commission, as God's vicegerent, enforced, instead of loosening, that right which he had to be invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: that though these surmises of displeasing the queen by their proceedings had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law, yet was there more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties by frequent messages from the throne; that it had become a practice, when the House was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and deferring them from all further discussion of any momentous articles: that the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicitly submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: that the love which he bore his sovereign forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance; and that so earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but, in imposed silence, they diverged from the right path, committed a great, and even dangerous, fault against herself and the whole commonwealth.

It is easy to observe from this speech, that, in this dawn of liberty, the parliamentary style was still crude and unformed; and that the proper decour of attacking ministers and councillors, without interesting the honour of the crown, or mentioning the person of the sovereign, was not yet entirely established. The Commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual licence. They questioned Wentworth from the House, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant-at-arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, and after that, that they who were also members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the House. This committee met in the star-chamber, and, wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to appear before them and answer for his behaviour; and that the Commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star-chamber, Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and refused to give these counsellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were satisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the House. He justified his liberty of speech, by pleading the rigor and hardship he had suffered in the formation of the messages; and notwithstanding that the committee showed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to do what was in hand merely; especially if it regarded religion, to surmise, that these topics were disagreeable to the queen, and that the further proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon any. For, if the affair was that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the Commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favour, she had restored him to his liberty, and placed him in the dangling of a mere liberty, she indirectly retained the power which she had yielded, of impressing the members, and obliging them to answer before her for their conduct in parliament. And Sir Walter Mildmay endeavored to make the House sensible of her Majesty's power in such cases, of expressing her opinion, the House was incapacitated from serving their country, and even from serving the queen herself, whose ears, besieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered more easily to be imposed upon. He told the Commons, it was a mockery to call an assembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was so essential to its being, and without which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation. That, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themselves derive their being: that a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: that even his commission, as God's vicegerent, enforced, instead of loosening, that right which he had to be invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: that though these surmises of displeasing the queen by their proceedings had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law, yet was there more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties by frequent messages from the throne; that it had become a practice, when the House was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and deferring them from all further discussion of any momentous articles: that the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicitly submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: that the love which he bore his sovereign forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance; and that so earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but, in imposed silence, they diverged from the right path, committed a great, and even dangerous, fault against herself and the whole commonwealth.

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The greatest and most absolute security that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the scene began now to be more overcast, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

The Earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland. In strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom. But it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itself in a country accustomed with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes so often met with opposition and control. The nobility began anew for their liberties, and the people were disquieted with some instances of Morton's avarice: and the clergy, who complained of further encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and increased the discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, held high of this concession, and required that demission which he seemed so frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and seemed to employ himself entirely in the care of his domestic affairs: but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared to him a burthen, or finding it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendant in the council; and, though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government; Queen Elizabeth interfered by her ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediatised an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant: and his authority seemed to become every day more precarious.

The queen, d'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he appeared to the Duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no sooner appeared at Stirling, where James resided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and, joining his interest with those of James Stuart, of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profuse manners, who had acquired the king's favour, be employed himself, under the appearance of play and amusement, in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him at the head of the English; and, though James, at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent anew Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and, accusing d'Aubigny, now created Earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such sanguine and dangerous connexions. The king excused himself, by Sir Alexander Hume, his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was further confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as being taken up to accomplish more than the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed that Bothwell had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his consent; but he declared that the king had ever had no oppression of the crime; and, in excuse for his concealing it, he alleged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder. Sir Thomas Halket was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Murre, and Glemencar, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of England; but this expedition served only to hasten his sentence and execution. Morton dealt with that constancy and resolution which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was augmented with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this conclusion of the scene happened not till the subsequent year.

Elizabeth was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; because that country alone, not being separated from England by sea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a safe and easy method of attacking her; and because she was sensible, that Mary, thinking herself abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guises to have recourse to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day more and more confirmed in his hatred to her. This might rattle the assistance which she gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had sent, under the name of the Pope's a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and discontented with the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spanish general, San Josepho, built a fort in Kerry; and, with the aid of the Earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after joined by Lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After some assaults, freely sustained, he surrendered it; which was committed to the care of Lord Gray, who was ordered to disband the troops, and to command a small force, finding himself encumbered with so many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Irish; a cruelty which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth. When the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by Sir Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New World. This man, sprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the isthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a sight of the Pacific Ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he scrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure for the conquest of that vast empire, which had been, for all the European nations. By means of Sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her consent and approbation; and he set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pen- sion, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits

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of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the same way forward, by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who encircled the globe, and the first captain of his nation, who substituted a distant and hard adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but the disgrace attending the defeat of the Spaniards that year, endeavoured to persuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to desist from the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to counterfeit that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him, at Deptford, on board the ship which he had achieved so memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambassador, Mendonza, exclaimed against Drake's piracies, she told him that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole New World, and excluding thence all other European nations, who should sail thither, even waying the conquest of the denomination of the most industrious and naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into those countries. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebastian, a Spaniard whom they had treated as a pirate for five years, and who was an honest merchant whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the Prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

A.D. 1581. There was another cause, which induced the queen to take this resolution: she was in such want of money, that she was induced to assemble a parliament, a measure which, as she herself openly declared, she never entered, except when constrained by necessity. For, however, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, it was declared by the act of parliament, that to say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being present was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks. Elizabeth ordered a penalty a pound a day was imposed on every one who continued, during that time, absent from the church. To utter slanderous or seductive words against the queen was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; for the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. The puritans prevailed so far as to have further applications made for reformation in religion: and Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved, That the Commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers: a motion, to which the House unwarily assented. For the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. The puritans prevailed so far as to have further applications made for reformation in religion: and Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved, That the Commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers: a motion, to which the House unwarily assented. For the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. For the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. For the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. For the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence.

The queen was very willing to pass these severe laws against the catholics, by some late discoveries of the treasonable practices of their priests. When the ancient worship was suppressed, and the Reformation introduced, for the unities, the king of Spain reflected, that as some species of literature was necessary for supporting these doctrines and controversies, the Romish communion must decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the ecclesiastics; and for this reason, he founded a seminary at Douay, where the
catholics sent their children, chiefly such as were intended for the priesthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The Cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Cambrai; and from that time the Pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the catholic superstition in its utmost vigor, as they were purchased with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an inveterate hatred of the Spaniards, and endeavored to persuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to desist from the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to counterfeit that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him, at Deptford, on board the ship which he had achieved so memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambassador, Mendonza, exclaimed against Drake's piracies, she told him that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole New World, and excluding thence all other European nations, who should sail thither, even waying the conquest of the denomination of the most industrious and naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into those countries. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebastian, a Spaniard whom they had treated as a pirate for five years, and who was an honest merchant whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the Prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

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might pursue, she never would depart from the principles of the Reformation.

The Duke of Alençon, now created Duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his claim to the hand of Elizabeth. He had, though her suitor was near twenty-five years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person but by pictures or descriptions, was still pleased with the image, which his addresses afforded her, of love and tenderness. This being the case, he resolved, before his departure, on his own accoutrements, by employing his brother's ambassador, sent over Simser, an agent of his own, an artful man, of an agreeable conversation; who, soon remarking the queen's humour, amused her topics, and opened to her the subject of the marriage, as a matter of course, but without the least apprehension, which she found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his master's interest, be introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry. The pleasure which she found in this man's company, soon produced a familiarity between them; and amidst the greatest hurry of business, her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had Simser, who, on pretence of negotiation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the Duke of Anjou. The Earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed with any courtship paid her, and who always trusted that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, being now apprehensive that she was last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement which she had given to this young suitor, had, unaware, engaged her affections. To render Simser odious, he awaited himself of the progress of the times, and spread reports, that that minister had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incansations and love potions. Simser, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; and he reviled to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to disclose, that this nabobler was secretly without her consent, married to the widow of the Earl of Essex; an action which he insinuated either to increase from her, of respect to her, or of the violation of her matrimonial attachments; and which so provoked her, that she threatened to send him to the Tower. The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a brave, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, to take Simser under her immediate protection. It happened, that while Elizabeth was rowing in her barge at the time, and surrounded by Simser's courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen, finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person who had fired the gun, the leave of going from her, without entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say, * That she would lend credit to railing against them, which parents would not believe of their children.

The Duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's possessions in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared, that though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and soon after, she commanded Burleigh, now treasurer, Sussex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to go to Westminster, to treat with the queen, in the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had sent over, on this occasion, a splendid embassy, consisting of Francis de Bourbon, Prince Dauphin, and many considerable noblemen; and as the queen relished the power of pronouncing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled with the English commissioners. It was agreed that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; and the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their royalties; that after the marriage he should bear the title of King, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any great places of power. The queen agreed to this.

These articles, providing for the security of England, in case of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a dismal prospect to the English, had not the age of Elizabeth, who was in the sixth year of her reign, proved her at every moment very much to allay their apprehensions of this nature. The queen, also, as a proof of her still remaining uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till further articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the King of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen sent over Walsingham, as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league, offensive and defensive, against the increasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely disturbed with the unquiet spirit, the restless ambition, the enterprising yet timid and insecure unquiet spirit, the restless ambition, the enterprising yet timid and insecure spirit, had soon after, been prevailed upon to set free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a scene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had secretly paid his respects to Elizabeth. The prospect of settling him in England was, for a like reason, very agreeable to that monarch; and he was desirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable sentiments which she had entertained towards him. But this princess, though she had gone further in her amorous dalliance than could be justified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a further step. Henry in Walsingham, in his instructions, to negotiating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England.1 Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance than he was informed of a preceding his speech, the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage.1 The French court, alarmed with the news of this resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negotiation for the marriage. But matters had not long proceeded in this train, before the queen again declared, that she was lost in entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say, * That she would lend credit to railing against them, which parents would not believe of their children.

In the course of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new contest between her reason and her ruling passions. The Duke of Anjou expected from her some money, by which he might be enabled to open his campaign, to which end he authorised his ministers to take the supply which she made her long reluctant, was sensible that this supply was necessary; and she was last induced, after much hesitation, to comply with his request. She gratified him a present of a small sum; and ordered Simser, her confidential minister, to which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the Prince of Parma. He was successful in razing the siege of Cambray; and being closely pressed by the States governors of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter-quarters, and came over to England,

1 Camden, p. 471. 2 q Herd, Bld. 3 Ibid. p. 491. 4 ibid. p. 466. 4th edition. 4 ibid. p. 322. 2 ibid. p. 275. 3 ibid. p. 278. 3 q Ibid. p. 468. 3 a her, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, April 2, 1581. 3 From a passage in Dr. Foster's manuscript collection, at present in the possession of Lord Ritzema. 3 This there ensues Walsingham, being
in order to execute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success, and gave him hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted all scruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her husband. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony, she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. Sir Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, despatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, regarded the queen as a kind of tutelary divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance. A portion of his protestant subjects; and she could not be enticed. *The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French marriage.* He was apprehended and prosecuted, by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his just, and lost all his landed property. Thus was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand; and, waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen." He was the only subject who, it appears, was attached to his Elizabeth to openly discovered to the Duke of Anjou, the combative her sentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still found some determination. Almost all the courtiers whom she trusted and favoured, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bed-chamber made no secret of opposing her resolves, with the most zealous remonstrance, among other enemies to the match, Sir Philip, son of Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leicester, a young man, the most accomplished of the age, declared himself; and he used the freedom to write her a letter, in which he expressed the present resolution, with an unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning. He told her, that the security of her government depended entirely on the cessation and defenceless protestants: that the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed, either that she had originally usurped the crown, or was now lawfully depos'd by her subjects; and they were in such a situation, that she could not conduct their dangerous enterprises; and she herself was rashly supplying that defect, by giving an interest in the kingdom to a prince, whose education had naturally attached him to that communion; that though he was a stranger to the blood royal of England, the disposition of men were now such that they preferred the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by legal and ecclesiastical opinions, than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: that the duke himself had discovered a very restless and turbulent spirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his sovereign, there remained no hope that he would preserve it. But without women, a woman, in quality of husband, think himself entitled to command: that the French nation, so populous, so much abounding in soldiers, so full of nobility, who were devoted in arms, and for some time accustomed to secure for plunder, would supply him with partisans, dangerous to a people unwarlike and defenceless, like the generality of her subjects: that the plain and honourable path which she had follow'd, but without the success of her people, had furnished rendered her reign secure and happy; and however her enemies might seem to multiply upon her, the same in-
necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an
e intrusive acequiescence in the conduct of the commissioners; acknowledged the detention of his person to be acceptable
to their grace, and agreed to summon both an assembly of the
crown, and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that
termination.

The assembly, though they had established it as an
invulnerable right, that the king, on no account and under no
pretense of evidence, could lose it, had of course made all matters
made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance,
and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempt of
the conspirators was unacceptable to all that feared God, or
tended to defend the government of the king and people, and per-

putious state of the realm. They even enjoined all the
clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and
they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every man who
should oppose the authority of the confederate lords.

The convention, being composed chiefly of these
lords themselves, added their sanction to these proceedings.

Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house:
Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than raise
a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed, chose to retire
into France, where he soon after died. He persevered in
the last in the Protestant religion, to which James had
converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never
settle or promote in the land. The king
sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal
honours and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his
other children; and to his last moments never forgot the
early friendship which he had borne their father: a strong
proof of the sincerity of his professions.

No sooner was this revolution known in England, than
the queen sent Sir Henry Cary and Sir Robert Bowes to
James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance
from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to
exhort him not to resist the seeming violence committed
on him by the confederate lords; and to procure from
him permission for the return of the Earl of Angus, who,
even so near his father, yet lived in England. They

easily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and as
James suspected that Elizabeth had not been entirely
unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought
proper before the English ambassadors to dissemble his
resentment against the authors of it. Soon

after, La Mothe-Fenelon and Menneville
appeared as ambassadors from France: their errand was to
inquire concerning the situation of the king, make
proposals for his deliverance, in case he should voluntarily
confirm the reconciliation with France, and procure an accommodation
between James and the Queen of Scots. This last proposal
gave great alarm to the clergy; and the assembly voted
the king's admission to be in the most wicked

uptight. The pulpits resounded with
declarations against the French ambassadors; particularly
Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody
murders, meaning the Duke of Guise: and as that
minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white
cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it, in
contempt, the badge of antichrist. The king endeavoured,
in though in vain, to repress these insolent reflections; but
in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he
pressed them that the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them
a splendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this
entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a
public fast; and finding that these orders were not
regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses
on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put
this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even
pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church;
and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing
the sentence of excommunication against them, on account
of their submission to royal, preferable to clerical, author-
ity.

What increased their alarm with regard to an accommoda-
tion between James and Mary was, that the English
ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this
proposal; and the clergy were so ignorant as to believe the
sincerity of the proposals made by the former. The

Queen of Scots had often made overtures to Letter of Mary
Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglect-
ed; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in
a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual;
claiming the rights of the crown for herself and her son;
and her liberty. She said, that the account of the
prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern;
and the experience which she herself, during so many
years, had of the civility and lenity of her husband's
situation, had made her the more apprehensive lest a like fate
should pursue her unhappy offspring: that the long train of
injustice which she had undergone, the calumnies to
which she had been exposed, were so grievous, that finding
no place for right or truth among men, she was reduced to
make her last appeal to Heaven, the only competent
tribunal between princes of equal jurisdiction, degree,
and dignity; that after her rebellious subjects, secretly
instigated by Elizabeth's ministers, had expelled her the
throne, had confined her in prison, had pursued her with
arms, she had voluntarily thrown herself under the protec-
tion of England; finally allowed by those reterritoried
profession of amity which had been made her, and by her
confidence in the generosity of a friend, an ally, and a
kinswoman: that, not content with excluding her from
her presence, with supporting the usurpers of her throne,
with supporting the project of the treacherous murder of
her brother; and though she had been constrained to
Elizabeth had reduced her to a worse captivity than that
from which she had escaped, and had made her this cruel
return for the unlimited confidence which she had reposed
in her: that though her restoration of such severe usage
had never curbed the haughtiness of her confederates, and
rather than the impediments their endeavors, had raised
for her deliverance, unhappy for herself, and fatal
to others, she found the rigours of confinement daily multi-
plied upon her, and at length carried to such a height, that
it surpassed the bounds of all human patience, and no longer
tolerable; therefore she now desired an end to endure them:
that she was cut off from all communica-
tion, not only with the rest of mankind, but with her
only son; and her maternal fondness, which was now
more enkindled by her complaints, and her
fate in which she was confined, and was her
sole remaining attachment to this world, deprived
her of even of that melancholy solace which letters or
messages could give: that the bitterness of her
sorrows, still more than her close confinement, had preyed
upon her health, and had added the insufferable weight of
bodily infirmity to all those other calamities under which
she laboured: that while the daily experience of her
malignants opened to her the comfortable prospect of an
infallibleness of their scheme, and the certainty of her
sorrows being no more, her enemies envied her that last
consolation; and, having secluded her from every joy on
earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all
the comforts of her own heart, the true cause of her
religion was refused her; the use of those
sacred rites in which she had been educated; the
commerce with those holy ministers whom Heaven
had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our
progressions, and to seal our patience by a solemn re-admis-
sion into heavenly favour and forreness: that it was in
vain to complain of the rigours of persecution exercised
in other kingdoms, when a queen and an innocent woman
was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the
most barbarous countries, had been denied to the meannest
and most obnoxious malefactor: that could she ever be
induced to descend from that royal dignity in which
protection she had lived, and which had been
afforded her, she would have been content to return to
Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which she could ap-
pear from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of
Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity which, uninflu-
enced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be in-
duced to exercise towards her; and that she finally
incurred her to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on
the support, as well as comfort, which she might receive
from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of grata-
tude to the times past, she would condescend to receive
from their present melancholy situation, and reinduce
them in that liberty and authority to which they were
entitled:

Elizabeth was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration,
chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princess recovered any considerable share of authority in Scotland, her resentment, ambition, zeal, and both triumph and terror possessed, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after supressing the protestant party among her subjects, to revive those pretensions which she had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partisans in both kingdoms continued to cherish with great industry and assurance. If she were reinstated in power with such strict limitations as could not be broken, she might be disgusted with her situation; and flying abroad, form more desperate attempts than any sovereign who has been known to leave the world would willingly undertake. Mary herself, sensible of these difficulties, convinced by experience that Elizabeth would ever dear her the throne, was now become more humble in her wishes; and as age and infirmities had repressed those sentiments of ambition by which she had formerly been so much actuated, she was willing to sacrifice all her hopes of grandeur in order to obtain a little liberty; a blessing to which she naturally aspired with the fondest impunity. She proposed therefore, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the administration should remain solely in him: and she was content to live in England in a private station; ever aworthy a lover of her country in her confinement; but with some more liberty; both for exercise and company, than she had enjoyed since the first discovery of her intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid lest such a change of station would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or at least would encourage and increase her partisans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues to which she had already discovered so strong a propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and, though she seemed to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she ever gave every reply to all the applications by the Scotch queen; as present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending that nothing further was required to a perfect accommodation than the censure of the council of the state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, Bowes, to open the negotiation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture from this circumstance what would be the result of the pretended negotiation. The privy council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, thought it would act against the interests of the nation; and kẻpt in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone further than some loose proposals for that purpose.

The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The Earl of Argyll, Marshal, Montrose, and Ruthven, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their submission, and an acknowledgment of their fault in seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Moray, Glamis, left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The Earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that they could not prevail. The Duke of Norfolk, with the hands of a person whose counsels were as violent as his manners were profligate. Elizabeth wrote a letter to James; in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconstancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, justified his measures; and though the queen could not discover any new breach of the compact, she still proposed to proceed against her. She next sent Walsingham an embassy to him; and her chief purpose in employing that aged minister in an grand where so little business was to be transacted, was to learn, from a man of so much penetration and experience, whether she had been deceived by the young prince possessed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and industry which his station required; and as he excelled in general discourse and conversation, Walsingham entertained a higher opinion of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real business was transacted, to have fully merited. The account which he gave his mistress induced her to treat James thenceforward with some more regard than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him. The King of Scots, persevering in his present views, summoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman should presume in his sermons to utter false, untrue, or scandalous speeches against the king, the council, or the public measures, or to meddle, in an improper manner, with the affairs of his majesty and the state. The clergy, feeling that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were exceedingly disturbed;.
custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the Queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Puget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treasonable designs, immediately withdrew beyond sea. The queen ordered a commission to be appointed for an investigation, and insurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was desirous of retracting this confession, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Meanwhile, the Spanish vessels, which had sailed and this conspiracy, was ordered to desert the kingdom; and Wade was sent into Spain to excuse his dismissal, and to desire the king to send another ambassador in his place: but Philip sent in the person of the cardinal of Bourbon as minister to his presence.

Crepisont, a Scottish Jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers, with an intention of throwing them into the sea: but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were pieced together, and discovered some dangerous secrets.

Many of those conspiracies were, with great appearance of reason, imputed to the intrigues of the Queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in his duty, yet had not the power to prevent the occurrence of those attempts, particularly with regard to air and exercise: and she was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Druc Drury; men of honour, but inexcusable in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot against her, and the peers of the realm. Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it. The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion, or for whose benefit, any violence should be offered to the queen, or any of her ministers: so that this association was levellied against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired to subscribe it.

Elizabeth, that she might the more dis- A parliament, courage malcontents, by showing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new parliament; and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected. The association was confirmed by parliament, and the House of Commons empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her. Upon the trial of the Jesuits, the votes of the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was further punishable as her majesty should direct. And for the greater security, a council of regency, in the case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason.

A severe law was also enacted against Jesuits and popish priests. It was ordained that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they were added, by which the queen was instructed, within six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop, or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void. By this law, the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partisans of that princess asserted that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treason and attempts of the sect, not that every individual who suffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treason.

The catholics therefore might now with justice complain of a violent persecution, which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

The parliament, disguised with those powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the Commons for a further reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even this attempt, which affected her, as well as them, in a delicate point, they discovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the House were puritans, or inclined to that sect; but the severe reprimands which they had already, in former sessions, met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative, and were contrary to the doctrine of a humble petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which would have given offence, but to the House of Lords, or rather the bishops, who had a seat in that House, and from whom alone the will of the people towards reformation was a strange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the Commons.

The Commons desired, in their humble petition, that no bishop should exercise his function of ordination but with the consent and concurrence of six presbyters; but this demand, as it really introduced a change of ecclesiastical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They desired that no clergyman should be instituted into any benefice without previous notice being given to the parish, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: an attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the same fate. In another article of that petition, they prayed that the bishops should not insist upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the service; as if uniformity in public worship had not been established by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a dispensing power. They complained of abuses which prevailed in public worship, the sentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of some law for the remedy of these abuses; implying, that those matters were too high for the Commons, to be more intrusted with them.

But the most material article which the Commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of ecclesiastical comission, and the oath ex officio, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation.

The first primate after the queen's access- The ecclesias- was Parker; a man rigid in exacting tical court. conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1579; and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to Rome, in some measure did much difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of propellas, or the assemblies of the seclots in private houses, which she apprehended had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence she had, by an order of the star-chamber, sequestered him from his archepiscopcal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to put into the

unlawful observance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the de- serving the people of the kingdom, or such as wished to hold the循例 on that day. D'Ewes, p. 313. It was a strong symptom of a con- tinued spirit in the nation against the queen, to see the number of the petitioners on the first day, and to perceive entirely the eating of fish on that day. D'Ewes, p. 513. b D'Ewes, p. 327.
same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical law to that effect in force, he engaged her to issue a new one, more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; and for three-quarters of the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of jurisprudence and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect that any might admittance to him or any power called ex officio, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied, with the confiscation of the properties of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemning any delinquency was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the sovereign, without incurring the anger of their majesty, any new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the Reformation, to penalties from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that regard to the laws which was essential to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incents, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviour, and disorders in marriage; and the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion.

In a word, this court was a real inquisition; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. For in the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this impertinent princess; and she had no other foundation than a clandestine agreement with the queen, and the sovereign strength of the Cæsars, to empower the sovereign to appoint commissioners, for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason, could limit and determine.

But though the Commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen, in a speech from the throne at the end of the session, could not forbear taking notice of their presumption, and reproving them for those murmurs, which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced so low, as not directly to reach her royal ears. And giving them some general thanks for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them, that whoever found fault with the church, threw a slander upon her; since she was appointed by God for her end, and whoever spoke against her could prevail in the kingdom but by her permission and negligence that some abuses must necessarily have place in every thing; but she warned the prelates to be watchful; for if she found them careless of their charge, she would not fail to disapprove of them; and had not been supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical, (by which I suppose she meant theological,) and she would confess that few, whose leisure had not allowed them to make profession of science, had read or reflected more: that as she could discern the presumption of many, in curiously canvassing the Scriptures, and starting innovations, she would no longer endure this licentiousness; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the just mean between the corruptions of Rome, and the errors of modern sectaries; and as that the Romish were the invertebrate enemies of her person, and so of her government, she would to the utmost, to the death, resist all her career; and under the colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to renew the actions of the prince.

From a practice of this government, the judgment we may observe, that the Commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners.

During this session of parliament there was discovered a conspiracy, which much increased the general animosity against the catholics, and still further widened the breach between them and their countrymen. Flavio Farnese, a gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and, having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made a projected attempt to invade Spain, which was conceived while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palma, a jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and benefactress; and two of his partizans, Lampeggio, when consulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came in Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged to proceed, and was admitted to the confidential conversation of the court; and though Watts and some other catholic priests told him that the enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Hagezzam, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He here wrote a letter to the Pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and papal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the sentiments of the English on these occasions imprinted on their minds, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of false religion totally to efface them; and this bugbod assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romish some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion; but, lest he should be tempted, by the opportunity, to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon.

He even found means to be elected member of parliament, and had a public defense of the remonstrances of the commoners, and of the laws enacted last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the house. His failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolve; and, his letters and speeches being again supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical, (by which I suppose she meant theological,) and she would confess that few, whose leisure

**Notes:**

2. In the preface of that work it is said, that, for a book of discipline was secretly subscribed by above fifty hundred clergy, and... extraordinary form, in which the historian, in the course of his narrative, not only gives a true picture of the events, and of the high.

agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the Earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the queen; and was, in the presence of the queen, confessed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from Cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and his recent sentence of death, suffered the punishment which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy.

These bloody designs now appeared everywhere as the result of that blighted spirit by which the two religions, especially the catholic, at this time actuated. Somers- ville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, somewhat disordered in his understanding, had heard so much of the merit attaching the assassination of heretics and persecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his design by some extravagances, he was thrown into prison, and there punished by a voluntary death. About the same month Parry, a man of revising from the English to the Spanish tongue, took and executed the same design against the Prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands of a desperate assassin, who, with a resolution exceeding all his own measures, resolved to end his life, in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great sorrow, as well when they considered the miserable end of so brave a patriot, as their own infant independence of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progress of the Spanish arms. The Prince of Parma had made every just great advances upon them, had reduced several of their strong places, and was at the very point of the Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted province. The only hopes which remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to retrieve their disasters, they tendered him the sovereignty of their provinces. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The Duke of Anjou's death, which he thought would have tended to make France more a warlike nation, diverging him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the King of Navarre, approved huguenot, being next heir to the crown, the Duke of Guise took occasion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal, in pretesting all the superstitious observances of the Roman church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life, he was not considered as the contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as more decent and hypocritical. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to decline war against the huguenots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance with Philip, he secretly regarded as his most dangerous enemies. Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the Protestant Council, and determined to depart secretly beyond sea, but was discovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1567, this villain was brought to his trial for high treason, chiefly because of his conspiracy against the delivery of the Queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower, and being brought to the scaffold, he confessed his guilt, and died with a groan. About the same time the Earl of Arundel, one of the leading agents of theesy, was executed. The French ambassador would probably have prosecuted him, but he freed himself from this danger by concealing his guilt, and then having secret communications with the queen, he sent her a message with a plot. About the same time the Earl of Arundel, one of the leading agents of theesy, was executed. The French ambassador would probably have prosecuted him, but he freed himself from this danger by concealing his guilt, and then having secret communications with the queen, he sent her a message with a plot. About the same time the Earl of Arundel, one of the leading agents of theesy, was executed. The French ambassador would probably have prosecuted him, but he freed himself from this danger by concealing his guilt, and then having secret communications with the queen, he sent her a message with a plot.
sive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: but foreseeing what the prince would require of her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a truce with the States on the following conditions: that she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others, whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other: that her expenses should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Bërle, with the castle of Hammekins, should in the mean time be consigned into her hands, by way of security. The queen knew that this measure would immediately enable her in open hostilities with Philip; yet was not she terrified with the view of the present greatness of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, besides securing internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom. Philip’s possessions, however, had many settlements in the East Indies, and of the whole commerce of those regions, and had much increased his naval power, in which he was before deficient. At that period of Italy, even the Pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with the states of the empire, was involved in the same unequal struggle; and the care of his riches the more formidable and extensive. The Netherlands seemed on the point of relapsing into servitude; and small hopes were entertained of their withstanding those numerous and veteran armies which, under the command of the most experienced generals, were employed against them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Austrian greatness, had lost all her force from intestine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were not so entirely connected with him as expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the King of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprising in her natural temper: she ever needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than restrained by the prudence, of her ministers: but when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist and even to assault the. Heavo force of the Catholic monarch. The Earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being accompanied by the young Earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the Lords Audley and Norris, Sir William Ruston, Sir John Devereaux, Sir John Haste, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Chilton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received, on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, governor, and which he passed expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen’s pro-

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...
attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the Prince of Parma by forming another enterprise. He first sent a Dutchman, then a Frenchman, to discourse with the Prince before Zouammen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress that he hastened to his relief. He made the Marquis of Guasto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a very proper foresight. The place was taken through a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the Marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the Prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. A virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurring to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the Earl of Leicester, and the singular genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was being seated, he was struck with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but, observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine; and resigned to him the bottle of water. The hero of Scots, struck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero.

The English, though a long peace had deprived them of all need and occasion of possessing of military genius; and the advantages gained by the Prince of Parma were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the want of military abilities in Leicester. The States were much discontented with his management of the war; still more with his arbitrary and impetuous conduct, and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, departed soon after for England. 8

The queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the King of Spain, was not forgetful to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cut off the possession of military genius; and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Wotton, English ambassador in Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James that when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negotiations; and that her chief purpose in sending him was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake, without reserve, of his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound disimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France, during the reign of Mary, to interest the constable, Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister. It is no wonder, that after years had improved him in all the arts of decent, he should gain an ascendant over a young prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James; especially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for him. He was at first admitted into all the pleasures of the king; made himself master of his secrets; and had so much the more authority with him in political

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8 Camden, p. 392. Breviaries, part ii. lib. 4. 9 Melvil. 10 Wotton, p. 321. 2 q 2

ELIZABETH. 451 transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers, who observed the growing intimacy of the two princes, were now more confident to procure his friendship; and scrupled not to sacrifice to his intrigues the most essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual jealousy with regard to her heirs, began now to be levelled against James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for a suit to be made, and had been formed in the arts of being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater interest and authority with her English subjects. She directed Wotton to form a secret concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to procure their pre-
courage which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race.  

The secretory, Thurston, perceiving the king so much moved by the circumstantial affairs, and with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own courses; for that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them with generocity; resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprises which had nearly threatened the repos and authority of Elizabeth: the rigour and restraint, therefore redoubled on the captive queen; still impelled his utmost strength to press against greater extremities, to humble and abase her while her in- patience of captivity increased. This was a concurrence with religious zeal, and the suggestions of desperate bigot, she was at last engaged in designs which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reason for effecting her final ruin.  

Zeal of the catholics—Babington’s conspiracy—Mary asserts to the conspirators—she co-operates—sends her daughter to England.—The trial—sentence against Mary.—The execution of James.—Elizabeth’s domination.—Preparations for England—The Armada arrives in the Channel—The defeat.—A parliament.—Expedition against Portugal—Affairs of Scotland.

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CHAP. XLI.

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honour to devote himself entirely to the service of that unfortunate princess. During some time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correspondence; but after she was put under the custody of Sir Anne Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced so much difficulty and danger in rendering her this service, that he had desisted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished: his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprise which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. He had entertained sentiments consistent with those of his master, and knew the folly of all attempts which, during the lifetime of Elizabeth, could be formed against the established religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage; and was well pleased to observe, that instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough, when intrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprise.

In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen, discontented with the government or his inordinate schemes. There was a noble family in Ireland, Charnoe, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been coherer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Daniel Tinley, the heir of an ancient family, and Tielbourne, of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused, during some time, to share the glory of the enterprise with any others; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this propterous ambition.

The means proposed for the escape of the princess at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprise he engaged Edward Wendum, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; most of them men of family and interest. The conspirators, who desired, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterprise; but they trusted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would reassure all the scruples which this scheme excited; and that, by taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the Queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

Some desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state. That arful minister had engaged Maud, a catholic priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. Poly, another of his spies, had found means to instigate himself among the conspirators in England; and though not entirely trusted, had obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. But the bottom of her apprehension and concurrence. For this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of this minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the matter to Paulet, and desired him to convey at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants; but Paulet, averse to the introduction of such a pernicious precedent into his family, desired that they would rather think of some other expedient. Gifford found a broker, who supplied the family with goods; and brought letters to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's contrivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance.

Ballard and Babington were at the beginning of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all further scruple, and conveyed by his hands the most dangerous secrets of Babington. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the emperor by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragic execution. Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or for the establishment of her. Mendoza, Charles Paget, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Inglefield, were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham, were deciphered by the art of Philips, his master of the rolls, Charles Walsingham, and another artifice in order to obtain full insight into the plot: he subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cipher, in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The un- discretion of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection, as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where be represented himself, with the motto, "to the king, and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the bond of their confedency. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins, and guard herself against their approach to her person.

Meanwhile, Babington, anxious to insure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to despatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a forged name, a licence to travel in order to remove from himself all suspicion, to be applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the French to induce them to take the part of the conspirators. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: others proposed that Savage and Charnoe should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and travel in order to remove from himself that great fear. Ballard, to which the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the French to induce them to take the part of the conspirators. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: others proposed that Savage and Charnoe should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and travel in order to remove from himself that great fear. Ballard, to
soon discovered and thrown into prison. In second and seize their examinations, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed; of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

September. The lesser conspirators being despatched, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of those of whom nothing was known and whose innocence these attempts had been made against the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's councillors were averse to this procedure; and thought that the close confinement of a woman, such as Mary, was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; if, from another provenance, to an enemy to the ministers, and principal nobility; and their personal safety, as well as the safety of the state, seemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's councillors, knowing themselves to be so obnoxious a subject of suspicion to the English people, determined to punish every adverse action to extremities against her, and were even more anxious to the queen herself, to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

Though all was hitherto very quietly; the suspicion, and with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the Queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great surprise to her, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and arrested. He chose the time for giving her this intelligence when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting; and she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. The next night, not Mary, but a Scot, were immediately arrested: all her papers were searched, and sent up to the council: above sixty different keys to ciphers were discovered; there were also found many letters from persons beyond seas, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter discovery; but the persons themselves, knowing their correspondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themselves therefor the most inveterate enemies of the Queen of Scots.

It was resolved that Mary, not by the law of Scots, which had passed the former year with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy councillors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom they denounced the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commissioners came to Fotheringay castle, and sent to the Earl of Northumberland, the earl's brother, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and of the approaching trial. Mary received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that it seemed strange to her, that the queen should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects: that she was an absolute independent princess, and would yield to nothing which might derogate from her royal majesty, from the state of sovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her son; that, however oppressed by misfortunes, she was not yet so much broken in spirit as to make her enemies flattered themselves; nor would she, on any account, be accessible to her of her degradation and dishonour: that she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of England; was utterly destitute of counsel; and could not conceive who were entrailed to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial; that though she had lived in England for many years, she was a stranger to all the customs and manners of the people, and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction; that notwithstanding the superiority of her majesty, she was willing to give an account of her conduct before an English parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light than as men appointed to justify, by some colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution; and that she warned them to look to their conscience and character in trying an innocent person; and to reflect, that these transactions would some day be opened before the Lord; that the court of all the world was much wider than the kingdom of England. In return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her imprisonment, could not avail to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. Burleigh, the treasurer, and Bromley, the chancellor, employed much reason to make a prevalent on her submission: and the queen was informed that she had the chief influence, was Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His speech was to this purpose: "You are accused, Madam, said he, "but not condemned by the sentence of any jury. We have no right to proceed to your trial, unless you have confessed your guilt and been tried by the common law. In these cases, which have been committed, the jury may not be the same persons, either by the law of nature or of nations, is exempt from jurisdiction. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been present at your testimonies of innocence; but Queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise; and is heartily sorry for your appearances. She against whom the former court condemned, she appointed commissioners; honourable persons, and upright men, who are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you can clear yourself of your misfortune. The court which found you guilty, believe me, Madam, the queen herself will rejoice, who affirmed to me at my departure, that nothing which ever befell her had given her so much uneasiness, as that you should be suspected of a concurrence in these criminal enterprises. Laying aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, trust to the better defence of your innocence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your utmost silence on this occasion."

By this artful speech Mary was persuaded to answer before the court; and there, thereby gave an account of the proceeding of the trial, and prevented those difficulties which the commissioners must have fallen into, had she persevered in maintaining so specious a plea as that of her sovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular must be regarded as the more imprudent, because formerly, when Elizabeth's commissioners pretended not to exercise any jurisdiction over her, and only entered into her cause by her own consent and approbation, she declined subject to review, when the court of the uode to have been dearer to her than life, seemed absolutely to require it. On her first appearance before the commissioners, Mary, either sensible of her infirmities, prudence, or still unwilling to degrade herself by submitting,
ting to a trial, renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges; she answered her by pleading the supreme authority of the English laws over every other thing, and that the King had no power to acquit or condemn her, or to accommodate matters by ordering both her protestation and his answer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge against the Queen, and produced some intercepted letters, which she had allowed Cardinal Allen and others to treat her as Queen of England; and that she had kept a corresponding correspondence and kept several letters with them, which seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her, and she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of hers to Mendes was next produced; in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith, and made, so said, of which there was no expectation, while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects. Even this part of the charge she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to think that the charge was so evident that it might be disposed of; yet it was lawful for her to give at her pleasure what was her own, and she was not accountable to any for her actions. She asked, that she had formed resolutions that had been as vain as her hopes in England were gone, she was fully determined not to refuse foreign assistance. There was also produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parsons were at that very time engaged in the correspondence and conditions of transferring her English crown to the King of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son. It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices against her son were such, that she never thought that she had entered into a conspiracy against him, had appointed Lord Claud Hamilton Regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the Pope, and the King of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming catholic.

The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This was the only one out of all the people, and the only one that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, there were produced the following evidence: collation of the intercepted letters; four intercepted letters between her and Buckingham, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of two secretaries Nau and Curle, who had confessed without any torture, both that she received these letters from Buckingham, and that they had

written the answers by her order; the confession of Buckingham, that he had written the letters and received the answers, and the confession of Ballard and Savage, that they had delivered them to the King of Spain; the letters of Nau, and the documents and papers in the cypher which had been settled between them.

It is evident that this complication of evidence, though every circumstance corroborates the general conclusion, resolves itself into the consideration of two principal witnesses, who alone were certainly acquainted with their mistress's conspiracy in Buckingham's cipher, but who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, in case of their meeting with evidence which might be required of them. In the case of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its disadvantages, would be esteemed legal, and even satisfactory, if not opposed by some other testimonies which might cramp out of the witnesses: but on the present trial, where the absolute power of the prosecutor convened with such important interests, and such a violent inclinative to have the princess condemned; the testimony of two witnesses, even from such men as these, upon such conditions, will be too strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice. The proof against Mary, it must be confessed, is not destitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impossible, in this case, to form any judgment without having an answer written in her name, and in the cipher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princess. Such is the light in which this matter was then and has since been, that every thing which could guide our judgment with regard to its value, no wonder, therefore, that the Queen of Scots, unassisted by counsel, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, early and with a great ineffectual defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened by her positively affirming, when she was at last sent to the Tower, that she would never be acknowledged by the King of Spain; and that she had never been acknowledged by him; a fact, however, of which there remains not the least question. She asserted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, her evidence would be quite equal to any other. She confessed however that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the King of France, as a man in whom she might safely confide. She also acknowledged Curle to be a very honest man,he might be induced by strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice. The proof against Mary, it must be confessed, is not destitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impossible, in this case, to form any judgment without having an answer written in her name, and in the cipher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princess. 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appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curie should be confronted with her, and her affirming, that unless they came to her, she would not give her evidence against them. But that demand, however equitable, was not then supported by law in trials of high treason, and was often refused, even in other trials where the crown was prosecutor. The conduct of the House at this time was a novelty; that the species of treason there enumerated must be proved by two witnesses, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and, indeed, the law never having been before made, it was always sure to refuse every indulgence beyond what the strict letter of the law, and the settled practice of the courts of justice, required of them. Not to mention, that these secretaries were not probably at Fotheringhay during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commissioners. There passed two incidents in this trial which may be worth notice. One was, that when Sarah and Eliz. was read in, in which mention was made of the Earl of Arundel and his brothers, on hearing their names, she broke into a sigh: "Alas!" said she, "what has the noble house of the first times, would scruple to employ. She affirmed with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to force the hand-writing and explorer of another: she was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had frequently practiced both against her and others. Walsingham, and his commissioners, rose up. He protested, that in his private capacity he had never acted any thing against the Queen of Scots; in his public capacity, he owned, that his concern was only to save her life, and to find out the persons in searching out, by every expediency, all designs against her sacred person, or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make use of the assistance of Esta-" 

ble, If not impossible, that a princess, of so much sense and spirit, should, in a land, where the greatest publics are composed of a very few persons, have a house with her, and that she had every opportunity of conferring with those, who could be the means of crowning her with the glory of her country. It was not in any case of treason that she could be saved, but in the second from the court of England, if it was discovered. He was so ignorant of the design, that he considered he must be disgrace, no account of his surname. Not to mention, that Mary's confederates and tools were on her side, and that the design of escape was to be put to her notice while she was engaged in her business, and therefore there was the time and place with the opposite persons. The second assertion is, that these two secretaries were previously treacherous, and that before his entering, Walsingham, made such a trust in the character of the madam's explorer as might involve her in the guilt of the conspiracy. But these two men had lived long with the queen of Scots, had been constantly trusted by her, and had never taken upon them selves either with her or her persons, that could make them leave them, or become criminals, which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third assertion is, that the queen the sovereign of Scotland, and Curle, ever Gates, her letters or any answer; but the Walsingham, having delivered the, found a way. But the appearance implies the falsehood of the whole story, told by Gates, of Curle, of her and Walsingham's confederacy, and therefore the queen must have been, by her own persons, or her confederates, in allowing her servants to be killed. No mention, that as Nau and Curle never signed her letters, nor certified by seals, nor by the queen's, they would necessarily have been engaged, for her own part. But these three assertions are quite either of them. But Gates was present, and therefore the queen's letters were sufficiently her to the address of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that, per- probably were employed on some occasion: as a person and a violent enemy; she knew that she had been for assassinating her. It is quite a new subject, that she seems to have been more closely concerned in, than the court of Rome and the cardinal archbishop. Her own liberty and sovereignty were so near, that the queen would not be able to escape. Her charge and her arraignment were that she was a traitor. But she was accused by the same person to so many others, that she could give her own credit to what she was accused of, as to the letter of Walsingham, her sentence of death upon the Queen of Scots, against Mary, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day the sentence of death which the commissioners pronounced, was sent to the queen, and delivered to the sheriffs and the judges. That the sentence did not receive derogate from the title and honour of James, King of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if this sentence of death had been pronounced to the queen by any probability and met in the star-chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily, without having any evidence given against them, confessed the letters before produced, they pronounced the sentence of death upon the Queen of Scots, against Mary, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day the sentence of death which the commissioners pronounced, was sent to the queen, and delivered to the sheriffs and the judges. The queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long ardently desired; and she found a plausible reason for executing vengeance on a competitor, from the beginning of her reign, who had ever equally dreaded and hated. But she was restrained from instantly gratifying her resentment, by several important considerations. She foresaw the invasion of Scotland, and the necessary dissolution of the union between the two crowns would be represented by the numerous particulars of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, of kindness, and sovereign majesty, seemed, in this case, to be absolute; it was all important, the sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a sovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hyp- curle, her letters or any answer; but the Walsingham, having delivered the, found a way. But the appearance implies the falsehood of the whole story, told by Gates, of Curle, of her and Walsingham's confederacy, and therefore the queen must have been, by her own persons, or her confederates, in allowing her servants to be killed. No mention, that as Nau and Curle never signed her letters, nor certified by seals, nor by the queen's, they would necessarily have been engaged, for her own part. But these three assertions are quite either of them. But Gates was present, and therefore the queen's letters were sufficiently her to the address of James. 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it was under delirium, but withdrew her eyes from what she could behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness. She was also willing, that by this unusual precaution the people should see the danger to which her present situation exposed her, and that she might be more strongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal whose restless intrigues and bloody conspiracies had so long exposed her to the most imminent perils.\(^{6}\)

The parliament answered the queen's expectations: the sentence of treason for which she had already been tried by both Houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution.\(^1\) She gave an answer, ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice, and a noble display of her natural intelligence; signifying her extreme concern for danger to which her life was continually exposed; she declared her willingness to die, did she not foresee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; she made professions of the greatest tenderness to her people; she displayed the clemency of her temper, and expressed her violent reluctance to execute the sentence against her unhappy kinswoman; she affirmed that the issue was uncertain by which she was to die, so far from being made to insinuate her, was only intended to give her warming beforehand not to engage in such attempts as must expose her to the penalties with which she was thus opened to the public; and in consequence of what she had said whether it was possible to hind any expedient, besides the death of the Queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity.\(^2\) The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the measure which, so far as she believed, would find no other possible expedient. They retracted their solicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: they even renounced, that mercy to the Queen of Scots was cruelty to them, their subjects and children; and they affirmed, that it were injustice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly sung for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. This second address set the present assembly into a very active motion: she complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her unevenness from their importance; renewed the professions of affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty what, after all this deliberation, might be her final resolution.\(^3\)

But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the request of parliament in the form of the sentence which that body seem to have intended to be executed by that assembly, that they thought that her religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary was nowise dismayed at this assurance; she perceived from the last circumstance mentioned to her; and insisted that since her death was demanded by the protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the English had often imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns: no wonder they exercised cruelty against her, who derived her descent from them; and she received orders to take down her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her that she was now to be considered as a dead person, and it may be supposed that no such emotion was not produced nor in her any seeming emotion. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almainly, and no earthly power was ever able to become her executioner.

The Queen of Scots wrote her last letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averring the fatal sentence: on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her, not that she might be excused from her sentence, but that she might receive the comic act of death with tranquillity: she complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her unevenness from their importance; renewed the professions of affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty what, after all this deliberation, might be her final resolution.

\(^{6}\) D'Ewes, p. 273. u Isibied, p. 404, 405.

\(^{1}\) The parliament granted the queen a supply of a subsidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again on the 23rd of February, and ordered the execution of the Queen of Scots, when her plans some remarkable incidents, which it may be proper to relate here. We shall mention in the words of our author: "\(^{2}\) D'Ewes, p. 404, 405, which are almost wholly transcribed from Leland's "\(^{3}\) D'Ewes, p. 404, 405. The queen, according to him, expressed her apprehension of the necessity of a seaward, and the monstrous effect of the English fleet, and the hand of the House and army. She besought them to let her have written, the bill containing a petition, fit might be established, that all the measures, and the army, and the State of the Lords, and she besought them that it might be established, that the bill containing a petition might be left to the knowledge of the Commons and the House of Lords. She signed the petition, and the bill containing a petition might be left to the knowledge of the Commons and the House of Lords. She signed the petition, and the bill containing a petition might be left to the knowledge of the Commons and the House of Lords. She signed the petition, and the bill containing a petition might be left to the knowledge of the Commons and the House of Lords. She signed the petition, and the bill containing a petition might be left to the knowledge of the Commons and the House of Lords.

\(^{4}\) D'Ewes, p. 273. u Isibied, p. 404, 405.

\(^{5}\) D'Ewes, p. 273. u Isibied, p. 404, 405.

\(^{6}\) D'Ewes, p. 273. u Isibied, p. 404, 405.
should be satistied with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined should never enjoy rest while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a
catholic land, with the sacred relics of her mother. In Scotland, however, the septuples of her ancestors were
violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the
ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could not have been deprived of being interred in the
grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion
required. She requested that no one might have the
power of inflicting a private death upon her, without
Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution would be
public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might
bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith, and of her
submission to the will of Heaven. She begged that these
servants might afterwards be allowed to depart without
soever they pleased, and might enjoy those liberties which
she should bequeath them. And she conjured her to
grant these favours by their near kindred; by the soul and
memory of Henry VII, the common ancestor of both; and
by the royal dignity, of which they equally partici-
pated. Elizabeth made no answer to this letter; being
unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and
feeling inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

While the Queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet
her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with
Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the sentence pro-
nounced against her. Besides employing L'Aubespine, the
French resident at London, a creature of the house of
Guise, Henry sent over Belliere, with a profound inten-
tion of interfering for the life of Mary. The Duke of
Guise and the league at that time threatened very near the
king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that though that
monarch might, from decency and policy, think himself
obliged to interpose publicly in behalf of the Queen of
Scotland, he knew, that her execution would be
public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might
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unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and
feeling inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy
in a full light. James, observing the fixed pur-
pose of Mary to die, ordered prayers to be said for
Mary in all the churches; and, knowing the contemptuous
humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form
of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane
and charitable: he might pleased that the Queen of
Scots, whom he call Mary, was united to the light of his
truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she
was threatened. But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergymen
more, all the preachers refused to pollute their churches by
these prayers for a papist, and would not so much as prefer a
petition for her conversion. James, unwilling or unable
to punish this disobedience, and desirous of gaining the
preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appoint-
ed a new church for the purposes of Mary, and summoned
her, that he might at least secure himself from any insult
in his own presence, he desired the Archbishop of St.
Andrews to officiate before him. In order to disappoint
this purpose, the clergy instigated one Couper, a young
man who had not yet received holy orders, to take posses-
sion of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the
prelate. When the king came to church, and saw the
pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his seat,
and told him that the place was destined for another; yet
since he was there, if he would obey the charge given,
and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to
pray in his own church, with all the advantages of the
Spirit of God should direct him. This answer suffi-
ciently instructed James in his purpose; and he com-
manded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper seemed
not disposed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull
him from his place; upon which the young man cried
aloud, That this day would be a witness against the king
in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe
upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to
be treated in that manner. The audience at first appeared
desirous to take part with him; but the sermon of the
prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more
humane disposition.

Elizabeth, when solicited, either by James or by foreign
princes, to pardon the Queen of Scots, seemed always de-
termined to execute the sentence against her; but when
her ministers urged her to interpose no more delays, her
temper and her hesitation returned; her humanity could
not allow her to embrace such violent and sangamary
measures; and she was touched with compassion for the
misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity, of the un-
happy prisoner. The couriers, sensibly of the motives of
the same, urged again the necessity of grace; and it was
stated that the treatment of that princess in Eng-
land had been, on her first reception, such

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b Dey Maunr. c Synodals, p. 321.
c Ibid. p. 325.

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as sound reason and policy required: and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it; that the obvious inconveniences, either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force to her throne, in opposition to the resolution of the nation, as has been already observed, had established the queen to detain her in England till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the protestant religion; that her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants in considerable numbers had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these inducements would in time have been carried further, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared worthy of them: that after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of Pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her; it became necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous; that the queen, notwithstanding the required provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importance of her parliaments, and the advice of her sagacious ministers; and was still, in hopes of her amendment, determined in delay coming to the last extremity against her: that Mary, even in this extremity, retained so high and unconquerable a spirit, that she acted as conqueror to the crown, and allowed her partisans everywhere; and in her very letters, and to her secretaries, she wrote of Elizabeth, the only true sovereign: that even, allowing her to be still the queen's equal in rank and dignity, self-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and even one, still more a queen, had sufficient jurisdiction over an enemy, who by open violence, and still more, who by secret treachery, threatened the utmost danger against her life: that the general conjunctions of the enemy to extirpate the protestant religion was no longer a secret; and as the sole resource of the latter persecuted sect lay in Elizabeth, so the chief hope which the former entertained of final success, consisted in her person and in the title of the Queen of Scots: that this was no more than obvious; and, between these two princes; and, rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to self-preservation, or to the happiness of her people, should direct her to pursue; and that necessity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that resolution which equity would authorize, and which duty prescribed.

When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution; but even in this final resolution she could not pass over a weakness of a sin exemplify the sin of artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the Duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the Queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and to lay her prostrate in a manner of weakness and infirmity, as her manner usually was, and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgham, her physician, she asked, whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretend," said she, "that I must die because I conspired against the queen's life: but the Earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cause of the queen's death, than the apprehensions which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is that they knew they could not gratify her more than by serving her without waiting till she died, and to serve her without waiting for death alone."
my real crime: the rest is only a colour, invented by interested and designing men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: they pledged her; in order, on their knees, and crawled her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her officers towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewell.

Mary's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She preferred her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompense to their different degrees of merit and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation to her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the Duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wended time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of executing the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated host from the hands of Pope Pass; and she had reserved the unopened vestments of her anointing; but this expedition she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her.*

Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. Her hands and feet were bare, though carefully covered, and she had left to them this dress rather than the plume garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready, and added, addressed to her servants: she leaned on two of Sir Annas Paulat's guards, because of her infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sherif with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall which was hung with tapestry, she was met by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Annas Paulat, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, whom flung himself on his knees before her; and, wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the messenger of such heavy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report that I saw my gracious queen and mistress行为不端, andihad prevented faceto speech; and Mary too felt herself moved more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease, my good servant," said she, "cease to lament: thou hast cause rather to rejoice, than to mourn for any thing thou sawest the truth and justness of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected period and completion. Know," continued she, "good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unattainable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the dust panther after the water-locust! O God, added she, "thou art the Author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the immost recesses of my heart: thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to oblige the source of all these fatal disorders! But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that, notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and interest to my nation; for whom I wish not the least sorrow, or weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewell: once again farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

She then knelt down, and cast her eyes heavenward, crossed her hands, bent her head, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favourable answer, she pre-
that the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her; and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, 

Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

or fall upon this scene of desolation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.

During this discourse, Mary could not sometimes for bear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that she had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent her of her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that she was not so much under the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never could so naturally understand, in the unutterable distress, she was betrayed into actions which may with some difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct in some parts wea the aspect of severe satire and invective.

Her numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions to which she had been exposed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of boggery during her inter years; and such were the prevalent spirit and principles of the age, that it was the less wonder, if her zeal, her resentment, and her interest uniting, reduced her to extremest misfortunes, which comparators, actuated only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life of Elizabeth.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she could not forbear expressing her uneasiness, Mary's character, her constancy and induration. Her countenance changed; her speech faltered and failed her; for a long time her sorrow was so deep that she could not express it, but stood fixed like a statue in silence, of absolute astonishment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burst out into loud wealings and lamentations; she put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or court counselors desired to approach or if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment: they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, of which they were sufficiently apprised and acquainted.

No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection, than she wrote a letter of apology to the King of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, son of Lord Hunsdon. She there told him, that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which she experienced on learning of this event; of feeling her grief and trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executeor. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the executioner's assurance of her approbation; an exclamation, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The Earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess.

Mary's character, age, and notes of her captivity in England, Mary, Queen of Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauty of her person, and grace of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women, and the charming of her address and conversation added the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and serenity; the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandon-
same purpose. He said, That he was much surprised to hear of the violent resolutions taken in Scotland, and of the passion discovered by a prince of so much judgment and temper as James: that a war founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be 

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7 Camden, p. 258.
8 Camden, p. 259. 
9 Smythe, vol. iii. p. 325, 376. 
M 4, in the Advocates' 


stra-chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded; and, being sensible of the danger which must attend his entrance into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very councillors whose permission had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He contended, in a sort before, the same argument during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody, and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour which he received and obtained from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time to keep him from perishing in necessity. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, which contains many curious particulars. Drury, he said, had been demonstrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure, she commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. She appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, "Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now such, though I fear he will die of sorrow when he hears of it." She added, that though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of the necessity and wisdom of reducing Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eased her of this trouble; and she expressed her desire that Walsingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was so bent on this purpose, that she order, to the great astonishment, whether any letter had come from Paulet, with regard to the service expected of him! Davison showed her Paulet's letter, in which that gentleman positively refused to act any thing which might tend to break the union of the crown and jurisdiction of the queen fell into a passion, and accused Paulet as well as Drury of perfidy; because, having taken the oath of association, in which they had bound themselves to prevent such wars, the French yet refused to lend their hand on this occasion. "But others," she said, "will be found less scrupulous." Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant: he was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon Lord Burleigh."1

Elizabeth's dissimulation was so gross that it could deceive nobody who was not previously resolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certain, and he now most strongly, and cordially, discharged the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his anger; and preached that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of the nobility instigated him to arms; Lord Sinclair, when the couriers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armour, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The council were impatient to make an alliance with the King of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his persons and his kingdom: the queen was sensible of the danger attending these councils; and after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him the interests of peace, of which she feared four which might induce him to live in amity with her.

4th March. Walsingham wrote to Lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, a judicious letter to the


thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his animosity with her, on which their mutual interests so much depended.

While Elizabeth insured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he seemed to dissemble the daily insults and injuries which he received from the English, was meditating a voyage against a great navy to attack her; she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Drake carried out four capital ships of the enemy, and twenty-six great and small, with which the London merchants, in hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned from the fleet at Cadiz, how the English intended to attack him, he bent his course to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged six galleys, which made head against him, to take shelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores; and he destroyed a great ship of the Marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for Cadiz. Vainly had the king at Deventer, having attacked on that premonitory, with three other fortresses. He next insulted Lisbon; and finding that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were discouraged, he sent his first assault of the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carryack which was expected in those parts. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this short expedition, in which the public bore so small a share, the adversary was so severely smitten, that the English seamen learned to despise the great unwieldy ships of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed, the intended expedition against England was retarded, and the queen thereby had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion.3

This year, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devonshire, who had disputed a good estate by living the life of a gentleman, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expense of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and, returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. The city crowded to the bank, to see him, and a silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail clotli of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England.4

The land enterprises of the English were not, during this campaign, so advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Haltginton's conspirac)'. He became apprehensive lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betwixt the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert him with the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollander, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, broke out into loud complaints against the imprisonment, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after, he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was no wise calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The Prince of Parma having besieged Sluyes, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failing in both the pursuit, and he charged his bad success to the ill behaviour of the Hollander, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: they slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; while he, endeavouring, by an impetuous diligence and by violence, to recover that influence which he had lost by his impudent and ill-concerted measures. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to usurp upon their common interest. He perceived, however, that his plan had begun to extend towards the queen herself. That princess had made some advances towards a peace with Spain. A congress had opened at Bourbourg, a village near Gravelines, and though the two courts, especially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuse each of them its enemy by negociation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined on no terms to return under the Spanish yoke, became impatient, and their liberty should be secured to the political interests of England.5 But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the present juncture, was resolved to give them entire satisfaction by recalling Leicester, and commanding him to resign his government. Maurice, son of the late Prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine de la Court, Lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the English forces. The measures of these two generals were much embarrassed by the malignity of the writer of their history, who had left a faction behind him, and who, in the midst of his difficulties and disasters, still attempted to disturb all the operations of the States. As soon as Elizabeth received intelligence of these disorders, she took care to redress them; and she obliged all the partisans of England to fall into unanymty with Prince Maurice.6 But though the king continued to entertain hopes and views of winning back the favour of his queen, he had another project of his own, which, far from bringing him to the queen, lost her confidence for some time, and was even committed to custodv.

Sir Christopher Hatton was another favourite who at this time received some marks of her regard. Though he had never followed the profession of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley, deceased; but, notwithstanding all the expectations and perhaps wishes of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner so unmannerly of that station: his good natural capacity supplied the place of experience and study; and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to his promotion, in hopes that his absence would remove the evil which the ungracious, but crafty readiness of chancellory, would gradually estrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

The little intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the account, which came from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the en- terprise against that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition also, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the present prosperous state of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East-Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support orthodoxy and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of subduing the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their vi-
cinity, were so well enabled to support the Hollander,
that he could never hope to reduce these rebels while the
power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To
subdue England seemed a necessary preparative to the
re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands: and
notwithstanding appearances, the former was in itself, as
a great, very important, so a thorough, undertaking than
the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low
Countries, and was more exposed to invasions from that
quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the
people of the Indies was so habituated to further force,
by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all mili-
tary discipline and experience; and the catholics, in which
it still abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join
any invader who should free them from those persecutions
under which they laboured, and should revenge the death
of the Queen of Scots, un whom they had fixed all their
affections. The fate of England must be decided in one
battle at sea, and another at land; and what comparison
between the English and Spaniards, either in point of
naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran
bravery of their armies? Besides the acquisition of so
great a kingdom, success against England insured the
immediate submission of the Hollander, who, attacked on
every hand, and deprived of all support, must yield their
stubborn necks to that yoke which they had so long resis-
ted. Happily this conquest, as it was of the utmost
importance to the interests of Spain, was not at present
opposed by the jealousy of other powers, naturally so
much interested to prevent the success of the enterprise.
A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the empire
was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France,
the perpetual rival of Spain, was engaged in other
commotions, that she had no leisure to pay attention to
her foreign interests. This favourable opportunity, there-
fore, which ought never again present itself, must be
seized; the measures must be concerted for the further
conducted in Europe, to which the present greatness and
prosperity of the Spaniards seemed so fully to entitle
them. These hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithstanding
his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous
enterprise; and though the prince, now created by the
Pope, Duke of Parma, when consulted, opposed the at-
tempts, he at last represented the necessity of resolv-
ing possession of some sea-port town in the Netherlands,
which might afford a retreat to the Spanish navy, it was
determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immedi-
ately; no the execution of so ambitious project. During
some time he had been secretly on the design, but as
soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his
vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and
all his ministers, privates, and admirals, were employed in
preparations. The Marquis of Santa Cruz, sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined
to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval
preparations conducted. In all the ports of
Armadilla, Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans
were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and
force; naval stores was bought at a great expense; pro-
visions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the mari-
time towns of Spain; and plans had for fitting out such a
fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in
Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no
less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every
week employed to reinforce the Duke of Parma. Capanu
and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy; the
Marques of Borguia, a prince of the house of Austra,
levied troops in Germany; the Walloon and Burgundian
regiments were completed or augmented; the Spanish in-
fantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-
four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and
kept in readiness to be transported into England.
The Duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he
could find in the Flanders, to build ships for the conquest of
the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk and
Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of
boats and flat-bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his
infantry and cavalry. The most renowned nobility and
princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the
honour of this great enterprise. Don Amaduss of Savoy,
Don John of Medicus, Vespasian Gonzaga, Duke of Sib-
bonetta, and the Duke of Parma, hastened to join the
army under the Duke of Parma. About two thousand
volunteers, in the exaltation of the cause, were induced to
enlist in the service. No doubts were entertained, but
such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such cons-
sume skill, must finally be successful. And the
pride of Philip, in the possession of his power, and with
vain hopes, had already deformed the name the Invinc-
able Armada.

News of these extraordinary preparations soon reached
the court of London; and notwithstanding the secrecy of
the Spaniards, England and their adherents to this force,
in the Indies, it was easily concluded, that they
meant to make some effort against England. Preparations to
this end were set on foot. The queen had foreseen the invasion,
and finding that she must now contend for her crown with
the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance;
and was she dismayed with that power, by which all Eu-
rope apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed.
Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent
an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that
time to about fourteen thousand men. a The size of the
English shipping was in general so small, that except a
few of the vessels of England, it was not at present
possible to oppose by the jealousy of other powers, naturally so
much interested to prevent the success of the enterprise. A
truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the empire
was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France,
the perpetual rival of Spain, was engaged in other
commotions, that she had no leisure to pay attention to
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enterprise; and though the prince, now created by the
Pope, Duke of Parma, when consulted, opposed the at-
tempts, he at last represented the necessity of resolv-
ings possession of some sea-port town in the Netherlands,
which might afford a retreat to the Spanish navy, it was
determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immedi-
ately; no the execution of so ambitious project. During
some time he had been secretly on the design, but as
soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his
vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and
all his ministers, privates, and admirals, were employed in
preparations. The Marquis of Santa Cruz, sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined
to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval
preparations conducted. In all the ports of
Armadilla, Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans
were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and
force; naval stores was bought at a great expense; pro-
visions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the mari-
time towns of Spain; and plans had for fitting out such a
fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in
Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no
less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every
week employed to reinforce the Duke of Parma. Capanu
and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy; the
Marques of Borguia, a prince of the house of Austra,
levied troops in Germany; the Walloon and Burgundian
regiments were completed or augmented; the Spanish in-
fantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-
four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and
kept in readiness to be transported into England.
The Duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he
could find in the Flanders, to build ships for the conquest of
the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk and
Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of
boats and flat-bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his

\[f\] Carolus, Strype, vol. iii. p. 952. a Bentivoglio, parte 26. b
b. Nason, p. 239. c Ibid. p. 266. d Ibid. p. 127.

1. ibid. p. 476. m
bensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand

venerable Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers,

under the Duke of Parma, the most consummate general of

the age; and considered his formidable adventure with the

military power, which England, not enervated by peace,

but long distanced to war, must muster up against it.

The chief support of the kingdom seemed to consist in

the vigour and prescience of the queen's conduct; who,

undeterred by the greatest dangers, all attacks on her

with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resist-

ance, and employed every resource which either her do-

mestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her.

She sent Sainct-Hubert, her first lord of the bedchamber, to

the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the

danger which at present menaced his sovereignty no less

than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant; 3

the ambassador found James well disposed to cultivate a

union with England, and that prince even kept himself

prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to

the assistance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the King

of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged

this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of

ships which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish

harbours: the Flanne Towns, though not at that time on

good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the same

interest to join against her; they loaded their vessels in

their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of

invading England. All the protestants throughout Europe

regarded this enterprise as the critical event, which was to
determine their cases for ever. England was not then

able, by reason of their distance, to join her force to that

of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct

and fortune, and beheld with admiration, the imperial

countenance with which she encountered that dreadful tempest, which was every moment advancing

towards her.

The queen also was sensible that, next to the general

persecutions which she enjoyed, and the confidence which

her subjects reposed in her prudent government, the firmest

support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of

the people for the protestant religion, and the severe

penalties which they had imbibed against popery. She

took care, on the present occasion, to revive in the nation

this attachment to their own sect, and this asseveration

of the opposite. The English were reminded of their former
danger from the tyranny of Spain; all the barbarities

exercised by Mary against the protestants were ascribed
to the counsels of that bigot and impious nation: the

bloody massacres in the Indies, the unremitting executions

in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of

the Spanish Armada, with which the nation was so

dreadful a tempest, was every moment advancing

towards her.

But while the queen, in this critical emergence, roused

the animosity of the nation against popery, she treated the

partisans of that sect with moderation, and gave not way

to an undistinguishingly fury against them. Though

she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the present Pope, famous for

his capacity and his tyranny, had fulfilled a new buck

of enmity, that of enmity, had despoiled her, had absolved

her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had

published a crusade against England, and had granted

penitential indulgences to every one engaged in the present

invasion; yet she did not believe that any such criminal

acts could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their
duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of

their native country. She rejected all violent counsels,

by which she was urged to seek pretexts for despaching

the leaders of that party: she would not even confine any

considerable number of them; and the catholics, sensible

of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the

public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious

that they could not justly expect any trust or authority,

entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army, or

some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command

of these vessels to protestants: others were active in

animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the

very service and support of the queen. Elizabeth, therefore,

for the present all party distinctions, seemed to prepare

themselves with order as well as vigour to resist the

violence of these invaders.

The more to exalt the martial spirit of the nation, the

queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilsbury;

and riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and

animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember

their duty to their country and their religion, and pressed

her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into

the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle

than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. 4 By this

spiritual tale the true spirit of the soldiery, was

revived: an attachment to her person became a kind of

enchantment among them; and they asked one another,

Whether it were possible that Englishmen could

abandon this glorious cause, could display less fortitude

than appeared in their actions, when every danger was

expected to be laid liable to be reimbursed by the defence of

their heroic princess ?

The Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of

May; but, the moment it was preparing to sail, the Mar-

quis of Santa Cruz, the Admiral, was seized with a fever,

of which he soon after died. The vice-admiral, the Duke of

Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accidents, at the

very moment that he was to go to sea, was seized with a

fever, and was accounted dead. The king pointed for admiral the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a noble-

man of great family, but unexperienced in action, and

entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. Alcarede was

appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, besides the loss

of so great an officer as Santa Cruz, retarded the sailing

of the Armada, and gave the English more time for their

preparations to oppose them. At last, the Spanish fleet,

full of hopes and slumber, set sail from Las-

bon; but next day met with a violent tem-

pest, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest,

and forced the rest to take shelter in the Grome, where

they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this

event was received, Elizabeth was full of satisfaction, and

expected that the design of an invasion was disappointed for

this summer; and, being always ready to lay hold on every

pretext for saving money, she made Walsingham write to

the admiral, directing him to take up some of the larger

ships, and to discharge the seamen: but Lord Effingham,

who was not so sanguine in his hopes, used the freedom
to disobey these orders; and he begged leave to retain all

the ships in service, though it should be at his own ex-

pense. 5 He took advantage of a north wind, and sailed

toward the coast of Spain, with an intention of attacking

the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to

the south, he became apprehensive lest they might have

succeeded, and, by passing him at sea, invade England,

and expose the armament of the fleet. He returned therefore

with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor

in that harbour.

Then, after all, the means of the Armada were re-

paired, and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to

1 It made him some promises which she never fulfilled, to give him
domestic power; and, in the interval of his absence, to declare all his
wealth and feeble condition. 2 I am a man, though of the order of a
king or sovereign prince; and of a king of England too: and think foul
sent that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to
insult the honour and independence of my realm in which, rather

than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take upon me: I

myself will be your general, and for your victory, and for your

victor in the field. I know already, by your fortitude, that you have

done of merits and services greater than any other age; and, in a

time of greater enterprise, I shall be able to say, and you to do, more

for your country. I shall be able to say: Your virtue, your courage,
your money, your arms, and your orders: if the victor in the field is

not a noble and worthy subject; and dreading your obedience in my
general, by your command in the several provinces of my kingdom,

some have had a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my

kingdom, and of my people. 3 Camden, p. 543. 4 2 H
sea, in prosecution of their enterprise. The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in England. It was composed of the Armada, on board of which were two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for two months, and was attended by sixty large ships called caravels, and ten salves with six guns a-piece.1

The plan formed by the King of Spain was, that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Nieuport, and thence, by following along the coasts of France or Flanders, the vessels, which might obstruct the passage, (for it never was supposed they could make opposition,) should join themselves with the Duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the Duke of Medina, that, in passing along the channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and, keeping in view the main enterprise, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay, to the event of a katedron; and, when the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who informed them that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the tempest which scattered the Armada, had retired back into the Channel, and no longer could in navigation this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the seamen. From this false intelligence the Duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and destroying the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted by the prospect of so decisive an advantage to break his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth: a resolution which proved the safety of England. The English Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, which, with its attendant vessels, took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the English navy. They were descried by Farring, a Scottish pirate, who was moving in those seas, and who immediately set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach:2 another fortunate event which contributed extremely to the safety of the fleet. Farring had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish vessels come on full sail over him, disjointed, in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other.

The writers of that age raise their style by a pompous description of this spectacle; the most magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean; infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty masts, the swolling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly painted but by assuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent historian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has asserted that the Armada, though the ships bore every sail, yet advanced with a slow motion; as if the ocean greased with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight.3 The truth however is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the English service. They were divided from the deck to the hold into two decks, or so ill-governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of ship-building nor the experience of mariners had attained so great perfection as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels; and the English, who had already experience how unreservable they commonly were, beheld without dismay their tremendous progress.

Fillingham gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which wends, currents, or various accidents, must afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered his expectations. About two hundred and eighteen thousand of the Spanish army, consisting of a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada: the great galleon of Andalusa was detained by the sprit of her three hundred yards; and both the vessels were taken, after some resistance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes. Each fleet had its principal object, the English to the coast, and courage to the English; and the latter soon found, that even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasour, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service. The whole number of the vessels, drawn from the juncture of those ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before the place to lay victual, and for the soldiers to disembark. A Spaniard, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join his forces to them. The English admiral directed here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with all combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fire-ships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Schelde, near Antwerp; and their vessels, with their sails and rigging, and to seek out with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

By this time it was become apparent, that the intention for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards was entirely frustrated. The vessels provided by the Duke of Parma were made for transporting soldiers, not for fighting; and in the Angelic, as Sir Francis Drake truly observed, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enem}- The Spanish admiral found in many encounters, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The Duke of Medina had only two galleons, and these half-sunk, was rescued by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprise would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it had passed the Orkneys: the ships had already

1 Styx, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 271. 2 Monson, p. 137. 3 Camden, Hist. Brit. 1588. — Chap. LIII.
fatigue, and so disposed by their discontent, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate value of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

Next, and the dishonourable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had no idea of military enterprise, began at length to feel the horror of the mortifying event which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for the gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the crown was not lost the power of the House of Austria. The Spaniards, so often blessed this holy crusade, and foretold its insupportable success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the Catholic monarch by excommunication, which would have obtained from the joy of the present success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burden of loans which had been already accumulated. Elizabeth foresaw, that this House of Commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the purport; and therefore, to obviate their objections, she offered them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years.

This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in order to raise money; and the Commons had bin encompassed by a money bill, without obtaining from the joy of the present success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burden of loans which had been already accumulated. Elizabeth foresaw, that this House of Commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the purport; and therefore, to obviate their objections, she offered them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years.

Which power and commandment from her majesty, which we have not yet received, I take it (passing remonstrances) that we are freed from the cause of necessity. And the cause of necessity is the dangerous estate of the commonwealth. The state of the spencer is not inferior to the present market price; so that purveyance besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a great burden, and, being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. There may be a ready answer, that the money courtiers of Elizabeth, supported by the king's letter of one reparation to render this prerogative very to the people; and the Commons had, last session, found it necessary to pass a bill for regulating these exactions: but the bill was lost in the Committee of this House. There were many abuses in these purveyances: and this new bill begat a new attempt for redress; and the same bill was now revived, and again sent up to the House of Commons, together with a bill for some new regulations in the revenue of excise; and therefore the bill ordered for them a message from the upper House, desiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the Commons informed them, that the queen, by a message delivered by Lord Burleigh, had expressed her displeasure that the Commons should presume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuses, she said, either in imposing purveyances, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majesty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; and therefore she chose not to have any interference from the Commons as to matters of this kind.

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The imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared still more clearly in another parliamentary transaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of her household, at least on the Chambre d'Orléans, were permitted the abuses of purveyances to be redressed.

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Essex, a nobleman of promising hopes, who, fired with the thirst of military honour, had secretly, unknown to the queen, stolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by them all to take a ship and make sail for Portugal, the main object of the enterprise.

The English landed at Panache, a sea-port town, twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris led the army to that capital; where, by a singular good fortune, there was no great state of the city, and no watch kept about it; and thus the inhabitants bore a tolerable account to the captain, none of them durst declare in favour of the invaders.

The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they desired to conclude the advantage of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from all plunder.

Meanwhile they found their ammunition and that of Drake's must, but found themselves at a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favour; and in the hope of a plunder and search, they seized them as lawful prize, though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power.

They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and, having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England.

Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword; and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprise.

It is in consequence of this and other expeditions undertaken on board the fleet, that only those hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters.

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the Earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at London, except one ship of war which the queen had lent him.

That nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some provisions; a generosity which saved the lives of many of the adventurers, their ships having suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceiras, and took several prizes from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in the winter following, by the enterprise of a Frenchman, a negro, who was appointed governor of the island in Cornwall. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceiras; a great mortality seized the rest; and it was with difficulty that the few hands which remained were taken back to London.

Though the signal advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused in the word, or his property (which perforce he was but loath to part with, and bad for the promotion of his own family, and not to sell) took from him, and that at a just price, but under the value, and confess to recover his money, he shall have either the rate of twelve pence in the pound above for present of his due payment upon such hard condition. Nay, further, they are grown to that extremity, as is affirmed, though it be scarce credible, that in such persons all things are credulous, that they will take double pence, more when the decrees is strict, and again the second time when the money is paid. For the second, and they are so severe, touching the quantity which they take far above the value of the goods, as divers gentlemen of possession of ships, and other matters quite value. There is no way, (as it is observed) that for ships and goods, or whatever they may make their trade more securely, so what they thereby divers statutes do directly prejudice, whereby they may be well and at.

And so that by making a resolution of that which is taken, the advantage of all the ships, and bright the dollars worth, they, to the end to observe their duties, utterly to abstain from any dealings, either of buying or selling, in yourselves and your servants, to which of your majesty, to the third sort of abuse, which is of the unlawful manner of taking, where in that point is a bound, and where it is not so, and that the questration that is in the case, otherwise might have arisen, though rather an exasperation of some of the parts than a prosecution of the whole body; to the end that the more that is taken, the more should be delivered, and the goods delivered; and that they may have their trade more securely, so what they thereby divers statutes do directly prejudice, whereby they may be well and at.

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into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign, she could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high-spirited queen, who knew so well what a brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealousy towards her heir, with which, during the life-time of Mary, she had been so much agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded to her prudence. Security, whatever it was, he could alone render these claims dangerous.* And as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrolled authority over her subjects, it was not likely that the King of Scots, who wore of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet all these circumstances could not remove her numerous suspicions: and so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident which might in anywise raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favourites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged them to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years she succeeded in this malingerant policy. He had fixed on the elder daughter of the King of Denmark, who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no advantage; yet did she so artfully manage the whole affair, as to make it favourable to the interests of her husband. She met with no other impediment, the impatience of delay, married his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the King of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing herself, by this present marriage, was unable to choose between two illustrious attempts too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: the articles of marriage were settled: the ceremony was performed by proxy, and the princess embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway. The tempest, and some others which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed by the English to have confirmed the truth of it. James, however, though a great believer in sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen above Copen-hagen; and, having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewish or a popish rite, and therefore utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and the papists, much confused thereby, and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over their opposition. a

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a situation where, though her affairs still required attention, and found employment for her active spirit, she was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with some degree of confidence and security. Her successful and prudent administration had gained her, together with the admixture of foreigners, the affections of her own subjects; and after the death of the Queen of Scots, even the catholics, however discontented, pretended not to dispute her title, or adhere to any cause as her own; and James, not hurried by his factious nobility and ecclesiastics, possessed at home very little authority; and was solicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the English nation, in hopes that time and tranquillity would soon secure him that rich succession to which his birth entitled him. The Hollander, though overmatched in their contest with Spain, still made an obstinate resistance; and such was their unconquerable antipathy to their old masters, and such the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the subduing of that small territory, if at all possible, must be the work of years, and the result of many and great successes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort against England, had been transported by resentment and ambition beyond his usual cautious maxims, was now disabled, and still more discouraged, from adventuring again on such hazardous enterprises. The situation also of England began to be most favourable to her; and events, which before had been his attention; but notwithstanding all his artifices, and force, and expense, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more injurious to himself and his designs, than to England.

The violence of the league having con-

straining Henry to declare war against the hugenots, these religiousists seemed exposed to the utmost danger; and Elizabeth, sensible of the intimate connection between her own interests and those of that party, had supported the King of Navarre by her negotiations in Germany, and by large sums of money, which she returned for levying another army. This great prince, not discouraged by the superiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained at Contras a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the same time discomfited by the army of the league, under the Duke of Guise, his situation, notwithstanding his victory, seemed still as desperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diversity of success arose from the dissensions which by that time took place in his own court. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against their king, whose intentions had become suspicious to them, took arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his safety to the Netherlands. James, however, who, though a great believer in sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen above Copen-hagen; and, having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewish or a popish rite, and therefore utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and the papists, much confused thereby, and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over their opposition. a

CHAPE XLIII.


A.D. 1589.

Arrest a state of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached

r Winwood, vol. i. p. 41. s Melvil, p. 166. 177. t Melvil, p. 183. u Sponword, p 86.
lum: the ecclesiastics and the preachers filled all places with excursions against his name; and the most powerful cities and most opulent provinces appeared to combine in a resolution, either of resisting monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding slender resources among his catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the hugonots and the King of Navarre: he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and cavalry, andsecuring himself by the nominal title of chief nobility, he assembled by these means an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The resolution of the swiss, however, inured the course of these great events. Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distasteth this century and a great part of the following year, all as was the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life in order to save the church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant; and being Murder of Men, admitted under some pretext to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal thrust, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the first of August 1539.

The King of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV. but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor. The prejudices entertained against his religion made a great part of the nobility immediately desert him; and this was encouraged by the promises of an assembly, and by the king of Spain, to whom the Swiss entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances, Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, who, with her whole dependance, contributed to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of the Swiss and German neutral subjects, he made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, a greater sum than, as he declared, he had ever before seen: and she sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men under Lord Wiloughby, an adherent of the protestant party, who joined the Swiss at Dessau. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and, having taken the suburbs sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed the body of English in many other enterprises; and still found them a powerful and useful corps, by the correspondence of their service being elapsd, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baskerville, and Sir John Boroughs, acquired reputations in this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valor.

Progress of the War. The army which Henry, next campaign, raised at the head of Lord Willoughby, led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvre; and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine; when the Duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he returned to the Low Countries; and, by his cautious policy, preserved the civil war, performed those long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought of giving him battle, or so much as putting him to the expense of a siege: the Dutch, which he sustained, was in the Low Countries; where Prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and reco- 

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ved some places which the Duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States.

The situation of Henry's affairs, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succour; and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him by some advantages gained by the King of Spain. The Duke of Mercure, governor of Brittany, was induced by the promise of being declared for the league; and finding himself hard pressed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to secure himself, to introduce some Spanish troops into the sea-port towns of Brittany, and to divert all the danger; and foresew that the Spaniards, besides infesting the English commerce by privateers, might employ these harbours as the seat of their naval preparations, and might more easily from that quarter, than from Portugal, project an invasion of England. She concluded therefore a new treaty with Henry, in which she engaged to send over three thousand men, to be employed in the reduction of Brittany; and she stipulated that her charges should, in a twelvemonth, or as soon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her. These forces were commanded by Sir John Norris, and under him by his brother Sir Richard. Sir Henry, and by Anthony Trigger, was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Despe, and a squadron of ships, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coast of France, and intercepted all the vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers. The Dutch forces were here beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it necessary to lay aside the projected enterprise against Brittany, persuaded the English commanders to unite their forces with his, under the pretext which he carried into Picardy. Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth received from this disappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, which was put into execution, and supported by four thousand men, to assist him in that enterprise. The Earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and the many real ones, was admirably fitted in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. Essex, impatient for military fame, was extremely unequipped for the time at Despe unemployed; and, had not the orders which he received from his mistress been so positive, he would gladly have accepted Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was also projected by the French ambassador, but she rejected it with great displeasure; and she threatened immediately to recall her troops, if Henry should persevere any longer in his present practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests. Urged by these motives, the French king at last led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Honen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the Duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprise with his usual abilities and success; and, for the present, frustrated the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This process, who kept still in view the interests of her own kingdom in all her foreign transactions, was impatient under these disappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained, that the English forces were a shame and reproach to her great enterprise. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their desire of distinguishing themselves in so celebrated a theatre of war, were the causes why they so often engaged. The only force that Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in several embassy to Scotland, as also the Earl of Warwick, elder brother to Elizabeth, e Rymer, t. v., p. 116. 

f g Camden, p. 162. C. B. Rymer, t. v., p. 123. 162. 

h Camden, p. 162.
support Henry against the league and the Spaniards; and she formed a new treaty with him, in which she agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common consent; she promised to send him a new supply of four thousand men; and, in stipulation to that end, in a twelfmth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Brittany, and to consign to her hands a sea-port town of that province, for a re-treat to the English. About the impossibility of fulfilling some of these articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but, finding them rigidly insisted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her succours, and trusted that he could one day have occasion to thank her for his execution in fulfilling his part of the treaty. This campaign was the least successful of all those which he had yet carried on against the league.

During these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Spain. Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West-Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. She sent a squadron of seven ships against the Spanish. Thomas Howard, for this service; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpose, fitted out a great force of fifty-five sail, and despatched them to escort the Indian fleet. They were met by a squadron, under the command of Sir Richard Greene, the vice-admiral, who refused to make his escape by flight, they took one vessel, the first English ship of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. The rest of the squadron retreated safely. The death of Henry, the Duke of Orleans, rendered her expectations, but pleasing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havannah from the fear of the English, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck ere they reached the Spanish harbours.  

The Earl of Cumberland made a like unsuccessful attempt in 1623. He sent out one ship of the queen, and seven other vessels equipped at his own expense, but the prizes which he made did not compensate the charges.

The spirit of these expensive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his interest to decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was so great, the number of those who were willing to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the West Indies. The fleet was detained so long in the channel by contrary winds, that the season was lost; Raleigh, finding himself in a difficult situation, succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the island of Flores, and destroyed another.

About the same time Thomas Whelen, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which, besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained about two millions of bull's ducatsones; a commodity useless to the English, but which had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

This war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expense to England; and Elizabeth's ministers, instead of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditons, above one million two hundred thousand pounds; a charge, which notwithstanding her ex-

trune frugality, was too burdensome for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned therefore a parliament in order to obtain supply: but she either thought her authority so established that she needed the advice of no concurrence in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money: for there never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness than she was ex-}
tend to their own condemnation; and where every one who refused entire satisfaction to the commission was imprisoned, without relief or remedy. This motion was seconded by some members; but the ministers and privy councillors opposed it, and voted the objections, circumstances which ensued. The queen sent for the speaker, and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him that it was in her power to call parliament; in her power to dissolve it at pleasure; in her power to advert or disunite to any determination which they should form: that her purpose in summoning this parliament was two-fold; to have laws enacted for the further enforcement of uniformity and to provide for the defence of the nation against the exorbitant power of Spain: that these two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: she had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion; and she wondered how any one could be so assuming as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition; that she was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited in the House: and that, in particular, she charged the speaker, upon his alleging that if any such bills were offered, she should refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was submitted to without further question. Morrice was summoned itself by a messenger, charged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury castle.

The queen having thus expressly pointed out both what the House should not do, the Commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed a law against recusants; such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the persecution of ages. It was intended, in order to uproot her majesty's subjects in their due obedience; and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate such inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of sedition sectaries and disloyal subjects: for these two species of criminals were always at that time con- founded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused during the space of a month to go and public worship, should be committed to the prison; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that if he either refuse this condition, or return after his conversion, he should suffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and, had it not been imposed by the queen's authority, it was certainly, in that respect, much contrary to the private sentiments and inclinations of the majority in the House of Commons. Very little opposition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it.1

The expenses of the war with Spain having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant of subsidies seems to have been the most important business of this parliament: and it was a signal proof of the high spirit of Elizabeth, that, while conscious of a present dependence on the Commons, she did not trouble herself much about the dilatory treatment of them, and covered her weakness under such a lofty appearance of superiority. The Commons readily voted two subsidies and four fifteenths; but, this sum not appearing sufficient to the court, an unusual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their concessions. The peers informed the Commons, in a conference, that they could not give their consent to the same proceeding, because it was a pity to weaken the stands of the queen at such times: they therefore proposed a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths; and desired a further conference in order to persuade the Commons to agree to this meas-
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He desired therefore some supply from her of men and money; but though she had reason to deem the prosecution of the three popish ears a common cause, she never could be prevailed on to grant him the least assistance.

The tenth part of this letter, which all but contains an entertaining detail respecting the French king and the States, would have sufficed to execute this purpose, more immediately essential to her security: but she seems ever to have borne some degree of hatred to the English, whom she regarded both as her and as the son of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James assistance to prosecute the catholic conspirators, the queen rather contributed to increase his iniquities by the turbulent disposition of the Earl of Bothwell, a nobleman descended from a natural son of James V. Bothwell more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traitorous enterprises, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king, and, by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed disadvantageous terms on that prince: but James, by the authority of the convention of states, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwell; and, finding him in England, insensibly influenced by the pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which he was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the King of Scotland.

During these disorders, increased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, which had been instigated and encouraged in the Protestants, the former remained in suspense; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, A. D. 1591. and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The nobleman, though they obtained a victory over the Earl of Argyll, who acted by the king's commission, found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed, on certain terms, to leave the kingdom. Bothwell, being detected in a conspiracy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter, first in France, then in Italy, where he died some years after in great poverty.

The established authority of the Queen secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traitorous and pernicious machinations as could hardly have been thought possible in the principles of the enemy which she bestrode, and the bounds of her power. Rodrigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the king, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her from a gentleman who had succeeded, when he was deceased, in the government of the Netherland; but he maintained that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for his conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction.

York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious.

Instead of avenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable vengeance, by supporting the King of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went down to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. Norris commanded the English forces in Brittany, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimperlecotrin, and Brest, two towns garrisoned by the Spanish forces. In every victory, however, they had so long enjoyed domestic peace, discovered a strong military disposition; and the queen, though herself a heroine, found more frequent occasion to revive her generals for encouraging their temerity, than to congratulate them on their success. So Sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, perished with many others before Brest. Morlaix had been promised to the English for a place of retreat; but the Duke d'Aumout, the
French general, eluded this promise, by making it be inserted in the capitulation, that none but catholics should be admitted into that city.

A.D. 1593. This campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Doulevant, and the attack of Cambrai, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth, being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces, and sent Norris to command in that latter kingdom. Finding, also, that the French league was almost entirely dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought that he could well support himself by his own force and valour; and she began to be more sparing in his cause of the blood and treasure of her subjects.

Some disgusts which she had received from the States, joined to the remonstrances of her frugal minister Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charge on that side; and she even demanded, by her ambassador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The

A.D. 1596. States, besides alleging the condition of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace, pleaded their present poverty and distress, the great prosperity of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war, much more in saving money to discharge their encumbrances. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged, to supply the queen immediately to the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, not finishing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the pay-ments should be laid on all subjects, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England.

The queen still retained in her hands the cautions towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the States; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honourable a command; and though this subpoena was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and favour with herself, the queen, who was commonly reserved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper, on this occasion, to shew her love. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France, at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assurances were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

A.D. 1597. This body of English were maintained at the expense of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the English, in so many fortunate enterprises undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by Prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney, which was the signal victory by daunted the Spaniards, and Edward Prince Augustus, who had three ships and a pinnace, by the merchants

of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy; and, not content with this success, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, that new great treasure house of the enemy. As he approached the shore he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but, nowise daunted at this appearance, he placed the stoutest of his men in boats, and ordered them to charge with much violence on the land, and took many of them in pieces. By this bold action he both deprived his men of all resource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a short resistance. He returned home with the treasure which he had so bravely acquired. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had now forlorn the queen's friendship, by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into prison for this misentries, had sooner recovered his liberty than he was pulled by his active and enterprising genius to attempt so great an action. The success of the first Spanish adventurers against Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepossession universally took place, that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortex or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, made it a point of his own honour, to see this country, and published an account of the country, full of the grosses and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind.

The same year Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; and they carried with them six ships of the queen's, and twenty more, which either were fitted out at their own expense, or fitted them by private interest. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land forces, which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with loss. Hawkins soon after died; and Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the isthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he proceeded onward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found such a scheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the same facility which had attended his first enterprises in those parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had everywhere forlorn the passes, and had stationed troops in the woods, who so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing. Drake himself, from the interment of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was now in a weak condition, and, after having fought a battle near Cuba, with a Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this enterprise; but the English reaped no profit from it.

The bad success of this enterprise in the Indies made the English rather attempt the Spanish dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Lubeck, and arrived in the Spanish dominions, composed of seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war; the rest tenders and small vessels; twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were five thousand and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thou-
Indian fleet; but the great success, in the enterprise of Cadiz, had covered all their miscarriages: and that princess, though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, could not forbear expressing an esteem for the other officers. The admiral was exalted. The Earl of Nottingham's motion gave great disgust to Essex. In the preamble of the patent it was said, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services, in taking Cadiz, and destroying the fleet that had been with ships; all whereunto he pretended to belong solely to himself: and he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the Earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The achievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but in the English, when they sailed off to the westward, the English Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantage of that war in which he was engaged, and the superiority which the English, by their naval power, and their situation, had acquired over him. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Grone, and were marching troops thither, with a view of making a descent in Ireland, was resolved to prevent their enterprise, and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet, of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were vessels of men-of-war, and thirty-nine were victuallers: she embarked on board this fleet five thousand new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The Earl of Essex himself conducted the expedition. The king, and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron: Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another: Sir Walter Raleigh of the third: Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Essex. Vere was appointed marshal: Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The Earls of Rutland and Southampoton, the Lords Grey, Cromwell, and Redes, with several other persons of distinction, embarked to keep in the naval forces. Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada, which threatened England, or to persist in the attempt.

This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth; but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and before they could be refitted, Essex found that their provisions were so far spent, that it would be impracticable to carry on so numerous an army along with them. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol and the Grone, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting the Indian fleet; which had at first been considered only as the second enterprise which he was to attempt.

The Indian fleet in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course as well as season, both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain islands at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores being one of these places, where about this time the fleet was expected, Essex went his course thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Faya, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh, arriving first before Faya, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time till the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should, by further delay, have leisure to make preparations for their defence. He succeeded in the enterprise; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and considered it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: he cashiered, therefore, Sydney, Brev, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and wrote to Raleigh, that he, as the chief officer, was not to have the credit of the victory.

The fleet, however, was returned to Plymouth, where it was expected to arrive in the month of June; but the king was heard, that the fleet had been taken into the hands of the Spanish admiral, and that they were unfortunately met by a very few ships. He complained much to the queen of their want of spirit in this enterprise; nor was she pleased that they had returned without attempting to intercept the
passionate, was soon appeased, and both received Raleigh into favour, and restored the other officers to their commands. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, was the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards took place between these two gallant commandants.

Essex made next a disposition proper for intercepting the Italian galleons; and Sir William Monson, whose station from the want of remonstrance of the more correct in the matter, was left to conduct that business, and to resort to those means which he thought proper, to intercept the commerce of the crown. They complained, that the Lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their messages sitting, with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posturé: but the upper House proved, that the lower House had been guilty in that respect, and that no remonstrance had been made whatever, and the usage of parliament, to any more respect.

Some amendments had been made by the Lords, to a bill sent up by the Commons; and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the Commons. The lower House took umbrage at the novelty: they pretended that these amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment: and they complained of this innovation to the Peers. The Peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the House; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, in the form of motions, or of propositions, that they were not entitled by custom, and the usage of parliament, to any more respect.

An application was made, by way of petition, to the Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Egerton, for a further and more ample provision for the ensuing war: an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious though a general answer, for which they returned their thanks and acknowledgments. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications, she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not make a disadvantage of them, as the Arts of the sea, in the hands of the Prince, the gentleman, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and disdain; but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal." The Commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high commission; but not till they had previously obtained permission from her Majesty to that purpose. Elizabeth had reason to foresee that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary than ever; and the chief burden of the war with Spain would thereupon lie upon England. She had received an offer of peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negotiation, he gave notice that the intelligence of the necessity of the war was the act of his subjects. She feared that, if possible, a general pacification might be made, by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France, in order to reconcile against peace; the Queen, Sir Robert Cecil and Henry Herbert; the States, Justin Nassau and John Barneveld. Henry said to these ministers, That his early education had been amidst war and danger, and he had passed the whole course of his life either in arms or in military preparations; that after the peace which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a course of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to such a condition, as to be able to make war upon his allies; that he was not parts of his people, nothing but the most invincible necessity, could ever induce him to think of a separate peace with Philip, or make him embrace measures not light, and never yet plentiful.—If there be any who are able to share the spoils of the peace, the reasons employed by this speaker are so singular, that they may be worth very little. But that would be, the maintenance of this dignity; for my father, dying, left me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare annually bequeath, growing to man's estate, and some small practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have had children; and she has been able to preserve, in spite of the devil, the Pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the miserable deceivers of all her enemies: that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her, and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been beguiled to sell the crown lands: and she told them, that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate supplies as should be found necessary for the common defence? The

1 Essex, monsoon, p. 173. 2 Ibid. p. 174. 3 The speaker is here speaking of the speaker, or historical, but the reasons employed by this speaker are so singular, that they may be worth very little. But that would be, the maintenance of this dignity; for my father, dying, left me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare annually bequeath, growing to man's estate, and some small practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have had children; and she has been able to preserve, in spite of the devil, the Pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the miserable deceivers of all her enemies: that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her, and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been beguiled to sell the crown lands: and she told them, that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate supplies as should be found necessary for the common defence? The
entirely conformable to the wishes of all his confederates: that his kingdom, torn with the convulsions and civil wars of near half a century, required some interval of repose, ere it could reach a condition in which it might sustain itself, without more help than its allies. 111 after the minds of his subjects were composed to tranquillity, and accustomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were restored, France, and the idea of being ruinous to his kingdom, if he, his confederates, would be able to lend them effectual succor, and amply to repay them all the assistance which he had received during her calamities: and that, if the ambition of the traitor, and the restless desire the traitor, and that, as that of his debauches the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe, as well as dishonourable, to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

These reasons were frequently insinuated the Earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly to desire the termination of war, and to the term of peace so potent a monarch and government was, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit. But his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from his subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of his country and of his treaty, in turning them to contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a passionate expression, suited to his impertinence. Instead of reflecting himself, and making the submissions due to her an addressed station, he clipped his hand to his sword, and swore, that he would not bear such usage, were he from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Eger-

The ambassadors were sensible that these reasons were not foigned: and they therefore remonstrated with the less vehemence against the measures which they saw Henry was determined to pursue. The States knew that that monarch was interested never to permit their ruin; and, having received private assurances that he would still, notwithstanding the peace, give them assistance, both of men and money, they were well pleased to receive him, on terms of being benevolently disposed to, and concerned in, to give satisfaction to Elizabeth, for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial esteem for that princess, a sympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary and beneficial favors which, during her greatest difficulties: and he used every expedient to apologize and atone for the measure which necessity extorted from him. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, he would not negotiate with his ally, Henry, having found himself obliged to conclude at Ver-

Peace of Vervins is inferior to his military talents; and in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolations in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

The queen knew that she could also, whenever she pleased, finish the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himself from an enemy who had foiled him in every contest, and who still had so much in her power to make him sensible of his snares and error: But this was not the state of his counsellors, particularly the treasurer, advised her to embrace pacific measures; and set before her the advantages of tranquillity, security, and frugality, as more considerable than any success which could attend the greatest victories. This high-spirited princess, though at first averse to war, seemed now to have attained such an ascendant over the enemy, that she was unwilling to stop the progress of her prosperous fortune. She considered, that her situation and her past victories had given her entire security against any dangerous invasion; and the war must thenceforth be conducted by sudden enterprises and naval expeditions, in which she possessed an undoubted and unchallenged advantage. She had his high and weak condition of his country, which in the Indies opened to her the view of the most durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by sea afforded her a continued prospect of important, though more temporary advantage after success. To maintain his peace with France, if she also should consent to an accommodation, he would have been able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain an active war. She, therefore, and that, as that of his debauches the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe, as well as dishonourable, to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

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This spirited letter was shown by Essex to his friends, and they were so imprudent as to disperse copies of it. Yet, notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of his father, which happened about the same time, seemed to insure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing, indeed, but his own indiscretion, could therefore have shaken his hold of his post. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and, by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had been gradually, from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrollable with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity of good sense to pay unavailing court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachment to him. He seems not to have possessed any existing talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business; while it appears they did not always enable a man to maintain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers, he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved from frugality.

The last act of this amiable minister was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in some measure deserted by the King of France, were glad to preserve the queen's influence, by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds; of whom they agreed to pay, during the war, sixty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue at war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cauutionary towns. They stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot, and four hundred horse; and that she should undertake any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to her. By this treaty, the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

The more civil death of Burleigh, the queen, who regrettted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II. who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired, in an advanced age, at Madrid. This haughty prince, de- sireous of an accommodation with his revoked subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transmitted to his daughter, married to Archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess could have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to

pertuss, or wearing the false budge or mask, of the shadow of honour? Do I give respite or extension to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to associate with him? Or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot get my fortune from devoting it? No, my good Lord. I give my fortune to the common foe, because I reserve myself to associate with him. Nor do I suffer my name in the court of the house, though I cannot do it without risk. I have not a natural inclination to court society, to the court, but I have a patriotic inclination. I thought I might half it. The unspeakable duty which I owe to her majesty I cannot perform, and I have not interest, but never said I that the duty of attendance is an irremediable duty. I owe her majesty the duty of the ear, and of Lord Mayor of England. I have been

content to do her majesty the service of a clerk; but I can never serve her as a vassal or as a subject. I have it in my power to be the Bawdy, so I do for now that I as the storm come, I have put myself into the hands of her majesty. Senate halls, we must go with fortune. I hope that time is both blind and strong, and therefore I am so far as I am out of her majesty's eye. I am not a man of that private life. I am used to my country by two hundred, one public, to do the office of a great subject. I am used to the other public, to do the private, to sacrifice for the office of my life and fortune, which hath been used to me in my brotherhood of the garter. I am not disabled by her majesty; of the other, nothing can free me but death; and neither shall I be a subject of her majesty till I shall meet it half. The unspeakable duty which I owe to her majesty I cannot perform, and I have not interest, but never said I that the duty of attendance is an irremediable duty. I owe her majesty the duty of the ear, and of Lord Mayor of England. I have been

the crown of Spain, the States considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

CHAP. XLIV.

State of Ireland—Tyrono's Rebellion—Exertions sent over to Ireland—His success—Relations with Spain—Is diseased—His intrigue—His insurrection—His trial and execution—His effect—Arraignments of the Spaniards and Irish—A parliament—Tyrono's suicide—Queen's sickness—and death—

Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, were too weak to be paid the allegiance of obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives: and though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form, from the internal commotion or policy of the Irish.

Most of the English institutions, likewise, by which that island was governed, were so absolute and severe, as perhaps neglected all other enterprises, to which their situation so strongly invited them; and which, in time would have brought them an admission of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay; and so money could be levied on the island which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives, and the natives were taught the art of drunkenness, which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish, introducing despair, nourished still more the same to that uncivilized people.

But the English engaged further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt their institutions, customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privileges of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous.
As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that object to their deputies, who were Irish, and who made their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed; military institutions, foreign to the Irish people, were introduced; and by degrees over the English, by whose assistance they conquered; and, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous institutions, they despised the laws of the English, abandoned the garrisons, languages, manners, and laws of their mother-country.  

By all this imperious conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the close of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, mired in barbarism. Had it been in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the revolution odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old civilization, manners, laws, and interest, was now infamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilizing of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection raised by two sons of the Earl of Clanearne, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athboy, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practised by their ancestors.  

The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand crowns a year, and pounds a queen, though with much repining, commonly added two thousand more, which she remitted from England; and with this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand.  

No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the object, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections, which still further inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

In 1560, Shan O’Neile, or the Great O’Neile, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster. Though some skirmishes he received into favour, upon his submission, his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future. This impinuity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but, being pushed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Claneboye, and rather than submit to the English, he put himself into the bands of some Scottish noblemen, who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a quartered against him on account of former services, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the English nation. He is said to have put some of his followers to death because they endeavoured to introduce the use of broad after the English fashion. Though so violent an enemy to luxury as to put on a white shirt to riot; and was accused, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into fire, that he might allay the flame which he had raised by former excesses.

Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who scorned the titles of Earl and Marquis in order to maintain the rank and appellation of King of Ulster. He used also to say, that though the queen was his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but after warning.

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns, and he possessed his authority eleven years, during which he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders which had become ineradicable among the people. The Earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the Earl of Ormond, descended from the only family established in Ireland, that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown. The Earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly to France before his forces were joined by a powerful body of the English; and, another fugitive, found such credit with the Pope, Gregory the thirteenth, that he flushed that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Cuccagno, King of Ireland, and the administration of his government was taken by the Marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

Lord Gray, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland; and, in 1578, suppressed a new rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourkes followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to suppress the temper of the chieftains over their vassals. The queen, finding Ireland so burdensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the Earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favorite, to the planting of Clandeboye, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures: but that enterprize proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, it is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants. But the most unhappy expedition employed in the government of Ireland, was that made use of in 1585, by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy; he put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the insurrections of the Scottish invaders, by which these parts were much infested. At the same time, the invitation of Philip, joined to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars; and thus Ireland, being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

Hugh O’Neale, nephew to Shan O’Neale, Tyrone’s rebellion, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of Earl of Tyrone: but, having murdered his cousin, son...
of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and domination to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented and supported it by which he hoped to weaken and overturn the English government. He was noted for the vice of perfidy and cruelty, so common among uncultivated nations; and was also eminent for courage, a virtue which their disorderly course of life requires, and which, notwithstanding these defecting, less supported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precariously among them, than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the discontentments of the Maguires, O'Donnels, Bourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; and, trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russell, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and, returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relxing no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain; he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition; and, having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy. For the English, there were of their wealth, more few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense required for supporting her armies, much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives rendered Sir John Norns, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had parted with nothing worse than his reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Blackwater, besieged by the rebels, he was surprised in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder accidentally falling fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Moniacate, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their confidence; and with arms raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty.

The English council were now sensible, that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts of gaining truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young Earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing for that important employment some person more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and reputation. By this description, he was understood to mean himself; and no secret was known, than the envious jealousy of his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. Many of his friends thought that he never ought to consent, except for a short time, to accept of any employment which did not advance him from court, but who was cultivating that personal inclination which the queen so

visibly bore him.\(^1\) His enemies hoped, that if by his absence she had once leisure to forget the charms of his person and conversation, his impatient and lofty demeanour would be made to be observed; and that she might, without any more consentiing to the utmost of his request, yield up her profound submission and implicit obedience from all her servants. But Essex was incapable of entering into such cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely desirous of subduing the Irish rebels, and who was much more disposed to give the precedence and authority to him, did not appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of Lord Lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, she granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments of the kingdom.\(^2\) And to insure him of success, she levied a numerous army of sixteen thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; a force, which it was pretended would be able in one campaign to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conquest of Ireland.

Nor did Essex's enemies, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Cobham, throw any obstacles in the way of these preparations; but hoped, that the rebellion would be put down, before Essex was raised, the more difficult it would be for the event to correspond to them. In a like view, they rather seconded than opposed those excited enmities, which Essex's numerous and good troops, his English friends, and his genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generosity, and his noble birth; nor were they displeased to observe that passionate fondness which the people every where expressed for this nobleman. These artful politicians had studied his character; and, finding that his open and undaunted spirit, if taught temper and reserve from opposition, must become invincible, they resolved rather to give full breath to those sots which were already become too powerful to be extinguished, in order to push him upon dangers of which he seemed to make such small account.

And, the better to make advantage of his indiscretions, spies were set upon all his actions and even expressions; and his vehement spirit, which, while he was in the midst of the court and environment of his rivals, was unaccounted with disgust, could not fail, after he thought himself surrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant suspicions and constructions.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and, what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility; general officers; great houses, and numbers of gentlemen, attached themselves to his fortunes, and sought fame and military experience under so renowned a commander.

The first act of authority which he exercised after his arrival in Ireland, was an indissension, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects suitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the Earl of Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience, than she reprimanded him, and offered him to recall his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined the some reasons which he had opposed to her first injunctions, had satisfied her, had the impudence to remonstrate against these second orders; and it was not till she retempered her commands, that he could be prevailed upon to displace his friend.

Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and having and the ten thousands, of whom had attached themselves to his fortunes, and sought fame and military experience under so renowned a commander. The first act of authority which he exercised after his arrival in Ireland, was an indissension, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects suitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the Earl of Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience, than she reprimanded him, and offered him to recall his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined the some reasons which he had opposed to her first injunctions, had satisfied her, had the impudence to remonstrate against these second orders; and it was not till she retempered her commands, that he could be prevailed upon to displace his friend.

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\(^1\) Cow, p. 415.
\(^3\) Rymere, tom. xiv. p. 366.
recruit their broken forces. In conformity to these views, he had ever insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counselors persuaded him that the season was too early for the enterprise, and that as the morasses, in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, were too wet to be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Their secret reason for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy driven into the country by the same selfish spirit which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it, when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended.

It cannot be denied that all the forces of Munster were either to submit or fly into the neighbouring provinces; but as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their former confidence and resistance, and so the season passed away, without the expected effect, and the forces of Munster were still far from being rendered passable to the English army, either by the fatigues of long and tedious marches, or by the influence of the climate, which was become sickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the southern army fell upon the conduct, discipline, and inexperience of the Irish; and this prevailed in some lesser enterprises against Lord Cairn and others, yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were not in the habit of fighting. And though the Irish in the middle of the season, was so enraged at this misbehaviour, that he cushioned all the officers, and deposed the privy council; but after the army had suffered a considerable diminution in the number of men, it would be impossible for him this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for further inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded to Elizabeth, and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprise, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted; and Essex found that, after all his orders, and his attempts to dissuade them, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible that, in so advanced a season, it would be impossible for him to effect any thing against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. He hesitated, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a peace negociation of the court's own. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle; but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission to the lord-lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions: and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect that he had contrived a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that unfortunate man's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peevish and impatient expressions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed, and alleging a mind equally haughty and discontented. She took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till further orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, an office to which he himself aspired; and dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen might have the skill and art of the court to advance himself, he embraced a resolution which he knew had once succeeded with the Earl of Leicester, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leicester being informed, while in the Low Countries, that his mistress was extremely disaffected with his conduct, disobeyed the orders which were sent against him, and having pacified her by his apologies, and by his flattery and insinuation, disappointed all the expectations of his enemies. Essex, therefore, returned to Ireland, where he was much less respected than the great Leicester, yet the difference of character between himself and Leicester, immediately set out for England; and, making speedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the least prepared of his intentions. When besaddled with dirt and sweat, he was sent to the privy chamber; then to the court: or, being favoured with the queen's audience, he was sent to the great chamber, where he was so graciously received, that, on his departure he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she derived from this unexpected and unexpected event: as the queen's favourite: after she had leisure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty, impetuous spirit, which, possessing the interest of both the army and the nation, and domineering in her councils, to engross all her favour, and to act in the most important affairs, without regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of Lord Keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company; even from that of his countess, nor was so much as the intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of resentment; he professed an entire submission to the queen's will; declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and business: but though he affected to be so entirely humbled, he expressed the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, proved upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a diestem which seemed to put his life in danger.

The queen had always declared to all the world, and

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even to the ear itself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him; and when she heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation. She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation, and experience to consult his case; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and desired that physician to make a dressing which she probably desired. She still greater virtue, that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. The bystanders, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked, that in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suddenly filled with tears.

When the symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave a sensible alarm to the faction which had declared their opposition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the most vivid as well as the most ambitious of his enemies, was so affected with the appearance of this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and to send him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery. A.D. 1600.

The medicine which the queen administered to him, and treatment which was successful with both; and Essex being now allowed the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored in his health as to be thought past danger. A belief was instilled into Essex, that the queen's attention had been altered in order to move her compassion; and she relapsed into her former rigour against him. He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on new-year's day, as was usual with that monarch at that time; but she deserted the letter, and rejected the present. After some interval, however, of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own house; and though he remained still under custody, and was sequestered from his companies, he was grateful for this mark of lenity, that he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion. "This further degree of good-will," said he, "doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words: Do not, Essex; for the love that speaketh this offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee. My prostrate soul makes this answer: I hope for that blessed day. And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me." The Countess of Essex, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, possessed, as well as her husband, a refined taste in literature; and the chief consolation which Essex enjoyed during this period of anxiety, was the intercourse, continued, and in reading with her those instructive and entertaining authors, which, even during the time of his greatest prosperity, he had never entirely neglected.

There were several incidents which lent air to the queen's anger against Essex. Every account which she received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. Tyrone, so far from being quelled, had thought proper, in less than three months, to break the truce; and, joining with O'Donel and other rebels, had over-run almost the whole kingdom. He boasted that he was certain of receiving a supply of men, money, and arms, from Spain: he pretended to be champion of the catholic religion: he openly exulted in the present of a phrenetic plume, which the Popes, Clement VIII, in order to encourage him in the prosecution of so good a cause, had consecrated, and had conferred upon him. The queen, that she might check his progress, returned to her former intention of appointing Montjoy lord deputy; and though the queen knew that Essex was desirous of retaining his government to the Ireland, did at first very earnestly excuse himself, on account of his state of health; she obliged him to accept of the employment. Montjoy was island almost in a desperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was so little discouraged, that he immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief seat of the rebels: he fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to blockade the Irish; he chased them from the field, and obliged them to take shelter in the woods and morasses: he employed, with equal success, Sir George Carew in Munster: and by these promising successes, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that island.

As the comparison of Montjoy's administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, she recured (if we may use the term) from the partiality of those, who, possessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Labels were secretly dispersed against Cecil and Raleigh, and all endeavours were taken to exalt the queen's authority, and to lessen that of Essex; who, great, seemed rather to be increased than diminished by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to justify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the star-chamber for his offences: but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, as a personal friend of Essex, and as a man to whom he had brought him to the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He displayed, in the strongest colours, all the faults committed by Essex in his administration of Ireland: his making Southampton a general rendezvous of his forces, instead of his descenting the enterprise against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his conferring knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone; and his sudden return from his expedition. She was assisted in her majesty's commands. He also exaggrated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for those who ever revered and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all of them. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation in which the Earl had left that kingdom; and found himself in the hands of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge, with displaying the unctuous expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

Essex, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his majesty's government, or to hazard his name in the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing or error into which his youth, folly, or manifold misfortunes might have betrayed him; that he had appeared to be a man of preference; and that the majesty was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions, nor had he any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever he had been pleased to impute to him; that in his acknowledgments he returned only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would allow him; and this he would in future always support by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him. This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. All the privy-counsellors, in giving their judgment, made no scruple of doing the earl justice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom the beauty of the capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the sentence pronounced by the lord-keeper (to which the council assented) was in these words: "If this cause," said he, "had been heard in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been so great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that or any other
with perpetual confinement in that prison which belonged to a man of his quality, the Tower. But since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that the Earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl marshal of England, nor master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence." The Earl of Camden, in a minute discourse on this sentence; and said, that if he thought it would stand, he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it somewhat severe; and that any commander in chief might command what he pleased, his majesty's confidence of his majesty's mercy, I agree with the rest. The Earl of Worcester delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verses; importing that, where the gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accidence is no excuse for transgressions against the Divinity.

Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to Lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary: but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that he had so frequently incurred the displeasure of the whole court, which was his profession. But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon, had zealously attempted, though with a high hand, to perform his duty as successor-general: and, in order to comfort his under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council against so magnificent a benefactor, though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: but she was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the people of the nature of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmness of character more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex; and, in particular, pointed out, in elaborate expression, the dutiful submission which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself.

All the world indeed expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit; perhaps, as is usual in reconstructions founded on inclination, would require an additional assurance of his friendship. But the Earl of Essex's disapprobation of that conduct would again appear more a favourite than ever.

They were confirmed in this hope when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him. Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him; he wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerful spirits, unless he should be permitted to that present which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment; and that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with the poet, "Let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his health, prosperity, and happiness; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting she should now make some experiment of his submission; that her father would never have pardoned so much obstinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of him. The Earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he impatiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this as preventing the accession of his life, which would likely determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and before her unusuallygrandeur, her enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his lofty spirit was not sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this further trial, before he could again be safely received into favour. She therefore denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be msted in his provender.

This rigour, pushed one step too far, proved his untimely end. The final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and woe to the queen herself. Essex, who had with great difficulty so long subdued his proud spirit, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining that the queen was entirely wearied of the business, quitted at once all illusory attempts of extenuating his fault, and determined to seek relief by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. Even during his greatest favour, he had ever been accustomed to carry matters in his own way, and to have spared not his own life to gratify his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method of managing her. But, being now reduced to despair, he gave utter reins to his violent dispositions, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increase the general good-will, by a hospitable manner of life, little observed by the Queen. Her conduct. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profession; and he now entertained, by additional caresses and civilities, a friendship with all despised adventurers, whose attachment he hoped might, in his present views, prove serviceable to him. He secretly counted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house; he had daily prayers and sermons in his family; and he invited all the zealous in London to attend those pious exercises. Such was his procedure, now beginning to resemble, though not among the English, that instead of feasting and public spectacles, the methods ancienly practised to gain the populace, nothing so effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public, as these farcical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their sermons the doctrine of resistance to the civil magistrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for those seditious projects which Essex was secretly meditating.

But the greatest imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openness of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to succeed in such difficult and dangerous enterprizes. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen, that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. Some court ladies, whose favours Essex had for many years been in the sole enjoyment of, and increased him to a high degree against him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though she was now approaching to her seventeenth year, she allowed her courtiers; and even foreign ambassadors, to compliment her with her beauty, the utmost sense of having been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity.\footnote{Sidney Letters, vol. iv. p. 171. 1 Most of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers hoped love and desire towards her, and addressed her in a style of attachment and adoration, Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend, Sir Heneage Finch, in which, no doubt, he is not envious to the queen. My heart was never broke till this day, that I bear the deadly love away so near the heart that it was ever before. We have lost the great love and oracle, so many auguries, and am now left behind in}

\footnote{Sidney Letters, vol. iv. p. 171. 1 Most of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers hoped love and desire towards her, and addressed her in a style of attachment and adoration, Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend, Sir Heneage Finch, in which, no doubt, he is not envious to the queen. My heart was never broke till this day, that I bear the deadly love away so near the heart that it was ever before. We have lost the great love and oracle, so many auguries, and am now left behind in
There was also an expeditious employed by Essex, which, if possible, was more provoking to the queen than those sarcasms on her age and deformity; and that was, his secret applications to the King of Scots, her heir and successor. Essex and the plot were thereupon known in the most impertinent manner, as dangerous, though ill-formed, crisis of the Earl of Gosse; and even his deliverance was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that the obstinate ecclesiastics persecuted him, of the most inconsiderable evidence, to maintain his face, that there had been no such conscience. James, harassed with his turbulent and faction subjects, cast a wishful eye to the succession of England; and though his heart might never have erred into the same, his advice was sure increased of mounting those throns, on which, besides acquiring a great addition of power and splendour, he hoped to govern a people so much more tractable and submissive, in order to insure himself friends and partisans; he even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, he flustered the catholics with hopes that, in the event of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than was at present indulged them. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of succession; he knew that, though her advanced age might not, in the event of fixing an heir, he never could bear the prospect of her own death without horror, and was determined still to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependence upon her.

He was surrounded by families the royal family; and some of his savage partisans had been so imprudent as to mention his name among those of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lord Cobham, who had lately sent into Scotland, to assure James, that so far from entertaining such ambitious views, he was determined to use every expedient for expediting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of succession; and firmly broke the foundation of this proposition, but did not approve of the violent methods which Essex intended to employ. Essex had communicated his scheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever consulted, the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a person of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the King of Scots her successor. And such was Essex's presumption, that, though James declined this expeditious expedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mountjoy not to desist from the project: but the deputy, who thought that such violence, though it might be prudent, and which was sometimes used formerly, when supported by a sovereign printing, was, when next to the crown, would be rash and criminal, if attempted by subjects, absolutely refused his concurrence. The correspondence, however, between Essex and the court of Scotland, was still conducted with great secrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, besides conciliating the favour of James, represented all his own adversaries as enemies to that prince's succession, and as men entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, and partisans of the chamferable title of the Infanta.

carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sassicke, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations, which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after, Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sassicke, a private note was conveyed to him, informing him that he was a prisoner, for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new arrest. The severer conflagration he turned upon himself, to the council, on pretence of an indisposition, and he immediately despatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace, with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the Earl. Essex declared against the first expedient, and professed himself determined to undergo any fate rather than submit to the loss of his fugitive. To seize the palace seemed impracticable, unless he could secure the saint; which seemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had used the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of becoming an outlaw, and seeking the protection and feasibility of this resolution was under debate, a person arrived, who, as if he had received a commission for the purpose, gave them assurance of the affection of the Lords De Grey, and of a probability of some sudden rest to any project on that foundation. The popularity of Essex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that with no other assistance than that of his friends, he might surely rest any project on that foundation. The popularity of Essex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that with no other assistance than that of his friends, he might surely rest his trust in the power of Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wisdom, supported by vigour, and concurring with the general sentiments of the nation. The wild project made the city immediately restless; the execution of it was delayed till next day, and emissaries were despatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Colham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreaty their presence and assistance.

March 10th. Feb. 1605. Upon this suspicion a Essex-house, the Earls of Southamp-ton and Rutland, the Lords Sondys and Montague, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Essex informed them that he had received a summons to join the court; and that the earls and others had complained of his enemies exposed him. To some he said, that he would throw himself at the queen's feet, and crave her justice and protection: to others, he boasted of his interest in the city, and affirmed, that whatever might happen, this resource could never fail him. The queen was informed of these designs, by means of intelligence conveyed, as is supposed, to Raleigh, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper, to Essex-house, with the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with both forth, with about two hundred; but all their servants were excluded, except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced, in their turn, by the augury, who surrounded them, the Earl, who found that matters were past recall, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former purpose. They were with third forth, with about two hundred; their attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the Earl of Bedford and Lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life! and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaim- a traitor by the Earl of Cumberland, and Lord Bur- leigh, began to suspect that some one was conspiring against his house. He found the streets in his passage barricaded and guarded by the citizens, under the com- mand of Sir John Levinge. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a vassal of the earl's, who was the great friendship, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the Earl himself, attended by a few of his partisans, (for the greater part began secretly to withdraw themselves,) retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex- house. He there found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to despair, and appeared determined, in prosecution of Lord Sandys' advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to perish, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than basely by the hands of the executioners, but after some parley, and a demand that was first made of him, (on the then conditions, from the besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.)

The queen, on hearing all this commotion, had belaived with as great tranquillity and security as if there had only passed a fray in the streets, in which she was nowise concerned; soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable traitors. The Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, who Buckhurst acted as lord steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too ap- parent to admit of any doubt; and, by the verdict of the court, was pronounced as known to every body, the reasonable conferences at Drury-house wereproved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court; the confes- sions of the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Long, Sandys, and Montague, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. Essex's best friends were scandalized at his condemnation in vacuo positively on his innocence, and the good luck of his instructions; and still there was not a decisive disposition, in accusing, without any appearance of reason, secretary Cecil, as a partizan of the Infanta's title. The secretary, who had expected this charge, stepped into the court and Essex's enemies attacked the earl's authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous. When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death; but he added, that he should be sorry if he were represented to the queen as a person that despaired her clemency; though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and submissive: he treated the good offices of the peers in so modest and becoming a manner, as excited compassion in every one.

The most remarkable circumstance in Essex's trial was Bacon's appearance against him. He was none of the lawyers; but was with many a wicket; all his servitors were excluded, except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced, in their turn, by the augury, who surrounded them, the Earl, who found that matters were past recall, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former purpose. They were with third forth, with about two hundred; their attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the Earl of Bedford and Lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life! and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he great
instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and consideration. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of Heaven, unless he made a full confession of his dastardly fraud; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the King of Scots. He spared not even his most intimate friends, such as Lord Montjoy, whom he had engaged in those confusions; and he sought to pacify his present remorse by making such atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blamable than those attempts, which were the effects of his penitence. Sir Harry Nevill, in particular, a man of merit, he accused of a correspondence with the conspirators; though it appears that this gentleman had never assented to the proposals made him, and was not further criminal than in not revealing the Earl's treason; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the strongest reluctance. Nevill was thrown into prison, and underwent a severe persecution; but, as the queen found Montjoy an able and successful commander, she continued him in her government, and sacrificed her resentment to the public service.

Elizabeth affected extremely the praise of clemency; and it is evident, that in every instance which she had during her reign, she had always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation: but the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the most rigid and exasperated disposition. She felt the gulf between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion, the care of her own safety and concern for her favourite; and her situation, during this interval, was perhaps more an index to the people than justice itself to which he was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her that he himself desired to die; and had assured her, that she could possess in safety while he lived: it is likely that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the food affection which she had so long repressed towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered.

The execution was private, in the Tower, according to the wish of the king, secure to his own safety. It was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the affliction of Heaven was the proper preparation to safety. He could not doubt, though that prudence required the removing of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured: it was thought that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology which he could make for so ungracious a conduit, could be accepted for the public. The cruelty and animosity with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented, were still regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour.

This event was but thirty years age when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We must here, as in many other instances, lament the inconstancy of human nature, that a person, unless he made a prudent choice, could be accepted by the public. The confidence, friendship, and love, which should, in the latter period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable passions, and involved not only himself, but the cause of Essex, in utter ruin, depends on the boldness and passion for him, as it was the cause of those}

premature honours which he attained, seems, on the whole, the chief circumstance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in so advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an impudent openness, of which he made public profession, to display them to perverts of her passion. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had still made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he pushed her beyond all bounds of patience and of passion, which the corners of the woman were ever strong in her, those of the sovereign had still in the end appeared predominant. Some of Essex's associates, Cuffe, Daveners, Blount, Merce, and Davies, were tried and condemned, and all of these, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest; being persuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendship to that nobleman, and their care of his safety; and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty. But he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

The King of Scots, apprehensive lest his correspondence with Essex might be discovered, and having given offence to Elizabeth, sent the Earl of Morre and Lord Kinloss as ambassadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and confinement. The queen was secreted in a large council, and the苞le of this council, were employed in discovering whether any measures had been taken by her for excluding him from the succession, as well as to discover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's demise. They found the dispositions of many as favourable as they could wish; and they even entered into a correspondence with secretary Cecil, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was now uncontrolled, and who was resolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the successor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James; but after- wards asserted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correspondence; because the King of Scots, secure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by those connections with the English ministry, was the less likely to give any disturbance to the present sovereign. He also persuaded that patience was to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time should open to him the inheritance of the crown, without pushing his friends on desperate enterprises, which would totally incapacitate them for his service. The queen professed her natural facility of disposition, easily inclined him to embrace that resolution; and in this manner the minds of the English were silently but universally disposed to admit, with their hearts, what Cecil told her in his letter out line: the death of Essex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

The French king, who was little predisposed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland, made his ambassador drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for disapproving the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil showed an entire disapprobation of such counsels, the ambassador left no hint of his dealings in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power which could give much disturbance to James's succession, was induced to acquiesce in it. Henry made a journey this summer to Calais, and the queen, hearing of his intentions, went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and most respected. The King of Scots, however, produced to her, besides the measures, general or particular, of which she had heard, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview.

Elizabeth's life came to an end by the successive two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by Sir Abert Sidney;
in which she expressed a desire of conferring about a
business of importance, with some minister in whom that
prince repose entire confidence. The Marquis of Rosni,
the king's favourite, and prime minister, came to Dover in
disguise; and the Memoirs of that able statesman contain
a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This
princess had formed a scheme for establishing, in conjunc-
tion with the English, a new system in Europe, and of fixing a
durable balance of power, by the erection of new states
on the ruins of the house of Austria. She had even
the prudence to foresee the perils which might ensue from the
agitation of the French nation and her principal
among all the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one
monarchy, in order to form a perpetual barrier against the
dangerous increase of the French as well as of the Spanish
monarchy. Henry had himself long meditated such a perfect
union of the Austrian family, and Rosni could not
forbear expressing his astonishment, when he found that
Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communi-
cated their sentiments on this subject, not only had entered
into the same general views, but also had formed
the same plan for their execution. The affairs, however,
of France were not yet brought to a situation which
might enable Henry to begin that great enterprise; and
Rosni found it necessary to postpone for some years their united attack on the house
of Austria. He departed, filled with just admiration at the solidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatness of her
mind; and he owns, that she was entirely worthy of the title of "Elizabeth the Martyr".

The queen's magnanimity in forming such extensive
projects was the more remarkable, as, besides her having
fallen so far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and success, were still in
disorder, and made a great diversion of her forces. The
expense, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow
revenues, and her ministers, taking advantage of her dis-
position to frugality, proposed to her an expedient of saving,
which, though she at first disapproved of it, she was at last induced to embrace. It was represented to her, that the great sums of money remitted to Ireland for the
purposes of the English forces, came from the necessary course of circulation, into the bands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all necessary supplies of arms
and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that
kingdom, and its want of every useful commodity, they could not otherwise find means to purchase. It was
therefore recommended to her, that she should pay her forces in base money; and it was asserted, that besides the great
saving to the revenue, this species of coin could never be exported into the foreign market. Some of her wiser counsellors maintained, that if the pay of the soldiers were raised in proportion, the
Irish rebels would necessarily reap the same benefit from the
lessened expense of the English army, a benefit, it was
said, more suited to its value; if the pay were not raised, there
would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who,
whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal,
would soon find, from experience, that they were defrauded in their income. But Elizabeth, though she justly valued
herself on fixing the standard of the English coin, much
debased by her predecessors, and had innovated very little
in that delicate article, was seduced by the specious argu-
ments employed by the minister on this occasion; and
she coined a great quantity of base money, which he made
use of in the pay of his forces in Ireland.

Mountjoy's suc-

Mountjoy, the deputy, was a man of
some eleven thousand and a thousand
men; and having the greater
mutiny among the troops, he led them instantly into the
field, and resolved by means of strict discipline, and by
keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those
incidents which were just to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Mespoghe; he
drove the Mac-genises out of Lecale; he harassed
Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions; and
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The Irish war, though successful, was extremely burdensome on the queen’s revenue; and besides the supplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very small, but which they ever regarded as a divinely appointed provision, she had been obliged, by an unfortunate execution of Essex, in no small measure that when she appeared in public, she was not attended with the usual acclamations, yet the powers of her prerogative, supported by vigour, still remained as high and unattenuated as ever.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards, used the great part of the salaries, which had made use of an expedient which had been employed by her predecessor, but which had never been carried to such an extreme as under her administration. She appointed a great number of deputies for more private concerns, and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to see the number and immense wealth of those commodities which were thus assigned over to patentees. Currents, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, fells, poul- davies, ox-skins, bones, tram oil, lists of cloth, pot-ashes, molasses, vinegar, sea-coals, silk, ribbons, brushes, pots, bottles, salt-petre, lead, adze, oil, calamine-stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordinance, besides the more ancient, and unheard of, monopoly of wool, Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopolists. When this list was read in the House, a member cried, "Is not bread in the market?" "Bread!" said every one with astonishment; "Yes, I assure you, replied he, if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament." These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places, for instance, the price of first-class salts from sixteen-pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and, in order to secure themselves against encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers, to applaud their authority, by which means, they oppressed the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent. The patentees of salt-petre, having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havoc they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected their monopoly to be violated, had been employed by some of them, who were suspected of desiring to free themselves from this damage or trouble. And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should remain for indirect supply of foreign goods, the queen was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact.

These grievances, the most intolerable for the present, and the most pernicious in their consequences, that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the last parliament, and a petition had even been presented to the queen, complaining of her grievances, and that she should be relieved from these abuses. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the Commons could not hope for success if they did not avail themselves of the prerogative. Mr. Hyde, therefore, to the queen’s goodness and benefit. The topics which were advanced in the House, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were alleged to be in extraordinary case, it was necessary for such as possessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted, that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a regal prerogative, by which she could assert at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty: that the royal prerogative was not to be considered as a negative privilege, but a positive one, in the highest degree absolute; that absolute power is inconsistent with any limitation; that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity; that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen’s hands by laws or statute; since, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure: and that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute, excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then fill the statute. Afterwards I discovered, more especially in a Turkish Divan than of an English House of Commons, according to our present idea of this assembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the Speaker, and desired him to frame a bill to immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents.

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not only unto you that much, that the last parliament we proceeded by way of petitioning, which had no effect. Mr. Francis More said, I know the queen’s prerogative to be as great as in truth, yet such grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue, or convey with my heart, the great grievances that the town and country are in, by which I serve, suffereth by some of these monopolies. It brings the several profits into very great sum, and the end of all this is began to bind very serious burdens to the subjects. We have a law, but a true and faithful copy of it, or rather of it, there is a patent set all at liberty, in opposition to that statute. And to what purpose is it to do any thing by act of parliament, when the queen will execute the same by her prerogative? Out of a dominion of her prerogative, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it, there is no act of hers that hath been or is more contrary to her own majesty, more odious to the subjects, more dangerous to the commonwealth, than the passing of these monopolies. Mr. Martin, I shall speak for a people in every part of the country that possesses and languishes under the burden of monopolies and un- legal trade, and whose property is withheld from them, and whom every man is united to oppose and destroy. For by her prerogative she may set at liberty things necessary to the state or otherwise, and especially by her prerogative, she may restrain things which be of utility for the first, she may strive to make a new patent contrary to the present. With regard to monopolies and such like cases, the case hath been here to humble ourselves and to acknowledge these monopolies. If it be true, if these grievances be true, especially when the severely touched her so much in prerogative —
The House was sick with astonishment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary instance of the queen's goodness and condescension. A member said, with tears in his eyes, that if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been said, she would have been so moved that she might have been greater joy than that with which he was at present overwhelmed. Another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen was a kind of gospel or glad-tidings, and ought to be received as such, and be written in the tablets of the temple, as one of those minor miracles, in the same manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness. The House voted, that the Speaker, with considerable emphasis, should wait on her majesty, and return thanks to her for her gracious concessions to her people.

When the speaker, with the other members, was introduced by her, he presented to her his cap, and dressed his knee; and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the Commons; because her sacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her blessed hands ever stretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness acknowledged, that, before they called, her preceding grace was a most agreeable and beneficial act to their good; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all he promised, appertained also to her; and said that she was all truth, all constancy, all beneficence, to the coasts and uttermost ends of the earth, and to the utmost bounds of the earth.

On a subsequent day, in Bill against the money bills was again introduced, and Mr. Speaker said, it is no purpose to offer to her majesty's hands by act of parliament, when she may borrow herself at her pleasure, Mr. Davies, said, had been given to prove that true greatness which he attributes to himself, Dju de graet Dis. (R. B. has an answer to apply to this day of England.) Mr. Secretary Cecil said, I am sent out to the queen, and before we speak and give counsel to a cause that should deliver her place, or, oblige it, I would wish that my tongue was cut out of my head. I am sure there were law-makers before there were laws. (meaning, I suppose, that the sovereignty was above the laws.) This gentleman went about to press us with the execution of the law in this case, and so of 50 of Edward. Who thinks they can be true to that time, when the king was afraid of the subject? If you stand upon your own feet, and act upon your own construction and your own reason, then this great cause is amendable, if not to you, at least to such as it is in the way of reason, that is good and irreparable. Mr. Montague said, I am both to speak what I know, but, as we should not desire to speak what we are not acquainted with, I have in my place the House Hansard by which I am now in question, and which the laws of the land have always allowed and maintained, and let us therefore apply by petition to her majesty.

Mr. Speaker told the House that the queen had antedated many of the talents, Mr. Francis More said, I must renew, Mr. Speaker, I moved the House, to receive her majesty's grace, that we might never mean (and I hope the House think so) to set limits and bounds to the terminating of the king's favours to her majesty; and also, that whereas divers speeches have been moved extra ordinary, in the name of the commons, to all their sessions, and bills all concerned of by her, Mr. Speaker would apologise, and humbly cancel them; but then he observed, that if any member were a member of the House, who was no corporator, and the extravagance of the speeches might be attributed to his being a member of the House, and the that of the speech, or very much of it, was that which was mentioned by him, by sending a new present; and on the whole the great lords took these proceedings, that she spoke of them possibly as her concluding prevailing, maintained her dignity, and preserved the affections of her people.

The Commons granted her a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight tenthents; and they ended it by taking a resolution, that she might have any satisfaction in the business of monopolies, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance to the interest and happiness of the nation. Had they attempted to exact that concession, by keeping the supply in suspense; so humbly did they approach her majesty, in this appearance of constraint and jealousy had been sufficient to have produced a denial of all their requests, and have forced her into some acts of authority still more violent and arbitrary.

The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much difficulty, Charles, his son, loaded her with presents, resolved to give them employment at home; and she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the gallicoes loaded with treasure; but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships; but they escaped for the present. The other officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Corintha, in Portugal, where they received intelligence a very rich caravan had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle; there were eleven ships in it, and in the country, as the number, to be believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore; yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron had retired from the harbour, dismounted the guss of the castle, sunk or burnt or put to flight the galleys, and obliged the caravan to surrender. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of pounds. The supply to the Spaniards; and a supply still more important to Elizabeth.

The affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone, and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, resolved to give them employment at home; and he fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the gallicoes loaded with treasure; but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships; but they escaped for the present. The other officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Corintha, in Portugal, where they received intelligence a very rich caravan had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle; there were eleven ships in it, and in the country, as the number, to be believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore; yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron had retired from the harbour, dismounted the guss of the castle, sunk or burnt or put to flight the galleys, and obliged the caravan to surrender. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of pounds. The supply to the Spaniards; and a supply still more important to Elizabeth.

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the activity of Sir Henry Doowray, and Sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: and many of the chief-lants, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. Tyrone himself made application, by letter, to the Duke of York, his brother, to be received upon his former terms, but they were not admitted, except he made an absolute surrender of his life and fortune to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Melford, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and, after a severe conference, the duke, with the advice of the tenable time, was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

Queen Elizabeth, who was incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: she had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glory of her prosperous reigns, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Some ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treachery, but who had made no such interest with the ministers, as to extort a remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection by a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her name by her successor, the king of Spain, and the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed, and some incident happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had unwarily given to his execution.

The Earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which her enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and, making him the present of a ring, to shew that part of it he had taken from her other tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condonation, he resolved to present it to her, and, having restored the ring to the Countess of Nottingham, whom she desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favour would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The Countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and, having obtained a visit from the queen, craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, That God must pardon her, he struck her with a rock she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most insupportable melancholy. She rejected all consolation: she even refused food and sustenance: and, throwing herself on the floor, was manaced sullen and immovable, feeding her thoughts on her loss, and the existence of her children, an insupportable burden to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal: but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies which were prescribed. At length, her weakness, which, at last, had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered, with a faint address, that she had directed her lawyers, when she was in the last extremity, to subjoin her; and, in her stead, ordered her letters to be read, which were delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargy, and had a lethargic slumber, which contained some 5th March hours; and she expired gently, without further struggle or corroboration, in the twentieth year of her age, and forty-five years of her marriage.
any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex.

When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her Sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

THE  
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

JAMES I.

CHAP. XLIV.


A D. 1603.

The crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the eyes of men had been employed in search of her successor; and when old age made the prospect of her death more immediate, there appeared none but the King of Scots, who could advance any just claim or pretension to the throne. He was great-grandson of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII.; and, on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right remained unquestionable. If the religion of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the other prejudices contracted against her, had formed any considerable obstacle to her succession; these objections, being entirely personal, had no place with regard to her son. Men also considered, that though the title, derived from blood, had been frequently violated since the Norman conquest, such licences had proceeded more from force or intrigue, than from any deliberate maxim of government. The lineal heir had still in the end prevailed; and both his exclusion and restoration had been commonly attended with such convulsions as were sufficient to warn all prudent men not lightly to give way to such irregularities. If the will of Henry VIII., authorized by act of parliament, had tacitly excluded the Scottish line, the tyranny and caprices of that monarch had been so signal, that a settlement of this nature, unsupported by any just reason, had no authority with the people. Queen Elizabeth too, with her dying breath, had recognised the undoubted title of her kinsman James; and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. Though born and educated amidst a foreign and hostile people, men hoped, from his character of moderation and wisdom, that he would embrace the maxims of an English monarch; and the prudent foresaw greater advantages resulting from a union with Scotland, than disadvantages from submitting to a prince of that nation. The alacrity with which the English looked towards the successor had appeared so evident to Elizabeth, that, conversing with other causes, it affected her with the deepest melancholy; and that wise princess, whose penetration and experience had given her the greatest insight into human affairs, had not yet sufficiently weighed the ingratitude of courtiers and levity of the people.

As victory abroad, and tranquillity at home, had attended this princess, she left the nation in such flourishing circumstances, that her successor possessed every advantage, except that of comparison with her illustrious name, when he mounted the throne of England. The First transac

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profusion of titles which was observed in the beginning of his reign; when, in six weeks’ time after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. If Elizabeth’s facility of honours, as well as of marriage, had formerly been repined at, she began now to be valued and esteemed; and every one was sensible that the king, by his lavish and premature conferring of favours, had failed of obliging the persons on whom he bestowed them; but it was a kind because the old marks of distinction; and being distributed, without choice or deliberation, to persons unknown to the prince, were regarded more as the proofs of facility and good fortune of any determined friendship or extraordinary service.

A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul’s, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility. We may presume, that the English would have thrown less blame on the king’s facility in bestowing favours, had these been confined entirely to their own nation, and had not been shared out in too unequal proportions, to his old subjects. James, who, through whose whole reign, was managed by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, had brought with him great numbers of his Scottish courtiers: whose impatience and importunity were apt, in many particulars, to impose on the eminent miniser, as well as on the master, and extort a favour, of which he knew it was not natural to imagine, his English subjects would loudly complain. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Marre, Lord Hume, Lord Kiiolos, Sir George Hume, secretary Elphinstone, were immediately added to the English privy council. Sir George Hume, whom he created Earl of Dunbar, was his declared favourite as long as that nobleman lived, and was one of the wisest and most virtuous, though the king disdained of a liking for him. Hume of Dunbar was thus entitled to the title of Earl of Holderness; and many others, being raised on a sudden to the highest elevation, increased, by their insolvency, that envy which naturally attended them, and engrossed an ancient enmity against the English.

It must, however, be owned, in justice to James, that he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth’s ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these, Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, Viscount Northampton, and Earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this minister were such as to merit the high favour which was given with so much facility on the accession of that monarch. The secret correspondence into which he had entered with James, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil’s credit; and while all his former associates, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, were discommoded, on account of their animosity against Essex, as well as for other reasons, this minister was continued in employment, and treated with the greatest confidence and regard.

The capacity of James and his ministers, in negociation, was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in answer to the secret letters of the French minister, Count de Taxis, which were expected in a little time from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the Marquis of Rosini, afterwards Duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

**HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.** [A.D. 1603.—CHAP. XLV.]

When the domestics of the house of Austria were defeated on Philip II. all Europe was struck with terror, lest the power of a family, which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found in the event to be more groundless. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprise, false without deceiving any body, and wrong without being discovered. He was of that character which, during his lifetime, and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, discontented or rebellious, to be held in subjection, or that was which those dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, presented to Philip III. a weak prince, and to the Duke of Lerma, a minister weak and odious. But though military disasters were still continued, it was what alone gave some appearance of life and vigour to that languishing body, yet so great was the terror produced by former power and ambition, that the reduction of the house of Austria was the only means which the English ministers of Christendom. It was not perceived, that the French empire, now united in domestic peace, and governed by the most heroic and most amiable prince that adorns modern story, was become, of itself, a sufficient counterpoise to the Spanish greatness; and perhaps, at a future time, he himself did not perceive, it he proposed, by his minister, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crown; in order to relieve them from the Dutch wars, and depress the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the English monarch was not equal to such vast enterprises. The love of peace was his ruling passion, and all his peculiar dispositions and conjunctures of the times rendered the same object which was agreeable to him in the highest degree advantageous to his people.

The English ambassador, therefore, was obliged to depart from these extensive views, and to concert with James the means of procuring for the safety of the United Provinces: nor was this object altogether without its difficulties. The king, by natural inclination, as well as by policy, was attached to the revolt of the Low Countries; and being commonly open and sincere, he had, on many occasions, gone so far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels; but having conceived more fully with English ministers and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic so strong, and their opinion of common interest so established, that he was obliged to sacrifice his sense of justice: a quality which, even when erroneous, is respectable as well as mistaken, and, as such, deserves much admiration. James, the man, continued, with regard to the revolt of the Low Countries; and being commonly open and sincere, he had, on many occasions, gone so far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels; but having conceived more fully with English ministers and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic so strong, and their opinion of common interest so established, that he was obliged to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice: a quality which, even when erroneous, is respectable as well as mistaken, and, as such, deserves much admiration.

Amidst the great tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, with which the nation was surrounded, nothing could be more surprising than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king’s by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy; and history can give us no clue to unravel it. Watson and Clarke, two catholic priests, were accused of the plot: Lord Grey, a papian; Lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, of no fixed principle; and Sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received

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the appellation of free-thinkers: together with these, Mr. Broke, brother to Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, Mr.COPELEY, Sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a connexion, and of such unequal weights, proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham, were commonly believed, all were well pleased in the Queen's court, to see in the person of one of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies. But the confession as well as trial of the criminals, put the matter beyond doubt. And though no one could find any marks of a connected enterprise, it appeared that men of famous and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented, like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

The two priests and Broke were executed: Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

From Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and we may thence presume, that meeting with a repulse from that quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable purposes, to the Flemish minister. Such a correspondence we are now enabled to form; but it must be confessed, that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this transaction, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation. He was a man, abnormal in all the faculties of passion, upon hearing that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by which Cobham's guilt might be known and ascertained. This accusation Cobham afterwards retracted; and soon after he retracted his retraction. Yet upon the written evidence of this single witness, a man of no honour or understanding, and so contradictory in his testimony; not confronted with Raleigh; not supported by any concuring circumstances; was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at that time extremely odious in England; and every man was pleased to give sentence against the capital enemy of Essex, the fact is outrageous.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney general, managed the cause for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection on him, as well as on the whole crown. He could not have found, in any evidence, such a degree of malignity, as he exhibited in the manners of the age. Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, are the terms which he employs against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with temper, eloquence, and courage.

A.D. 1604.

The next occupation of the king was entirely according to his heart's content. He was employed in directing magnificently to an assembly of divines, concerning points of faith and discipline, and in receiving the applause of these holy men, for his superior zeal and learning. The religious disputes between these churches and the puritans having brought him to call a conference at Hampton-court, on presence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. Though the seventies of Elizabeth towards the catholics had so much weakened that party, whose genius was opposite to the church of England, not only as to its ideas, but also the conditions which had had so little influence on the puritans, who were encouraged by that spirit, that no less than seven hundred and fifty elomerans of that party signed a petition to the king on his accession; and many more seemed willing to adhere to it. They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and having sometimes professed an attachment to the church established there, would at least prefer the religion of the nation. The king, till conditions should be made with them, were, upon that account, extremely obnoxious to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the party had been managed with no other design than to end the life of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies. But the confession as well as trial of the criminals, put the matter beyond doubt. And though no one could find any marks of a connected enterprise, it appeared that men of famous and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented, like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

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The puritans were here so unreasonable as to complain of a partial and unfair management of the dispute; as if the search after truth were in any degree the object of such conferences, and a studied indifference, so rare even among private inquirers in philosophical questions, could ever be expected among princes and prelates, in a theological controversy. The king, it must be confessed, from the opening of the conference, showed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently incited a maxim, which, though it has some foundation, is to be received with great limitations, No Bishops, No Kings. The bishops, in their turn, were very much strained by the present direction of the council that the Archbishop of Canterbury said, that undeniably his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's Spirit. A few alternations in the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

It had frequently been the practice of the puritans to form certain assemblies, which they called prophesying: where alternately, as moved by the Spirit, they displayed their pius zeal in prayers and exhortations, and raised their own enthusiasm, as well as that of their audience, to the highest pitch, from that social contagion which has so mighty an influence on holy fervours, and from the mutual emulation which arises in these trials of religious eloquence. Such a congress seemed to have been supposed to use by Elizabeth; and the ministers in this conference moved the king for their revival. But James sharply replied, If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with our prejudices. The devil and Jack and John and Will and Dick shall meet and convene me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech: Le Ross s'avisez. Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand; and then, if you find my grace pursuant and just, may perience hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough. Such were the political considerations which determined the king in his choice among religious parties.

The next assembly in which James displayed his learning and eloquence, was one that showed more spirit of liberty than appeared among his bishops and theologians. The parliament was now ready to assemble; being so long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged to such a degree, that above 30,000 persons are computed to have died of it in a year; though the city contained at that time little more than 150,000 inhabitants.

The speech which the king made on opening the parliament, fully displays his character, and proves him to have possessed some knowledge and better judgment of any just sense of decorum and propriety. Though few productions of the age surpass this performance either in style or matter, it wants that majestic brevity and relative simplicity which becomes a head of state and in the council of the nation. It contains, however, a remarkable stroke of candour, where he confesses his too great facility in yielding to the solicitations of suitors: a fault which he promises to correct; but which adhered to, and distressed him, during the whole course of his reign.

The first business, in which the Commons were engaged, was of the utmost importance to the preservation of their privileges; and neither temper nor resolution were wanting on their conduct of it.

In the former periods of the English government, the House of Commons was of so small weight in the balance of the constitution, that little attention had been given, either by the king, the nobility, the people, or the choice and continuance of the members. It had been usual, after parliaments were prolonged beyond one session, for the chancellor to exert a disciplinary authority over the members, and to supply the place of any members whom he judged incompetent of attending, either on account of their employment, their sickness, or other impediment. This practice gave that minister, and consequently the prince, an unlimited power of modelling at pleasure the representatives of the nation; yet so little was observed of it, that the Commons of themselves, without any court influence or intrigue, and contrary to some former votes of their own, confirmed it in the twenty-third of Elizabeth. At that time, though some members, being surprised, for they were unacquainted with the device, having now recovered their health, appeared in the House, and claimed their seat; such was the authority of the chancellor, that merely out of respect to him, his sentence was adhered to, and the new members were continued in their places, although the House was of opinion, that the crown had conferred on the crown: but to show the genius of that age, or rather the channels in which power then ran, the crown put very little value on this authority; insomuch that two days after the chancellor, of himself, resigned it back to the Commons, and gave them power to judge of a particular vacancy in their House. And when the question concerning the chancellor's new writs was again brought on the carpet towards the end of the session, the Commons were so little alarmed at the precedent, that, though they readmitted some old members, whose seats had been vacated on account of slight indispositions, yet they confirmed the chancellor's sentence, in instances where the power had been actually exercised, and was incapable. Nor did they proceed any further in vindication of their privileges, than to vote, that during the sitting of parliament, there do not, at any time, any writs go out for choosing new members to fill up any vacancies in the House. In Elizabeth's reign we may remark, that the reigns preceding, sessions of parliament were not usually the twelfth part so long as the vacancies; and during the latter, the chancellor's power, if he pleased to extort it, was confirmed, at least left, by this vote, as unlimited and unrestrained as ever.

In a subsequent parliament, the absolute authority of the queen was contested in a manner; she began for the first time to give alarm to the Commons. New writs having been issued by the chancellor when there was no vacancy, and a controversy arising upon that incident, the queen sent a message to the House, informing them that it were improper for them to deal in such matters. These questions, she said, belonged only to the chancellor; and had appointed him to confer with the judges, in order to settle all disputes with regard to elections. The Commons had the courage, a few days after, to vote, That it was a most perilous precedent, where two knights of a county were duly elected, if any new writ should issue out for a second election, without order of the House, and without any consideration of this and such like differences belonging only to the House; and that there should be no message sent to the lord chancellor, not so much as to inquire what he had done under the direction of the queen, and conceived to be a matter derogatory to the power and privilege of the House. This is the most considerable, and almost only, instance of parliamentary liberty which occurs during the reign of that prince.

Outlaws, whether on account of debts or crimes, had been declared by the judges incapable of enjoying a seat in the House, where they must themselves be lawgivers; but this opinion of the judges had been frequently overruled. But, however, in the time of Vaughan, it was questioned for an outlawry, that, having proved all his debts to have been contracted by sureties, and to have been, most of them, honestly compounded, he was allowed, on the production of his house, to sit in the House itself, which plainly supposes that, otherwise, it would have been vacated, on account of the outlawry.

When James summoned this parliament, he issued a proclamation, in which, among many general advices, which he issued to all, he disapproved of the House's granting the last parliamentary complaints of their admitting outlaws, and reiterates that conduct of the House as a grand abuse.

* John Ker, p. 600.
* Fuller's Church History. *
* W. James's Works, p. 495, 496. *
* Journ. January 19, 1600.
* D, P. 527, 528. *
* D. P. 977. *
* D, 971.
* Journ. December 8, 1609.
* In a subsequent parliament, that of the ", of the queen, the Com-

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may be called a quo warranto to seize all our liberties. A chancellor, added a third, by this course may null a parliament constituting what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this place to see whether the chancery or parliament ought to have authority.

Notwithstanding this watchful spirit of liberty which now appeared in the Commons, their deference for majesty was not appointed a curb upon them but that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a writ be issued, by warrant of the House, for a new election. Goodwin gave his consent, and the Commons embraced the expedient, but in such a manner, that while they showed their regard for the king, they secured for the future the free possession of their seats, and the right which they claimed of judging solely in their own elections and returns.

A power like this, so essential to the exercise of all their other powers, themselves so essential to public liberty, cannot fairly be deemed an encroachment in the Commons; but must be regarded an inherent privilege, happily rescued from the hands of those who have made it a point of their conduct to hinder the elections of some former parliaments had thrown upon it.

At the same time the Commons, in the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, established their power of punishing, as well as of presenting, any officer or officers whom they might think fit; and that is as much as to say, that they have the power to arrest, and to try and judge, and to execute the officers who either arrest or detain them. Their asserting of this privilege admits of the same reflection.

About this period, the minds of men throughout Europe, especially in England, were agitated by events of the most insensible, but insensible, revolution. Though letters had been revived in the preceding age, they were chiefly cultivated by those of sedentary professions; nor had they, till now, begun to spread themselves, in any degree, among men of the most useful parts of the world. Arts, sciences, and letters flourished everywhere every day receiving great improvements. Navigation had extended itself over the whole globe. Travelling was secure and agreeable. And the general system of politics in Europe was become more enlarged and comprehensive.

In consequence of this universal fermentation, the ideas of men enlarged themselves on all sides; and the several constituent parts of the Gothic governments, which seem to have lain inactive, began everywhere to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the necessity of discipline had begotten standing armies, the princes commonly established an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the faction of the people. In England, too, the low condition, which, uncontrolled, flourishes extremely in all liberal nations, acc.

should create a proved marshal in every county, who might ride about with right or his followers in search of stragglers and vagabonds, the first time he catches any, he may punish them, more lightly by the rack, or the second time by whipping; but the third time he may hang them without trial or process on the first thought; and he thinks, that authority thus exercised, need not be restrained to the proved marshal, but the sheriff; because the latter magistrate having a profit by the forfeits of rebels may be tempted to hang innocent persons. Here a real absolute, or rather arbitrary, power is given out; and we may infer from all these passages, either that the word absolute here a different sense from what it does at present, or that men's ideas of the English as well as Irish government were then different. Thus the latter inference seems better. The word, being derived from the French, here always the same sense as in that language. An absolute monarchy, in Charles I's answer to the nineteen propositions, was opposed to a limited; and the king of England in acknowledged an absolute, so much had matters changed even before the civil war. In Sir Francis Bacon's Fortescue's a branch of a very old family much decayed in the regis of Edward the VIth, the word absolute is taken to the same sense as a present; and that the law of man is absolute. They were the princes of the house of Tudor who truly introduced that administration in this country, and that administration had a great deal of a very different form in the reign of Edward VIth. The princes before them were restrained by the barons; as those after them by the House of Commons. The people had, properly speaking, little liberty in either of these ancient governments, but least in the most recent.

Jour. 29th March, 5th April, 1643.

In June, 9th March, 1643.

In July, 6th and 7th May, 1643.
quired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitable to that cultivated understanding which became every day more common among men of both directions. In consequence, with the precious remains of antiquity excited, in every generous breast, a passion for a limited constitution, and begat an emulation of those many virtues, which the Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples as well as pathetic expressions, recommended to us. The severe though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds: but when a new and a foreign family succeeded to the throne, and a prince less dreaded and more odious, sowed the seeds of the mighty appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

Happily, this prince possessed neither sufficient capacity to perceive the alteration, nor sufficient art and vigour to check it in its early advances. For conscious of little personal authority, he had established within his own mind a speculative system of absolute government, which few of his subjects, he believed, and none but traitors and rebels, would make any scruple to admit. On whichever side he cast his eye, every thing concurred to encourage his prejudices. When he compared himself with the other hereditary sovereigns of Europe, and considered the position of the house of Stuart, he was entitled to equal prerogatives; not considering the innovations lately introduced by them, and the military force by which their authority was supported. In England, that power, almost unlimited, which had been exercised for centuries, especially during the late reign, ascribed solely to royal birth and title; not to the produce and spirit of the monarchs, nor to the conjunctures of the times. Even the opposition which he had struggled with in Scotland encouraged him still further in his favourite notions; while he there saw, that the same resistance which opposed regal authority, violated all law and order, and made way, either for the ravages of a barbarous nobility, or for the more intolerable violence of sedition and preachers. In his own person, therefore, he thought all legal power to be centred, by a hereditary and a divine right; and this opinion might have proved dangerous, if such to liberty, had not in his case, and its seeming evidence, induced him to trust solely to his right, without making the smallest provision, either of force or politics, in order to support it.

Such were the opposite dispositions of parliament and prince, at the commencement of the Scottish time; dispositions just beginning to exist and to appear in the parliament, but thoroughly established and openly avowed on the part of the prince.

Educated at the University of Cambridge, the judgment of the House of Commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but also in their endeavour, though at this time in vain, to free trade from those shackles which the high exerted prerogative, in this respect, the all-juridged monarchy of Elizabeth, had imposed upon it.

James had already, of his own accord, called in and numelled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry; but the exclusive companies still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious enemies, and all prospect of future improvement of commerce was for ever sacrificed to a little temporary advantage of the sovereign. These companies, though arbitrarily elected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost as soon as the government of Scotland was centred in London; and it appears that the customs of that port amounted to 110,000l. a year, while all the domestic trade was reduced to 1604.—CHAP. XV. only seventeen thousand. Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred persons, who were easily enabled, by combination among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both to the imports and exports of the nation. The committee appointed to consider this enormous grievance, one of the greatest which we have ever suffered, consisted of three persons, on account of which as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to present received opinion, that shipping and seamen had sensibly decayed during all the preceding reigns. And indeed nothing be more common than complaints of the decay in shipping and seamen, and the crowd of the recently appeared of the same nation, yet it is this a consequence which might naturally result from such arbitrary establishments, at a time when the commerce of all the other nations of Europe, except that of Scotland, enjoyed full liberty and recovery.

While the Commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they also endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of impositions, and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures under which the nation still laboured. A just regard was shown to the crown in the conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy sought for, considered as a matter of right. Acts of supply were passed by which the king reaped, both from wards and from respite of homage, was estimated: and it was intended to compound for those prerogatives by a secure and independent revenue. But after some debates in the House, and some important recommendations of the Commons, and to certain more difficulties than could easily, at that time, be surmounted; and it was not then brought to any conclusion.

The same fate attended an attempt of a like nature, to free the nation from the burden of purveyance. This prerogative had been much abused by the purveyors, and the Commons showed some intention to offer the king fifty thousand pounds a year, for the abolition of that vexatious and even impatiently urged by the king. He justly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody annuities of these hostile nations, and had reduced the whole island under one government; enjoying tranquillity within itself and security from all foreign invasions. He hoped, that while his subjects of both kingdoms reflected on past disasters, besides regarding his person as infinitely precious, they would entertain the highest desire of securing to the crown the return of like calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments, and privileges. He considered not, that this very reflection operated, as yet, in a contrary manner to this intention; and, kept alive the ill-natured jealousy of the nations, which had been carried to the greatest extremities, and required time to allay it. The more urgent the king appeared in promoting so useful a measure, the more backward was the English parliament in concurring with him; while he ascribed his excessive zeal to that partiality in favour of his ancient subjects, of which they thought, that, on other occasions, they had reason to complain. Their complaisance for the king, therefore, carried much further than to the abolition of English custom to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of a union; but without any power of making advances towards the establishment of it.

The same spirit of independence, and perhaps not better
judgment, appeared in the House of Commons when the question of supply was brought before them, by some members attached to the court. In vain was it urged, that though the king received a supply which had been voted to Elizabeth, he could not have the advantage of the latter's death; yet he found it burdened with a debt contracted by the queen, equal to the full amount of it: that peace was not yet thoroughly concluded with Spain, and that Elizabeth had still them in her view; that he had journeyed from Scotland, amidst such a concourse of people, and on that of the queen and royal family, he had expended considerable sums: and that as the courtiers had looked for greater supplies than previous to their departure, and that he had imposed on his generous nature; so the prince, in his turn, would expect, at the beginning, some mark of supply from his attache, and some consideration of his necessity. Even upon his being just the House of Commons by these topics; and the majority appeared fully determined to reject all supply. The burden of government, at that time, lay surprisingly light upon the people, that very reason, which to us, at this distance may seem a motive of generosity, was the real cause why the parliament was, on all occasions, so remarkably frugal and reserved. They were not, as yet, accustomed to open their purses in such a manner as their successors, in order to supply the want of their sovereign's income, and the smallest demand, however requisite, appeared in their eyes unreasonable and exorbitant. The Commons seem also to have been desirous of reducing the crown to still further necessities, which might have induced them to side with the Lords, for entailing the crown lands for ever on the king's heirs and successors. The disputation made by Elizabeth had probably taught James the necessity of this law, and shown them the advantage of refraining from it.

In order to cover a disappointment with regard to supply, which might bear a bad construction both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the House, in which he told them, he had not so far considered the prince, and he was very far from undertaking the charge of any man, so deserving of reforming what was never offered him. Soon after, on the 28th of July, he prorogued the parliament, not without discovering, in his speech, visible marks of dissatisfaction, and so early in his reign, or his course to make public complaints of the restless and encroaching spirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence with which they endeavoured to inspire the Commons. Nor were his complaints without interest; since the Commons, now finding themselves free from the arbitrary government of Elizabeth, made application for a conference with the Lords, and presented a petition to the king; the purport of both which was, that they have left them in a situation, the unrelaxation of the ecclesiastical laws. The use of the surplize, and of the cross in baptism, is here chiefly complained of; but the remedy seems to have been expected solely from the crown, whereas it must contain that application and petition, we may also see proofs of the violent animosity of the Commons against the catholics, together with the intolerable spirit of that assembly.

This summer the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London. In the conferences previous to this treaty, the nations were found to have so few claims on each other, that, except on account of the support given by England to the Low Countries province, which was abandonned, the difference between the powers of Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects. Some articles in the treaty, which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared that, by secret agreement, the king had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the Hollanders. The constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace; and on the part of England, the Earl of Hertford was sent into the Low Countries for the same purpose, and the Earl of Nottingham, his successor. The Earl of Cumberland, who was an old man, and whom the pope had represented as so many monsters and infernal demons.

Though England, by means of her naval force, was perfectly secure during the latter years of the Spanish war, James showed an impatience to put an end to hostilities; and soon after his accession, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even proposed by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth. Archduke Albert had made some advances of a like nature, which invited the king to take this friendly step. But what is remarkable; in James's proclamation for that purpose, he plainly supposes, that, as he had himself, while King of Scotland, always lived in unity with the pope, so he had army, and that and that they had reaccession to the crown of England, without any articles of treaty or agreement, he had ended the war between the kingdoms. This ignorance of the law of nations, by which Spain may appear surprising, in a monarch, who was thirty-six years of age, and who had reigned from his infancy; did we not consider that a King of Scotland, who lives in close friendship with England, has few transactions with foreign princes, and has little opportunity of acquiring experience. Unhappily for James, his timidity, his prejudices, his indulgence, his love of amusement, particularly of hunting, to which he was addicted, and, perhaps, much addicted, has not so much as hindered the progress in the knowledge or practice of foreign policies, and in a little time diminished that regard which all the neighbouring nations had paid to England during the reign of his predecessor.
in this sense some obliging expressions of the king's, or that he had employed such an artifice, in order to render them not witness; and yet they discovered their mistake; and were at once surprised and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering to all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Meanwhile, some of his Royalist friends, palling with the sad prospect of an accursed family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In one of their conversations, with regard to the excommunication of the catholics, Piercy, having broken into a sally of passion, and mentioned assassinating the king, Catesby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, which not only included a sure execution of vengeance, but afforded some hopes of restoring the catholic religion in England. To vain, said he, would you put an end to the king's life; he has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. To vain would you extinguish the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, the parliament, are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, besides their hatred to our religion, could be an insurmountable bar to revenge for the tragic death of their predecessors. To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the Lords, the Commons; and having ascended the throne in common, they are all assembled on the first meeting of the parliament; and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a man below the hail in which they meet; and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both Houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves standing aloof, safe and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering our children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences.

Piercy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, whose name and exploits were all thoroughly acquainted. When they estiblished any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the communion, the most sacred of all religions. And no one of these pious devotees over entertained the least compunction with regard to the cruel massacre which they projected of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were startled by the reflection, that of necessity many catholics must be present; as spectators or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the House of Peers; but Tenson, a Jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, removed these scruples, and showed them how the interests of religion required that the innocent should here be sacrificed with the guilty. All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, and in which that was done which was to assemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighbourhood, they carried in store of gunpowder and other things desired from the work. Obstinacy in their purpose, and confirmed by passion, by principle, and by mutual extortion, they little feared death in comparison of a disappointment; and having provided arms, together with the instruments of their design, they resolved there to perform in the vaults the discovery. Their perseverance advanced the work; and they soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side, they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise which they knew could not be the noise of men. On examining, they found that it came from the vault below the House of Lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place being thick packed with the pyramids of coals in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Concerning these preparations, the conspirators took forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, Prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament. The duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Piercy should seize him, or assassinate him. The Princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, Grant, being let into the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends, on pretence of a hunting match, and seizing that princess, immediately to proclaim her queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety. To this end was the general confusion which must result from so unexpected a blow, they foresaw not, that the fury of the people, now unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, in the least, and that the whole was situated by itself, by a universal massacre of the catholics.

The day, so long wished for, now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of near a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had as yet induced any one conspirator either to whisper the secret, or might trust it to others. The holy fury had extinguished in their breast every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding chiefly from these very bigoted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation.

Ten days before the meeting of parliament, Lord Montague, a catholic, son to Lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. My Lord, Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I love a core of your proceedings. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some scheme to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and men have concurred to punish the widows, who hire to avenge the injuries done you; and to give notice, by a public advertisement: But retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible example, and whether you choose to be saved or not, it shall not hurt them. This counsel is not to be condemned, because it may do you good, and con do you no harm: for the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you.

Montague knew not what to make of this letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury was inclined to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. To the king it appeared not so much a matter; and from the sense of the letter, he conjectured, that it implied something dangerous and important. A terrible blow, and yet the authors concealed; a danger so sudden, and yet so great: these circumstances seemed all to denote some conspiracy of the first magnitude, which the king was thought unsafe to inspect all the vaults below the Houses of Parliament. This care belonged to the Earl of Saffolk, lord chamberlain; who purposely delayed the search, till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and coal, in which they were, that lay in the vault under the upper House, and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for
Piercy’s servant. That daring and determined courage, which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among those heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, as it was not unnoticed by the observer. Such a quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About eight o’clock that night, Sir Thomas Overton, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and turning over the faggots, discovered the primitive place and the proper fire for setting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes’s pocket; who finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and showing so much concern for the failure of the enterprise. This obstinacy lasted two or three days: but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being but a small thing to him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, and supported by no other, at last failed him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators. Catesby, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London, though they had heard of the alarm taken at the letter, supposed it to flow from the star-chamber; and their numbers were nearly reduced to the utmost, and never abandon their hopes of success. But at last, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, they hurried down to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the Princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry; and they were about to place themselves on defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters, and armed, by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes, either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible to the assailants. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and disabled them for defence. The people rushed in upon them. Piercy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rockwood, Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were put to the other methods of exposing themselves, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner. Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigoted catholics were so devoted to Garnet, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr.

Neither had the desperate fortune of the conspirators urged them to this enterprise, nor had the former proficiency of their lives prepared them for so great a crime. Before that audacious attempt, their conduct seems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Catesby’s character had entitled him to such regard, that Rockwood and Digby were seduced by their implicit trust in his judgments, which, coming from the motive alone of friendship to him, they were ready, on any occasion; to have sacrificed their lives. Digby himself was as highly esteemed and beloved as any man in England; and he had been much beloved and esteemed with the generation of Queen Elizabeth. It was bigoted revenge, the most absurd of prejudices masked with reason, the most criminal of passions covered with the appearance of duty, which seduced them into measures, that were fatal to themselves, as well as to the national honor.

The Lords Mordaunt and Stouonton, two catholics, were fined, the former ten thousand pounds, the latter four thousand, by the star-chamber; because their absence from parliament had been a suspicion of their being acquainted with the conspiracy. The Earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, not to mention other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of the gentleman pensioners, without taking the requisite oaths.

The king, in his speech to the parliament, observed, that, though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the same guilt; or propose they equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men, he said, and our ancestors among the rest, had been seduced to concur with that church in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles, concerning the Pope’s power of deposing kings, or sanctifying assassination. The wrath of Heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent errors may obtain its favour; and not a few honest and charitable men, of the charitableness of the puritans, who condemn alike to eternal torments even the most inoffensive partisans of popery. For his part, he added, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should not always be the least punished, but every assignation of villany, while with one hand be punished, with the other be would still support and protect innocence. After this speech, he prorogued the parliament till the 22d of January.

The moderation, and, I may say, magnanimity, of the king, immediately after so narrow an escape from a most detestable conspiracy, was nowise agreeable to his subjects. Their animosity against popery, that had been incited by the provocation, had risen to a great pitch; and it had perhaps been more prudent in James, by a little dissimulation, to have confirmed himself to it. His theological learning, confirmed by disputation, had happily fixed his judgement in the Protestant faith; yet was his heart a little biased by the allurements of Rome, and he had been well pleased, if the making of some advances could have effected an union with that ancient mother-church. He strove to abate the acrimony of his own subjects against the religion of their fathers: he became himself the object of their difference and avarice. Whatever measures he embraced, in Scotland to introduce prelacy, in England to enforce the authority of the English church, and support its rites and ceremonies, were interpreted as so many steps towards popery, and were represented by the puritans as symptoms of idolatry and superstition. Ignorant of the consequences, or unwilling to sacrifice to politics his inclination, which he called his conscience, he persevered in the same measures, and gave trust and preference, almost indifferently, to his catholic and protestant subjects. And finding his person, as well as his title, less obnoxious to the church of Rome, than those of Elizabeth, he gradually abated the rigour of those laws, which had been enacted against the church, and which were so acceptable to his bigoted subjects. But the effects of these dispositions on both sides became not very sensible till towards the conclusion of his reign.

At this time James seems to have possessed the affections of even his English subjects, and, in a tolerable degree, their esteem and regard. Hitherto their complaints were chiefly levelled against his too great proximity in his early
friendships; a quality which, had it been attended with more economy, the wise would have excused, and the candid would perhaps have applauded. His parts, which were not despotic, and his learning, which was great, being highly extolled by his courtiers and gowns-
men, and not yet tried in the management of any delicate affairs, for which he was unfit, raised a high idea of him in the difficulty was a subtle scheme, not destitute of ridicule or uncertainty that he received the title of the second Solomon. A report, which was suddenly spread about this time, of his being assassinated, visibly struck a great consternation among all orders of men. The Commons also abated, this session, somewhat of their excessive frugality, and granted him an aid, payable in four years, of three subsidies and six sixteens, which Sir Francis Bacon said in the House,* might amount to about four hundred thousand pounds; and for once the king and parliament parted in friendship and good humour. The hatred which the catholics so visibly bore him, gave him at this time an additional value to the eyes of his people. The only considerable point in which the Commons incurred his displeasure, was by discovering their constant good-will to the puritans, in whose favour they desired a conference with the Lords, which was rejected. The chief affair transacted next session, was the intended union of the two kingdoms. Nothing could exceed the king's passion and zeal for this noble enterprise, but the parliament's prejudice and reluct-
tance. There remains two excellent speeches in favour of the union, which it would not be improper to compare together; that of the king, and that of Sir Francis Bacon. Those who affect in every thing such an extreme contempt for the James, will be surprised to find, that his discourse, both for good reasoning and eloquent composition, approaches very near that of a man, who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greatest geniuses in Europe. A few trivial indiscretions and indecorums may be said to mar the proportion of the whole, and mark it as his own. And, in general, so open and avowed a declar-
tion in favour of a measure, while he had taken so care, by any precaution or intrigue, to insure success, may solely be ascribed to the interest and the feelings of the managing parliaments, by private interest or cabal, being found hitherto of little use or necessity, had not, as yet, become a part of English politics. In the common course of affairs, government could be conducted without their assent, and when their concurrence became necessary to the mea-
ures of the crown, it was, generally speaking, except in times of great faction and discontent, obtained without much difficulty. The king's influence seems to have rendered the Scottish parliament cordial in all the steps which they took towards the union. Though the advantages which Scotland might hope from that measure were more consideration; yet were the Scotch people, with regard to this kingdom, more stri-
ing and obvious. The benefit which must have resulted to England, both by accession of strength and security, was not despicable; and as the English were by far the greater nation, and possessed the seat of government, the objections, either from the point of honour or from jealousy, could not reasonably have any place among them. The English parliament, indeed, seem to have been swayed merely by the vulgar motive of national ambition. And they persisted so obstinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorough union and incorporation ended only in the abolition of the hostile laws formerly enacted be-
tween the kingdoms.

Some precipitate steps which the king, a little after his accession, had taken, in order to promote his favourite pro-
ject, had been observed to do more injury than service. From his own authority he had assumed the title of King of Great Britain, and had quarreled with the terms of Scotland, with those of England, in all coins, flags, and ensigns. He had also engaged the judges to make a declaration, that all those who, after the union of the crowns, should be born in either kingdom, were, for that reason alone, naturalized in both. This was a new question, and, according to the ideas of those times, susceptible of subtle reasoning on both sides. The king was the same: the parliaments were dif-
ferent. To render the people therefore the same, we must suppose that the sovereign authority resided chiefly in the proroguing the king, and who were not desti-
ute to assist with money and advice, than endowed with any controlling or active powers in the government. It is evi
dent, says Bacon, in his pleadings on this subject, that all other commonwealths, monarchies only excepted, sub-
mit not to any foreign power. For a monarch, being divided amongst many officers, and they not perpetual, but annual or temporary, and not to receive their authority but by election, and certain persons too have voices only in that election, and the like; these are busy and curious frames. Which of sensi-
tivity do presuppose a low precedent, written or unwritten, to guide and direct them; but in monarchies, especially heredi-
tary, that is, when several families or lineages of people do submit themselves to one, and imperial, the substi-
tution is more natural and simple; which afterwards, by law subsequent, is perfected, and made more formal; but that is grounded upon nature. It would seem, from this reason-
ing, that the concurrence of the king, though implicitly supposed, in many public transactions, had scarcely ever, as yet, been expressly formed by any English lawyer or politician.

But the beginning of this century, that is, of the reign of the parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the king's ecclesiastical judg-
d, most of their measures, during this session, were suffi-
ciently respectful and obliging; though they still dis-
covered a rigorous spirit and a careful attention to the national liberty. The speeches, also, of the Commons show, that the House contained a mixture of puritans, who had acquired great authority among them, and who, together with religious prejudices, were continually soliciting edicts to control the civil form of government. The natural appetite for rule made the Commons lend a willing ear to every doctrine which tended to augment their own power and influence.

A petition was made to the lower house, A D. 1602, for a more rigorous execution of the laws against popish recusants, and an abatement towards pro-
testant clergymen, who scrupled to observe the ceremonies. Both these points were equally unacceptable to the king; and he sent orders to the House to proceed no further in that matter. The Commons were inclined, at first, to con-
sider these orders as a breach of privilege; but they soon accepted, and were told that this measure was supported by many precedents during the reign of Eliza-
beL Had they been always disposed to make the pre-
cedents of that reign the rule of their conduct, they never could have had any quarrel with any of their measures. The complaints of Spanish depredations were very loud among the English merchants. The lower house sent a message to the Lords, desiring a conference with them, in order to their presenting a joint petition to the king on the subject. The Lords took some time to deliberate on this message; because they said the matter was weighty and rare. It probably occurred to them at first, that the parlia-
ment's interposing so affairs of state would appear unusual and extraordinary. And to show in this petition they were not guided by court influence, after they had del-
erated, they agreed to the conference.

The House of Commons began now to feel themselves of some power, and in the motion of Sir Edward Sandys, a member of great authority, they entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals. 4 When all business was finished, the king prorogued the parlia-
mament.

About this time there was an insurrection of the coun-
dy people in Northamptonshire, headed by one Reynolds, 5 a man of low condition. They went about destroying ed

1 Kemble, p. 606. 2 Journ. 90, Nov. 1606. 3 Journ. 40, July 9-1606. 4 Journ. 90, July 9, 1606. 5 Journ. 90, July 9, 1606. 6 W. Journ. 90, May 1606. 7 Journ. 90, May 1606. 8 Journ. 90, May 1606. 9 Journ. 90, May 1606. 10 Journ. 90, May 1606. 11 Journ. 90, May 1606. 12 Journ. 90, May 1606. 13 Journ. 90, May 1606.
closures; but carefully avoided committing any other outrage. This insurrection was easily suppressed, and though great lenity was used towards the rioters, yet were some of the ringleaders punished. The chief cause of that frightful commotion seems to have been, of itself, far from trivial. The practice still continued in England, of disusing tillage, and throwing the land into enclosures for the sake of pasture. By this means the kingdom was depopulated, at least previously to what had been expected from the daily increase of industry and commerce.

A.D. 1609.

Next year presents us with nothing memorable; but in the spring of the succeeding year, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war, which for near half a century had been carried on with such fury between Spain and the States of the United Provinces. Never contest seemed at first, more unequal: never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. On the side of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, discipline; on the side of the revolted provinces were found the attachment to liberty and the enthusiasm of religion. By her naval enterprises the republic maintained her armies; and, joining peaceful industry to military power, she was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually rely on those neighbouring princes, who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompted to encourage her revolt. Louis had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her interest, and prepared the way of those methods of accommodation with her rebellious subjects. But finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the States, she at last agreed to treat with them as a free people, and to renounce all claim and pretension to their sovereignty.

March 30.

This chief point being gained, the treaty was easily brought to a conclusion, under the joint mediation of King James and of the Earl of Salisbury. All exterior appearances of honour were paid equally to both crowns: but very different were the sentiments which the States, as well as all Europe, entertained of the princes who wore them. France was most gay and vigorous, the chief circumstances which procure regard among foreign nations, shone out as conspicuously in Henry as they were deficient in James. To a contempt of the English monarch, Henry made a considerable degree of jealousy and aversion, which was communicated to his friends without foundation. James was just and fair in all transactions with his allies, but it appears from the memoirs of those times, that each side deemed him partial towards their adversary, and fancied that he harboured secret designs against them. So little equity have men in their judgments of their own affairs; and so dangerous is that entire neutrality affected by the king of England.

A.D. 1610.

The little concern which James took in foreign affairs renders the domestic occurrences, particularly those of parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was held this spring; the king full of hopes of receiving supply; the Commons of circumscribing his prerogative. The Earl of Salisbury, now created treasurer on the death of the Earl of Dorset, laid open the king's necessities, first to the Peers, then to a committee of the lower House. He insisted on the unavoidable expense of the army, and in suppressing a late insurrection in Ireland: he mentioned three numerous courts which the king was obliged to maintain, for himself, for the queen, and for the Prince of Wales; he reminded them, though a single woman, had received very large supplies in the years preceding her death, which alone were extensive to her; and he remarked, that, during her reign, she had drawn out many of the crown lands; an expedient which, though it supplied her present necessities, without laying burdens on her people, extremely multiplied the necessities of her successor. From all these causes he thought it no wise strange, that the king's income should fall short so great a sum as eighty-one thousand pounds of his stated and regular expense; without mentioning contingent charges, which ought always to be esteemed a fourth of the yearly charges. And as the crown was now necessarily burdened with a great and urgent debt of three hundred thousand pounds, he hence inferred the absolute necessity of an immediate and large supply from the people.

To all these reasons, so much for James, and much more for the Commons, the Commons appealed; they urged in a speech addressed to both Houses, the Commons remained inexorable. But, not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, they granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth; which, when added to the other, made up three hundred thousand pounds. And James received the mortification of discovering, in vain, all his wants, and of begging aid of subjects who had no reasonable indulgence or consideration for him.

Among the many causes of disgust and quarrel, which now daily and unavoidably multiplied between prince and parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the least considerable. After the discovery and conquest of the West Indies, gold and silver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a height, which had never been equalled before, and the decline of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion, the prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amidst the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds, in order to support the same magnificence of court and government as he had been accustomed to enjoy under former monarchs. But, while money thus flowed into England, we may observe, that, at the same time, and probably from that very cause, arts and industry of all kinds received a new impulse; and the enjoyment of life became better known and more cultivated among all ranks of people. The king's servants, both civil and military, his courtiers, his ministers, demanded moremoney from the crown, than the prince, and were not contented with the same simplicity of living which had satisfied their ancestors. The prince himself began to regard an increase of pomp and splendor as requisite to support the dignity of his character, and to preserve the same superiority above his subjects, which his predecessors had enjoyed. Some equality too, and proportion to the other sovereigns of Europe, it was natural for him to desire; and as they had universally enlarged their revenue, and multiplied their taxes, the King of England deemed it reasonable that his subjects, who were generally as rich as theirs, should bear with patience some additional burdens and impositions.

Unhappily for the king, those very riches, with the increasing knowledge of the age, bred opposite sentiments in his subjects; and begot a spirit of freedom and independence, disposed them to pay little regard either to the entreaties or menaces of their sovereign. While the barons possessed their former immense property and extensive jurisdictions, they were apt, at every disgust, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confusion; but this confusion often, in its turn, proved favourable to the monarch, and made him again submit to him in order to re-establish justice and tranquillity. After the power of alterations, as well as the increase of commerce, had enabled them to support the navy, the hands of the Commons, the situation of affairs, and the dispositions of men, became susceptible of a more regular plan of liberty; and the laws were not supported singly by the authority of the people. And though in the interval, after the decline of the Peers, and before the people had experienced their force, the princes assumed an exorbitant power, and had almost annihilated the constitution under the weight of their prerogative; as soon as the Commons recovered from their lethargy, they seem to have been astonished at the danger, and were resolved to
secure liberty or former barriers than their ancestors had hitherto provided for it.

Had James possessed a very rigid frugality, he might have warded off this crisis somewhat longer; and, waiting patiently for a favourable opportunity to increase and fix his revenue, might have secured the extensive authority transmitted to him. On the other hand, had the Commons been inclined to act with more generosity and kindness towards their prince, they might probably have turned his necessities to good account, and have bribed him to depart peaceably from the more dangerous articles of his prerogative. But he was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of state. He had lived in a previous age, and his views, being formed to regulate their opinions, more by the future consequences which they forewove, than by the former precedents, which were set before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the prerogative, than at establishing a new one, and a freer, and a better. In their remonstrances to the king on this occasion, they observed it to be a general opinion, That the reasons of that practice might be extended more further, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the subjects, and the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods. Though expeditiously forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions; which was rejected by the House of Lords.

In another address to the king, they objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy seals, and desired that the subjects should not be forced to lend money to his majesty, to the prejudice of their property, and that mums likewise were thrown out in the House against a new monopoly of the licence of wines. It must be confessed, that forced loans and monopolies were established on much the same ancient as well as recent precedents; though diematically opposite to all the principles of a free government.

The House likewise discovered some discontent against the king's taking his name and titles, James told them. That though he well knew, by the constitution and policy of the kingdom, that proclamations were not of equal force with laws; yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inseparably annexed to the crown, to restrain by these measures and instructions as he saw growing on the state, against which no certain law was extant, and which might tend to the great detriment of the subject, if there should be no remedy provided till the meeting of a parliament. And this prerogative, he adds, our progenitors have, in all times, used and enjoyed. The intervals between sessions, we may observe, were frequently so long, as to render it necessary for a prince to interpose by his prerogative. The legality of this exertion was established by uniform and undoubted practice; and was even acknowledged by lawyers, who, more, however, this difference between laws and proclamations, that the authority of the former was perpetual, that of the latter determined, in many respects, as in others, it is easy to see how inaccurate the English constitution was, before the parliament was enabled, by continued acquisitions or encroachments, to establish it on fixed principles of liberty.

Upon the settlement of the Reformation, that extensive branch of power which regards ecclesiastical matters, being then without an owner, seemed to belong to the first occupant; and Henry VIII. failed not immediately to seize it for himself, even to the prejudice of his kingdom. The possession of it was continued with Edward, and recovered by Elizabeth; and that ambitious princess was so remarkably jealous of this flower of her crown, that she severely punished by fines and new rates which she established: the customs, during his whole reign, rose only from 127,000 pounds a year to 190,000, though besides the increase of the rates, there was a sensible increase of commerce and industry during that period; every commodity, besides, which might serve to the subsistence of the people, or might be considered as a material of manufactures, was exempted from the new impositions of James; but all this caution could not prevent the complaints of the Commons. A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the House: the leading members, men of an independent spirit and the views, began to regulate their opinions, more by the future consequences which they forewove, than by the former precedents, which were set before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the prerogative, than at establishing a new one, and a freer, and a better. In their remonstrances to the king on this occasion, they observed it to be a general opinion, That the reasons of that practice might be extended more further, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the subjects, and the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods. Though expeditiously forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions; which was rejected by the House of Lords.

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on these occasions. But James's parliaments were much less obsequious. They ventured to lift up their eyes, and to consider this prerogative. They saw a large proportion of government, possessed by the king alone, and severely contested with the parliament. They were sensible that this province admitted not of an exact boundary or circumscription. They had felt that the Roman pontiff in former ages, under pretense of religion, was expressly made inimical to the disabilities and limitations of the crown. They saw, and were not less sensible that, besides the diminution of his authority, many inconveniences must necessarily result from the abolishing of all discretionary powers in every magistrate; and that this change, if generally digested, could not possibly provide against every contingency; much less, where they had not, as yet, attained a sufficient degree of accuracy and refinement.

But the business which chiefly occupied the Commons during this session, was the abolition of warships and purveyance; prerogatives which had been more or less touched on, every session, during the whole reign of James. In this affair, the Commons employed the proper measures for the restriction of the power of the king, which would be a settled revenue as an equivalent for the powers which he should part with; and the king was willing to hear to terms. After much dispute he agreed to give up 200,000 pounds a year, which they agreed to confer upon him. And nothing remained, towards closing the bargain, but that the Commons should determine the funds by which this sum should be levied. This session was too far advanced to bring to a difficult matter to a full conclusion; and though the parliament met again, towards the end of the year, and resumed the question, they were never able to terminate an affair upon which they seemed so intent. The journals of that session are no way sufficient to give the general idea of what passed. But it is known that they were very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whose importance they were not sufficiently apprised, we know not exactly the reason of this failure. It only appears, that the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and soon after dissolved it. This was his first parliament, and it sat near seven years.

Amidst all these attacks, some more, some less violent, on royal prerogative, the king displayed, as openly as ever, all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes. Even in a speech to the parliament, where he begged for supply, and where he should naturally have used every art to ingratiate himself with that assembly, he expressed himself in these terms: "I conclude, then, you have not point touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to dispute what God may do, is blasphemy, but what God wills, that divines may lawfully and in every magistrate, he still continued to be possessed of every power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be guilty of a wrong, that my subjects may be benefited. I will be thought to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws."

Notwithstanding the great extent of prerogative in that age, these expressions would probably give some offence. But we must observe, that, as the king's despotism was more speculative than practical, so the independency of the Commons was, at this time, the reverse; and though strongly supported by their present situation, as well as disposition, was too new, and too little established, to be yet founded on systematic principles and opinions.

This year was distinguished by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern to the nation. This was the death of the English monarch by the pontiff of the fanatical Raisailce. With his death, the glory of the French monarchy suffered an eclipse for some years; and as that kingdom fell under an administration which was hated, foreign and domestic disputes multiplied, and the Austrians began anew to appear formidable to Europe. In England, the antipathy to the Catholics received a little upon this tragic event; and some of the princes which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep these religions in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and severity.

Though James's timidity and indulgence fixed him, during most of his reign, in a very prudent situation, and there was no foreign affair, in which he happened this year an event in Europe of such mighty consequence as to rouse him from his lethargy, and summon up all his zeal and enterprise. A professor of divinity, named Vorstius, an Armenian, was called from a German to a Dutch university; and as he differed from his Brittanic majesty in some nice questions concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was considered as a dangerous rival in schismatical fame, and was at last obliged to yield to the legations of that royal doctor, whose syllogisms he might have refuted or studied. If vigour was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even worse. His indulgence and inattention would have been obviated, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his chair, and to banish them to dominions. The king carried no further his animosity against that professor; though he had very charitably hinted to the States, that, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own Christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames. It is to be remarked, that at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of

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I. Journ, 9th, 11th December; 5th March, 1606.

2. An. g. "On this, according to my mind stronger came to the prince; and here he said, that the king would not more rise and fall, than the sea, and that he trusted the prince, while the court of warships so much touched, that it was too much to be confused; and then he said, that he must declare the very contemptory and character of the king's mind out of his own handwriting: which, before he read, he read aloud. That was to say, and the number of ships, Lindsay thousands pounds of weight, on which the king was no number, because mine was the number of the kings, who were always long, though they served so many muses; and eleven was the number of the ships, which the English loss was, and thereby might best be affected by his majesty; but there was a sum number which the king's mind, to the number of the ships, which the number of a served number, for in many ways God's commandments, which led to make a sum number, there were as many ships over the sea, and pounds a year more on account of this pleasant concert of the king and the pope, and the same paid for in the years above was in the world.


4. ibid, p. 581.

5. ibid, p. 581.

6. Journ, 9th, 11th December; 5th March, 1606.

7. ibid, p. 581.
burning heretics still prevailed, even in protestant countries; and instances were not wanting in England during the reign of James.

To consider James in a more advantageous light, we must regard him as the legal successor of Ireland; and most of the institutions, which he had framed for civilizing that kingdom, being finished about this period, it may not here be improper to give some account of them. He frequently acted the part of the management of the country as his master- piece; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity, in this particular, was not altogether without foundation.

After the subjection of Ireland by Eliza- beth, the more difficult task of civilizing the inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan; and in the space of only seven years, according to Sir John Davis, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been made in the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted.

It was previously necessary to abolish the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder.

By the Brocas law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itself, as among all the ancient barbarous nations, was punished in a different manner; and according to his rank, had a different rate or value affixed to him, which if any one were willing to pay, he needed not fear retribution of his enemy. This rate was called his erce. When Sir William Fitzwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire, that he was to send a sheriffs to Ferrmanah, which, a little before, had been made a county, and subjected to the English law; Your sheriff, said Maguire, should, in my best let me go out, or the head, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may ley the money upon the county. As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, so little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redress for such wrongs was ever obtained.

The customs of Gavelkind and Tinity were attended with the same absurdity in the distribution of property. The land, by the custom of Gavelkind, was divided among the male of the seers, or family of Irish custom, both bastard and legitimate; and, after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons; but the cheftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the land belonging to that sept, and gave every one of his heirs a share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to enclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour. The same thing was the case drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or, more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was almost absolute; and, notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the churches, its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. Hence arose that common bye-word among the Irish That they knew no westward of the law, which itself beyond the river of the Barron; through the country, where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

While following these Irish customs, and substituting English law in their place, James, having taken all the motives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military and civil.

A small army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. When Odegar was raised an inscription, a reinforcement was sent over, and the flames of that rebellion were immediately extinguished.

All minds being first quenched by a general indemnity, circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. As the Irish had been universally engaged in the rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights, which had been formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions, was rigorously exacted; and no authority, but that of the king and the law, was permitted throughout the kingdom.

A resignation of all private estates was even required; and when ten per cent were still remained, they were subjected to such conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and oppression over the common people. The value of the dues, which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals, was estimated at a fixed sum, and all further assessment was abolished under severe penalties.

The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attonder of rebels, a company was established in London, for planting new colonies in that fertile country: the property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres; tenants were brought over from England and Scotland: the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; houses and gardens, and the arts were taught them: a fixed habitation secured; plunder and robbery punished: and, by these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most prosperous in the kingdom.

Such were the arts, by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people, who had ever been harrassed in the most profound barbarism. Noble care! much supervision to the vassals, its greatest glory of conquerors; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had been so happily begun.

A laudable act of justice was, about this time, executed in England upon Spenochir, a Scottish problematist, who had been guilty of the base assassination of a fencing-master. The English nation, who were generally dissatisfied with the Scots, were enraged at this crime, equally mean and atrocious; but James apprised them, by preferring the exercise of law to the intercession of the friends and family of the criminal.

CHAP. XLVII.

Death of Prince Henry.—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palatines.—Rise of Somerset.—His marriage.—Ordinary possession.—Fall of Somerset.—His exile.—Flight to Bawik.—Capture and delivery.—Affairs of Scotland.

This year the sudden death of Henry, Prince of Wales, diffused an universal grief throughout the nation. Though youth and royal birth, both of them strong allurements, possess men mightily in favour of the early age of princes; it is with peculiar fondness that historians mention Henry; and in every respect, his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and already possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition seem to have been his sole passions. His inclinations, as well as every other quality, were set by his duties. The French ambassador, taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike; Tell your king, said he, in what occupation you left me engaged. He had conceived great affection and esteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleighe. It was his saying, sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage. He seemed indeed to have nourished too violent a contempt for the king on account of his person;
and pusillanimity; and by that means struck in with the restless and martial spirit of the English nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of this people. The unmitigated sensuality, which meo commonly entertain in favour of ambition, courage, enterprise, and other warlike virtues, engenders generous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind. His whole conduct was singular, as if Henry had been carried off by poison; but the physicians, on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm such an opinion. The bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens spared not even the king on the occasion. But that this prince's character seems rather to have failed in the extreme of faculty and humanity, than in that of cruelty and violence. His indulgence to Henry was great, and perhaps imprudent, by giving him a large and independent settlement, even in so early youth.

A.D. 1612.
The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, with Frederic, Elector Palatine, was finished some time after the death of the prince, and served to disgust the grief which arose on that melancholy event.

Fyb. 14.
Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palatine.

But this marriage, though celebrated with great joy and festivity, proved itself an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his son. For the Palatine had the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprises beyond his strength: and the king, not being able to support him in high expenses, lost all his kingdom, even the part that remained of the affection and esteem of his own subjects.

Except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court and its officers. One interesting object, had for some years, engaged the attention of the court: it was a favourite, and one beloved by James with so profound and unlimited an affecion, as left no room for any other in his love. Addison, at the end of the year 1609, Robert Carr, a youth of twenty years of age, and of an good family, in Scotland, arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks; all his acquired abilities, in an easy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman Lord Hay; and that nobleman no sooner cast his eye upon him, than he discovered talents sufficient to entitle him immediately to make a great figure in the government. Approved of the king's passion for youth and beauty, and exterior appearance, he studied how matters might be so managed that this new object should make the strongest impression on the king. He endeavoured to attach him to the court, to make him the king's favourite, through his friendship with him, and his attendance at his office, at a match of tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device; and hoped that he would attract the attention of the monarch. Fortune proved favourable to his views, for he bore a name that was quite contrary to a aspect. When Carr was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse flung him, and broke his leg in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern; love and affection arose on the sight of his beauty and tender years; and the prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended. He himself, after the tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and frequently returned during his convalescence. The singular simplicity of the king at this time finall the conquest, begun by his exterier graces and accomplishments. Other princes have been fond of choosing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their subjects, and let themselves be secured on that account, seeing the more unreserved confidence and affection, because the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honour and acquisition: James was desirous that his favourite should be of high birth, and a nobleman, born at a time when one was bred to high a value. And as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he seems to have indulged an unlimited fondness for his min到, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. He soon knighted him, commissioned him Viscount Rochester, gave him the Garter, brought him into the privy council, and, though at first without assigning him any particular office, bestowed on him the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns. Agreeable to this rapid advancement in consideration of his talents, were such attentions on the needy favourite; and while Salisbury and all the wisest ministers could scarcely find expedients sufficient to keep in motion the overloaded machine of government, James, with unsparing hand, loaded with treasures this insignificant and useless pageant.

It is said, that the king found his pupil so ill educated, as to be ignorant even of the lowest rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aside the sceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and instructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of state would be introduced; and the stamping, by the ascendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical, instruction. Such scenes and such incidents are the more ridiculous, though the less odious, as the passion of James seems not to have been for fashioning suitors for his crown. History charges herself willingly with a relation of the great crimes, and still more with that of the great virtues, of mankind; but she appears to fall from her dignity, when necessitated to dwell on such frivolous events as this. Here is one, the least of which is usual with such pampered minons. In Sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and sincere counsellor, who, building all his hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favourite, intended to intrigue into himself the principles of prudence and discretion. By zealously serving every body, Carr was taught to abate the envy which might attend his sudden elevation: by shewing a preference for the English, he learned to escape the prejudices which prevailed against his country. And so long as he was content to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counsels, he enjoyed, what is rare, the richest favour of the prince, without being hated by the people.

To complete the measure of courtly happiness, nought was wanting but a kind mistress; and where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to attain. But it was known, that they were not to be procured for one, who had not fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.

No sooner had James mounted the throne of England, than he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the further pleasure of uniting these families by the marriage of the Earl of Essex with Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, till both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad and pass some time in his travels. He returned into England after four years' absence, and was pleased to find his country fairer, and his friends in a more prosperous state. Having restored to his happiness,


f Kennet, p. 625, 634. 6cc.

g Bede, p. 506.
thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and discretion.

Such coldness and aversion in Lady Essex arose not without an attachment to another object. The favourite had opened his addresses, and had been too successful in making impression on the tender heart of the young Countess. She imagined that, so long as she refused the embraces of Essex, she never could be deemed his wife; and that she was made a mere shadow of the real woman, and divorced for a new marriage with her beloved Rochester. Though their passion was so violent, and their opportunities of intercourse so frequent, that they had already aimed at the consummation in all the giving and receiving of their fans, the young lady still lamented their unhappy fate, while the union between them was not entire and indissoluble. And the lover, as well as his mistress, was impatient till their mutual ardour should be extinguished.

So momentous an affair could not be concluded without consulting Overbury, with whom Rochester was accustomed to share all his secrets. While that faithful friend had considered his patron's attachment to the countess of Essex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progress; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and passionate letters which he dictated, that Rochester had made such success in his address. Like an experienced courtier, he thought that a conquest of this nature would throw a lustre on the young favourite, and would tend still further to endear him to James, who was charmed to have his own dreams and listened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rochester mentioned his design of marrying the countess; and he used every method to dissuade him from so foolish an attempt. He represented how miasdic, how difficult an enterprise to procure her a divorce from her husband; how dangerous, how shameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character. He showed how his favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion. And, in the zeal of friendship, he went so far as to threaten Rochester, that he would separate himself for ever from him, if by any means he so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage.

Rochester had the weakness to reveal this conversation to the countess of Essex; and when her rage and fury burst against the general, he had also the weakness to enter into her vindictive projects, and to swear vengeance against his friend, for the utmost instance which he could receive of his faithless friendship. Some contrivance was now formed for the seduction of their mistress. He addressed himself to the king; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begotten in him a degree of arrogance, which was extremely disagreeable, he was made a confidant of his commission for his love, which he represented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When consulted by Overbury, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting this offer, and took himself the office of satisfying the king, if he should be otherwise displeased with the refusals. To the king again he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower was a creature of Rochester's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpose: he confined Overbury so strictly, that the unhappy prisoner was deprived of the sight even of his nearest relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near six months which he lived in prison.

This obstacle being removed, the lovers pursued their purpose against Essex. He, interfering for himself, forgot the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. Essex also embraced the opportunity of separating himself from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to favour their success by any honourable expedient. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confessed, that, with regard to the countess, he was conscious of such an infirmity, though he was not sensible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is said, a young virgin was substituted under a mask, to undergo a legal inspection by a jury of men. Her trial was still opened, seconded by court-influences; and supported by the ridiculous opinion of fascination or witchcraft, the sentence of divorce was pronounced between the Earl of Essex and his countess.4 And, to crown the long series of injuries of which he was so long the victim, he was prevented from possessing the lands bestowed on him in return for his marriage, by the title of Earl of Essex.

Now, notwithstanding this success, the Countess of Somerset was not satisfied, till she should enjoy the revenues on Overbury; and she engaged her husband, as well as her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in the arduous design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak passions; but, at last, they gave him one so sudden and violent, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him. His interest was at length at an end. Though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after.

The first and last design of Overbury increased or begot the suspicion, that the Prince of Wales had been carried off by poison, given him by Somerset. Men considered not, that the contrary inference was much jurer. If Somerset had been guilty in any unbecoming art, during the course of five months, a man who was his prisoner, and attended by none but his emissaries, could not be despatched but in so bungling a manner; how could it be imagined that a young prince, living in his own court, and attended by his attendants, could be exposed to Somerset's attempts, and be taken off by so subtle a poison, if such a one exist, as could elude the skill of the most experienced physicians?

The weak monarch of Overbury, the earl of Salisbury, was dead; 7 Suffolk, a man of slender capacity, had succeeded him in his office; and it was now his task to supply, from an exhausted treasury, the profligate and of his young favourites. The title of baronet, invented by Salisbury, was sold; and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood were disposed of for so many thousand pounds: each rank of nobility had also its admission. Rochester's income was increased, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds: beneficences were exacted, to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds. 8 And some monopolies of no great value were sacrificed to the flattery of his majesty. The title of Earl of Essex was insufficient to supply the king's necessities; even though he began to enter into some schemes for retrenching his expenses. However small the hopes of success, a new parliament must be summoned, and the dangerous experiment, for such it was now become, once more be put to trial.

When the Commons were assembled, they discovered an extraordinary alarm, on account of the rumour which was spread abroad concerning undertakers. 9 It was reported that several persons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy; and having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had distributed their interest all over England; and had undertaken to secure a majority for the court. So ignorant were the Commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first indubitable symptom of any regular or established conspiracy; but fearing the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. Essex also embraced the opportunity of separating himself from a bad woman, by

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1 Kent, p. 404.
2 State Trials, vol. 1, p. 529.
4 State Trials, vol. 1, p. 351, 632.
elections. Formerly the kings even insisted, that none of their household should be elected members; and though the charter was afterwards declared void, Henry VI. from his great favour to the city of York, conferred a peculiar privilege on its citizens, that they should be exempted from this trouble. It is well known, that, in ancient times, a seat in the House being considered as a burden, attended neither with honour nor profit, it was requisite for its sale to have been accounted with them, and by his representatives. About this time a seat began to be regarded as an honour, and the country-gentleman contended for it; though the practice of leving wages for the parliament-men was not altogether discontinued. It was not till the present century that power and popular assemblies entered into every branch of public business, that the members began to join profit to honour, and the crown found it necessary to distribute among them all the considerable offices of the kingdom.

So little skill or so small means had the courtiers, in James's reign, for managing elections, that this House of Commons showed rather a stronger spirit of liberty than the foregoing; and instead of entering upon the business of supply, as urged by the king, who made them several liberal offers of grace, they immediately resumed the subject which had been opened last parliament, and disputed all this formality. The House of Commons, and the impositions, by the mere authority of his prerogative. It is remarkable, that in their debates on this subject, the courtiers frequently pleaded, as a precedent, the example of the ancient Roman and Greek assemblies, particularly the kings of France and Spain; nor was this reasoning received by the House either with surprise or indignation. The members of the opposite party either contended themselves with desiring the justness of the inference, or they disputed the truth of the observation. And a patriot member in particular, Sir Roger Owen, even in arguing against the impositions, frankly allowed, that the King of England was endowed with as ample a prerogative, and enjoyed in his kingdom, more power than any prince in Christendom. The nations on the continent, we may observe, enjoyed still, in that age, some small remains of liberty; and the English were possessed of little more.

The Commons applied to the Lords for a conference with regard to the new impositions. A speech of Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, reflecting on the lower House, begat some altercation with the Peers; and the king seized the opportunity to dissolve immediately, with great indignation, a parliament which had shown so firm a resolution of retringing his prerogative, without communicating, in return, the smallest supply of money. He immediately passed a far more unjust law, and even to throw into prison some of the members, who had been the most forward in their opposition to his measures. In vain did he plead, in excuse for this violence, the example of Elizabeth and other princes of the line of Tudor, as well as Plantagenet. The two and the parliament, without abandoning for ever all their liberties and privileges, could acquiesce in none of these precedents, how ancient and frequent soever. And were the authority of such precedents admitted, the utmost that could be inferred is, that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts must soon destroy each other, and from the dissolution of the state, be, by the will of the people, a new form of civil government more uniform and consistent.

In the pambil and avowed conduction of the king and the House of Commons, throughout this whole reign, there appeared no more to be seen, than the usual disputings and jarring, yet are we not to imagine, that this was the sole foundation of that jealousy which prevailed between them. During debates in the House, it often happened, that a particular member, more ardent and zealous than the rest, would display the highest sentiments of liberty, which the Commons contended themselves to bear with silence and seeming approbation; and the king, informed of these harangues, concluded the whole House to be infected with the same principles, and to be engaged in a combination against his prerogative. The king, on the other hand, though he valued himself extremely on his king-craft, and perhaps was not altogether incapable of dissimulation, did not seem to have much regard for the spirit of his representatives. About this time a seat began to be regarded as an honour, and the country-gentleman contended for it; though the practice of leving wages for the parliament-men was not altogether discontinued. It was not till the present century that power and popular assemblies entered into every branch of public business, that the members began to join profit to honour, and the crown found it necessary to distribute among them all the considerable offices of the kingdom.

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immediately bestowed the office of cup-bearer on young Villiers.

The whole court was thrown into parties between the two munions: while some endeavoured to advance the rising fortune of Villiers, others deemed it safe to adhere to the established credit of Somerset. The king himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the stern jealousies of Buckingham and his faction detracted from the friendship from his rival, begat perpetual quarrels between their several partisans. But the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury, at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he hesitated not to brave.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret; and the affair at last came to the ears of Triumph, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By his means, Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. The king, alarmed and astonished to find such enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his bosom, sent for Sir Edward Coke, chief justice, and earnestly recommended to him the most rigorous and unbiased scrutiny. This injunction was attended with great industry and severity: the whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled: the lesser criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Frankho, Weston, Mrs. Turner, were first tried and convicted, and his Constables were afterwards found guilty: Northampton's death, a little before, had saved him from a like fate.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that Coke, in the trial of Mrs. Turner, told her that she was guilty of the seven deadly sins: she was a whoremonger, a hypocrite, a witch, a papist, a felon, a murderer. And what more surprising, Bacon, then attorney-general, took care to observe, that poisoning was a popish trick! Such words, if uttered by almost any other man, would not, of itself, sufficiently odious, if it were not represented as a branch of popery. Stowe tells us, that when the king came to Newscastle, on his first entry into England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners, except those who were confined for treason, murder, and papistry. When one considers these circumstances, that furious bigotry of the catholics which broke out in the gunpowder conspiracy appears the less surprising.

All the accomplies in Overbury's murder received the punishment due to their crime; but the king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the Countess. It must be observed, that an act of grace, such as that James's fortune, justly laudable, had he persisted in his first intention of consigning over to severe justice all the criminals; but let us still beware of blaming him too hastily, if, on the approach of the fatal hour, he hurriedly delivered into the hands of the executioner, persons whom he had once favoured with his most tender affections. To soften the rigour of their fate, after some years' imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in inanity and obscurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other.

Several historians, in relating these events, have insisted much on the dissimulation of James's behaviour, when he delivered Somerset into the hands of the chief justice; on the cruel injustice of that act; and on his persevering refusal to stand a trial; and on the extreme anxiety of the king during the whole progress of this affair. Allowing all these circumstances to be true, of which some are suspicious, if not palpably false, the great remains of temperance and self-command, which at that time, must, perhaps, be sufficient to account for them. That favourite was high-spirited, and resolute rather to perish, than live under the infamy to which he was exposed. James was

sensible that the pardoning of so great a criminal, which was of itself invidious, would become still more unpopular, if his obstinate and stubborn behaviour on his trial should augment the public hatred against him. At last, the unreserved confidence in which the king had indulged his favourite for several years, might render Somerset master of so many secrets, that it is impossible, without further light, to assign the particular reason of that supererogation, which led to this retirement from the public scene.

The fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the full height of favour, of honours, and of riches. Had James's passion been governed by common sense and prudence, the office of chief justice, and his brother was created Viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond prince, while he meant to play the part of a statesman, and adhere to the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honours, to render him, for ever, rash, precipitate, and insolent. A young minion to gratify with pleasure, a necessary family to command with riches, were enterprises too great for the empty exchequer of James. In order to obtain a little money, the cautionary towns must be delivered up to the Dutch; a measure which has been objected to. If the king, on the contrary, had been hasty and rash, he might have ventured to affirm, that it had been censured much beyond its real weight and importance.

When Queen Elizabeth advanced money

Cautiously for the support of the edificant republic, bever disavowed, sides the view of securing herself against the power and ambition of Spain, she still reserved the prospect of reimbursement; and she got consigned in her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brede, and Rammekins, as pledges for the money due to her. Indulgent to the necessitous condition of the States, she agreed that the debt should bear no interest; and she stipulated that when England should make a separate peace with Spain, she should pay the troops which garrisoned those fortresses. After the truce was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, the States made an agreement with the king, that the debt, which then amounted to 660,000 pounds, should be discharged by yearly payments of 40,000 pounds; and as five years had elapsed, the debt was now reduced to 600,000 pounds; and in fifteen years more, if the truce were renewed, it would be finally extinguished. But of this sum, 25,000 pounds a year were expended on the pay of the garrisons: the remainder alone accrued to the king: and the States, weighing the circumstances, thought that they made James an honourable offer when they expressed their willingness, on the surrender of the cautionary towns, to pay him immediately 250,000 pounds, and to incorporate the English garrisons in their own army in the following manner: to the king that even the payment of the 40,000 pounds a year was precarious, and depended on the accident that the truce should be renewed between Spain and the republic: if war broke out, the maintenance of the garrisons lay upon England alone; a burden too great for the states to bear. And this treaty, if kept in good faith, of that kingdom: that even during the truce, the Dutch, straitened by other expenses, were far from being regular in their payments; and the garrisons were at present in

\[\text{State Trials, vol. I, p. 290.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., vol. I, p. 274.}\]
danger of mummifying for want of subsistence: that the annual sum of 14,000 pounds, the whole saving on the Dutch payments, amounted, in fifteen years, to no more than 250,000 pounds. In the course of time, the garrisons, immediately, a larger sum, and if money be computed at ten per cent. the current interest, more than double the sum to which England was entitled; that if James waited for the whole discharge of the troops, which composed the garrisons, remained a burden upon him, and could not be broken, without receiving some consideration for their past services: that the cautionary towns were only a temporary restraint upon the Huguenots, and in the absence of this, and the conjunction of interest between England and the republic was so intimate as to render all other treaties superfluous; and no reasonable measures for mutual support would be wanting from the Dutch, even though freed from the dependence of these garrisons; that the exchequer of the republic was at present very low, insomuch that they found difficulty, now that the aids of France were withdrawn, to maintain themselves in that posture of defence which was requisite during the truce with Spain; and that the Spaniards were perpetually insisting with the king on the restitution of these towns, as belonging to their crown; and no cordial alliance could ever be made with the nation, without an indemnity from the English. These reasons, together with his urgent Wants, induced the king to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the precautionary towns, which held the States in a degree of safety. He immediately, on the beginning of his accession, would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

A. D. 1647. Affairs in Scotland.

Scottish nation, that the independence of their kingdom, the object for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would now be lost; and that, if both sides did not make efforts to preserve it, the whole body of the people would be reduced to the most abject slavery.1 These arguments, together with his urgent wants, induced the king to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the precautionary towns, which held the States in a degree of safety. He immediately, on the beginning of his accession, would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

May, 1647.

The crown of England devolved on James, it might have been foreseen by the Scottish nation, that the independence of their kingdom, the object for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would now be lost; and that, if both sides did not make efforts to preserve it, the whole body of the people would be reduced to the most abject slavery. These arguments, together with his urgent wants, induced the king to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the precautionary towns, which held the States in a degree of safety. He immediately, on the beginning of his accession, would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

The confidence, which at the same time, he used to introduce into Scotland some of the ceremonies of the church of England: the rest, it was easily foreseen, would soon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by oppression, has so possessed the minds of the Scottish reformers, that all religious ceremonies, and even order of worship, were disdainfully rejected as useless burdens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous ecstases, and cramping the operations of that divine Spirit by which they supposed themselves to be animated. A mode of worship was established, the most naked and most simple imaginable: one that borrowed nothing from the senses; but reposed itself entirely on the contemplation of that divine essence, which discovers itself to the understanding only. This species of devotion, so worthy of the Supreme Being, but so little suitable to human frailty, was observed to occasion great disturbances in the breast, and in many respects to confound all rational principles of conduct. The new surroundings of society called for these extraordinary ruptures, reaching them by short glances, sinking again under its own weakness, rejecting all external aid of pomp and ceremony, was so occupied in this inward life, that it fled from every intercourse of society, and from every cheerful amusement, which could soften or humanize the character. It was obvious to all discerning eyes, and had not escaped the king's, that by the prevalence of fanaticism, a gloomy and sullen disposition established itself among the people; a spirit, obstinate and dangerous; independent and disorderly; animated equally with a contempt of authority, and a hatred to every other mode of religion, particularly to the Catholic. In order to mellow these humours, James endeavoured to infuse a small tincture of ceremony into the national worship, and to introduce such rites as might, in some degree, occupy the mind, and please the senses, without departing too far from that simplicity, by which the Reformation was distinguished. The finer arts too, though still rude in these northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the king's chapel, in which an organ was erected, and some instruments were introduced, and was exposed as a model to the rest of the nation. But music was gratifying to the prejudiced ears of the Scottish clergy; sculpture and painting appeared instruments of idolatry; the surplice was a rag of popery; and every motion or
gesture prescribed by the liturgy, was a step towards that spiritual Babylon, so much the object of their horror and aversion. Every thing was deemed impious, but their own mystical comments on the Scriptures, which they idolized, and whose eastern prophetic style they employed in every common occurrence.

It will not be necessary to give a particular account of the measures adopted by the king to establish the Church. Such institutions, for a time, are esteemed either too divine to have proceeded from any other being than the supreme Cretor of the universe, or too diabolical to have been derived from an infernal demon. But no reasoner is the mode of the controversy past, than they are universally discovered to be of so little importance, as scarcely to be mentioned with decency amidst the ordinary course of human transactions. It suffices here to remark, that the rings introduced by James regarded the kneeling at the sacrament, private communion, private baptism, confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals. The acts, establishing these ceremonies, were afterwards known by the name of the Articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the assembly.

A conformity of discipline and worship between the churches of England and Scotland, which was James's aim, he never could hope to establish, but by first procuring an acknowledgment of his own authority in all spiritual causes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of the Presbyterian church. The ecclesiastical courts possessed the power of pronouncing excommunication; and that sentence, besides the spiritual consequences supposed to follow from it, was attended with the most important effects of civil nature. The person excommunicated was shunned by every one as profane and impious; and his whole estate, during his life-time, and all his moveables for ever, were forfeited to the crown. Nor were the previous steps, requisite to procuring this sanction, so regular, in proportion to the weight of it. Without accusation, without trial, any ecclesiastical court, however inferior, sometimes pretended in a summary manner, to be able to excommunicate for any act, and against any person, even though he lived not within the bounds of their jurisdiction. And by this means the whole tyranny of the inquisition, though without its order, was introduced into the kingdom.

But the clergy were not content with the unlimited jurisdiction which they exercised in ecclesiastical matters; they assumed a censorial power over every part of adoration, in all their services; mingling politics with religion, they inclemated the most seditions and most turbulent principles. Black, minister of St. Andrews, went so far, in a sermon, as to pronounce all the English children, who had not signed the oath of Queen of England the appellation of Atheist; he said, that the treachery of the king's heart was now fully discovered; and, in his prayers for the queen, he used these words: We must pray for her for the fashion's sake, but we have no cause: she will never do us any good. When summoned before the privy council, he refused to answer to a civil court for any thing delivered from the pulpit, even though the crime of which he was accused was of a civil nature. The church adopted his cause. They raised a sedition in Edinburgh the king, during some time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himself. A few days after, a rustler, preaching in the principal church of that capital, said, that the king was possessed with a devil; and that one devil being expelled, seven worse had entered in his place. To which he said, that such effects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand. Scarcely, even during the darkest night of papal superstition, are there found such instances of priestly encroachments, as the annals of Scotland present; which scandal had a period.

By these extravagant streatches of power, and by the patient conduct of James, the church began to lose ground, even before the king's accession to the throne of England: but no sooner had that event taken place, than he made the Scottish clergy sensible, that he had become the sovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Though formerly he would have thought himself happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and ecclesiastical authority, he was now resolved to exert a higher degree of power in the former, and to put an end to their seditious practices. An assembly had been summoned at Aberdeen: but on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following, with the view of showing his ecclesiastical supremacy, met at the time first appointed, notwithstanding his prohibition. He threw them into prison. Such of them as submitted, and acknowledged their error, were pardoned. The rest were brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treason. The king gave them their lives, but banished them the kingdom. Six of them suffered this penalty.

The general assembly was afterwards induced to acknowledge the king's authority in summing ecclesiastical courts, and to submit to the jurisdiction and visitation of the bishops. Even their favourite sentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unless confirmed by the ordinary, and the sentence being recommitted to the members whom they should elect to this assembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty.

By other arguments likewise, which he seems to have stretched on this occasion, the king erected a court of high commission, in imitation of that which was established in England. The bishops, and a few of the clergy, who had shown themselves most deserving of the court; and it proceeded immediately upon business, as if its authority had been grounded on the full consent of the whole legislature.

But James resolved the final blow for the time being, he should himself pay a visit to Scotland. He proposed to the parliament, which was then assembled, that they should enact, that whatever his majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the force of law. What number should be deemed competent was not determined: and their nomination was left entirely to the king; so that his ecclesiastical authority, had this bill passed, would have been established in its full extent. Some of the clergy protested. They apprehended, they said, that the purity of their doctrine, and even the cause of religion, was polluted with all the rites and liturgy of the church of England. James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped the bill, which had already passed the lords of articles; and assembled, that the inherent prerogative of the crown contained more power than was recognized by it. Some time after, he called at St. Andrews a meeting of the bishops, and thirty-six of the most eminent clergy. He there declared his resolution of exacting his prerogative, and of establishing, by his own authority, the few ceremonies which he had recommended to them. They entreated him rather to summon a general assembly, and to gain their assent. An assembly was accordingly summoned to meet on the 25th of November ensuing.

Yet this assembly, which met after the king's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications; and it was not till the following year, he was able to proceed for receiving his ceremonies. And through every step of this affair, in the parliament, as well as in all the general assemblies, the nation betrayed the utmost reluctance to all these innovations, and was always able to make choice of the mode of government in England. And every prudent man agreed in condemning
the measures of the king, who, by an ill-timed real for insignificant ceremonies, had betrayed, though in an opposite manner, equal narrowness of mind with the persons whom he treated with such contempt. It was judged, that, had not these dangerous biomours been irritated by opposition; had they been allowed peaceably to evaporate; they would at last have subsided within the limits of law and civil society: but the king was at that time so naturally circumscribed to very narrow bounds the numbers and riches of the ecclesiastics; no sooner is their first fire spent, than they lose their credit over the people, and leave them under the natural and beneficent influence of their civil and moral obligations.

At the same time that James shook, in so violent a manner, the religious principles of his Scottish subjects, he acted in opposition to those of his English. He had observed, in his progress through England, that a regular observance of the Sunday, chiefly by means of the puritans, was every day gaining ground throughout the kingdom, and that the people, under colour of religions, were, contrary to former practice, debared such sports and recreations as contributed both to their health and their amusement. Festivals, which, in other nations and ages, are partly dedicated to public worship, partly to mirth and society, were here totally appropriated to the offices of religion, and served to nourish those sullen and gloomy contemplations, to which the people were, of themselves, so unfortunately subject. The king imagined, that it would be easy, by means of this artifice, to produce a sedative effect. He issued a proclamation to allow and encourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises; and, by his authority, he endeavoured to give sanction to a practice, which his subjects regarded as the utmost instance of profaneness and impiety.

CHAP. XLVIII.

A.D. 1617.

Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition—His execution, Insurrections in Bohemia—Disappearances of Spain—A political comment—Part II. Fall of Pauco—Ruptures between the king and Commons—Protestations of the Commons.

At the time when Sir Walter Raleigh was the first confined in the Tower, his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England; and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium under which he lay. During the thirteen years' imprisonment, which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they knew his activity and enterprise in the rigours of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amidst naval and military enterprises, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his History of the World. To increase these favourable dispositions, in which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a golden mine, which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich the monarchs, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king gave little credit to these mighty promises, both because he believed that no such mine as the one described was anywhere in nature, and because he considered Raleigh, as a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to reinstate himself in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone suf-

ficient punishment, he released him from the Tower, and when his vaunts of the golden mine had induced multitudes to engage with him, the king gave them permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, he conferred on Raleigh authority over his fellow-adventurers. Though strongly solicited, he still refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was intrusted with power and command. But James declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence, as a check upon his future behaviour.

Ralegh well knew that it was far from the king's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: he therefore firmly deemed that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coast where his mine lay. When Gondomar, the ambassador of that nation, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the king, Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions: and James assured Gondomar, that he durst not form any hostile attempt, but should pay with his head for so audacious an enterprise. The minister, however, concluding that twelve armed vessels were not fitted out without some purpose of invasion, conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their settlements, particularly those along the coast of Guiana.

When the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were not surprised to find themselves supported by savages whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: they applied to Alexander VI, who then filled the papal chair; and he even severely censured the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern, part of the globe. The more scrupulous protestants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of their title; and if a pirate or sea-adventurer had made an attempt, it had seemed, that it was a stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves entitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and though he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain and indefeasible. But it happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging that imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana Had formed a settlement on the river Oronoooko, had built a little town called St. Tommas, and were there working some mines of small value.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and remaning himself at the mouth of the river, with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and a Captian Keymi, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other; and advancing upon the Spaniards received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keynes and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing valuable.

Ralegh did not pretend that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of; it was Keymi, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promised such immense treasures; yet Keymi, who said that he was within two hours' march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards.

on that day. For this preference he was expelled the House, by the suggestion of Mr. Pyne, The House of Lords opposed so far this prudential measure as the present condition of the people was concerned, and to change it should be changed into that of the day's last day. Journ. 15. 16 Feb. 1695. 10 May 1697. 17. In which place, he observed, it is said by the House to be great, exorbitant, unparalised.
finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprise. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis, in despair, retired into retirement, and concealed as much as possible of his name from the world.

The other adventurers now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had been to engage the Spaniards; and having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such enterprise, and that he was now seeking for means to acquire, for making his peace with England; or if that view failed him, that he purposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

Archbishop of Canterbury, by the sign of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the late and treatable letters between the nations which made it seem to them to engage in such a perilous war against the Spaniards.

When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to France, had agreed to take up all matters in total silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in the most harmful manner, and considered the acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended, that as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with the Spanish colonies, it was still lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed

Would he have restored all his fortune and credit on so precarious a foundation? Absolutely not. The Spaniards have not always been so obliging. We have heard of many instances of the like kind, where the Spaniards have refused to allow any man to trade with their colonies. They have not always been so much in favor of the English, as they have been of the Dutch, who have been much more considerate in their dealings with each other. It appears, therefore, that the Spaniards were not so much in favor of the English as the Dutch. They have been more considerate in their dealings with each other, and have been more ready to grant them the favors which they have been so ready to grant to the Dutch. The Spaniards have been much more considerate in their dealings with each other, and have been much more ready to grant them the favors which they have been so ready to grant to the Dutch.

By their conduct, the Spaniards have shown that they are not disposed to grant any favors to the English, unless they are willing to grant them the same favors which they have been willing to grant to the Dutch. They have been much more considerate in their dealings with each other, and have been much more ready to grant them the favors which they have been so ready to grant to the Dutch. The Spaniards have been much more considerate in their dealings with each other, and have been much more ready to grant them the favors which they have been so ready to grant to the Dutch. They have been much more considerate in their dealings with each other, and have been much more ready to grant them the favors which they have been so ready to grant to the Dutch.
courage: and though he had formerly made use of many artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination, and procure his escape, he now resolved to act his part with more resolution. 'To a sharp revenge, be said, but a sure one for all illa, when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded.' His harangue to the public was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to reconcile himself, and to load his enemies with the keenest derision, by strong asseverations of facts, to say the least, may be esteemed very doubtful. With the utmost indifferency, he laid his bare all the secrets of legal aid, and all the rage and passion that had annoyed him; and in his death there appeared the same great but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had displayed itself in all his conduct and behaviour.

James had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, and which had been adopted by none of his predecessors, that he was by birth a great king, was unworthy of a Prince of Wales; and he never would allow any princess but a daughter of France or Spain to be mentioned as a match for his son. This instance of pride, which really implies meanness, as if he could receive honour from any alliance, was so well known, that Spain had founded on it the hopes of governing, in the most important transactions, this monarch, so little celebrated for politics or prudence. During the life of Henry, the King of France, James took a nvoyage with regard to the succession of Cleves, which was disputed between the Protestant and popish line. But the bait did not then take; and James, in consequence of his alliance with the League, was closely connected with one of the thousand men, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, who joined these two powers, and put the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Palatine of Newburg in possession of Cleves.

Gondomar was, at this time, the Spanish ambassador in England: a man whose flattery was the more artful, because covered with the appearance of frankness and sincerity; whose politics were the more dangerous, because disguised under the mask of mirth and pleasantry. He now made offer of the second daughter of Spain to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the Protestant monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune, which should attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amidst every disappointment, kept up the hopes of success.

The transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motif for this dispute of conduct.

In that great revolution of manners which happened during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the only nations who had the honourable, though often melancholy, advantage of making an earnest effort for the recovery of their privileges, together with the privileges of civil liberty, were animated with a zeal for religious parties and opinions. Besides the irresistible force of standing armies, the European princes possessed this advantage, that they were defended from the ancient royal families; that they continued the same apppellations of magistrates, the same appearance of civil government; and restraining themselves by all the methods of administration, could insensibly impose the yoke on their unguarded subjects. Even the German nations, who formerly broke the Roman chains, and restored liberty to mankind, now lost their own liberty, and saw with grief and trembling its recovery firmly established among them. To their circumstances, nothing but a pious zeal, which disregards all motives of human prudence, could have made them entertain hopes that they, like their ancestors, through so many ages, had transmitted to them.

As the house of Austria, throughout all her extensive dominions, had ever made religion the pretence of her usurpations, she now met with resistance from a like principle; and the catholic religion, as usual, had ranged itself on the side of monarchy; the protestant, on that of liberty. The states of Bohemia, and the emperor against the Emperor Matthias, continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand, and claimed the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, together with the restorations of their ancient laws and constitution. The neighbouring principalities, Poland, Moravia, Lusatia, Austria, even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and throughout all these populous and martial provinces, the spirit of discord and civil war had universally diffused itself.

Ferdinand II., who possessed more vigour and greater abilities, though out more lenity and moderation, than are usual with the Austrian princes, strongly engaged himself for the recovery of his authority; and besides employing the assistance of his subjects, who professed the ancient religion, he engaged on his side a powerful alliance of the neighbouring potentates. All the catholic princes of the empire had engaged his defence; even Saxony, the most powerful of the protestant: Poland had declared itself in his favour; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest joined with the Austrian, gave to young Ferdinand, his family, prepared powerful succours from Italy and France, and from the Low Countries; and he also advanced large sums for the support of Ferdinand and of the catholic religion.

The states of Austria were alarmed, knowing the seditions and revolutions among the Spanish populations, began also to solicit foreign assistance; and, together with that support which they obtained from the evangelical union in Germany, they endeavoured to establish connections with greater princes. They cast their eyes on Frederic, Elector Palatine. They considered, that besides commanding no despicable force of his own, he was son-in-law to the King of England; and nephew to Prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that these princes, moved by the connexions of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would interest themselves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatness. They therefore made a tender address to them, and offered them the title of elector; and the young Palatine, stimulated by ambition, without consulting either James or Maurice, whose opposition he foresaw, immediately ac-
cepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in support of his new subjects.

The news of these events so soon reached England, that the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater, with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. The nation was, as yet, sincerely attached to the blood of their religious prince; and though they heard of catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against protestants, they did not consider their holy interest connected with the thing. They regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God, and of his holy religion. In such a quarrel, they would gladly have marched to the opposite extremity of Europe, had they not considered the massacre of their own citizens, done in the name and force of their religion, as a serious and warlike interest.

But James, besides that his temper was too little enterprising for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive, which had a mighty influence over him: he resolved to patronize the revolt of subjects against their royal sovereign. From the very first he demurred to his son-in-law the title of King of Bohemia; 2 he forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation; and though he owned that he had hitherto examined the pretensions and constitution of that kingdom, and that he supposed it an agreeable idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded subjects must ever be in the wrong, when they stood in opposition to those who had acquired or assumed those illustrious titles. Thus, even in measures founded on true politics, James intermixed so many narrow prejudices, as diminished his authority, and exposed him to the imputation of weakness and of error.

1 The whole affair every where hastened to a crisis. Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Bucquoi; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. The Low Countries, Spinola collected a veterano army of thirty thousand men. When Edmonds, the king's resident at Brussels, made remonstrances to the Archduke Albert, he was answered, that the orders for this armament had been transmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the secret destination of it. Spinola again told the minister, that his orders were still sealed; but, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Calviens, he would there open them, and give him a full account of the business. It was more than the king's life, that Spinola had invaded the palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of 2400 men, commanded by the brave Sir Honor Vans, had, in a little time, reduced the greater part of that principality.

High were now the murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and inactive disposition. The happiness and tranquillity of their own country became distasteful to the English, when they reflected on the grievances and distress of their protestant brethren in Germany. They considered not, that their interpolation in the wars of the continent was an irreconcilable religious zeal, could not, at that time, be justified by any sound maxims of politics; that, however exorbitant the Austrian greatness, the dan-

6 Franklin, p. 41. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 27.

A. D. 1619. — Chap. XVIII.
of the Commons; and they seemed determined to sacrifice every thing in order to maintain a good correspondence with their prince. They would allow no mention to be made of the new customs or impositions, which had been so eagerly disputed in the former parliament; the impositions, however, continued, were, by some, complained of; but, by the authority of the graver and more prudent part of the House, that grievance was buried in oblivion; and, being informed that the king had named several sumptuous debts of the Commons, without a negative, voted him two subsidies, and that, too, at the very beginning of the session, contrary to the maxims frequently adopted by their predecessors. The reasons for this proceeding are, that they knew, in the present manner, to the examination of grievances. They found that patents had been granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel, for licensing masts and ale-houses; that great sums of money had been exacted, under pretext of these licences; and that such inn-keepers as presumed to continue their business, without satisfying the necessary of the patentees, had been severely punished by fine, imprisonment, and death.

The same persons had also procured a patent, which they shared with Sir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the sole making of gold and silver thread and lace. Sir Francis Michel also obtained a patent for preventing any rivalry in these manufactures: they were armed with authority to search for all goods, which might interfere with their patent; and even to punish, at their own will and discretion, the makers, importers, and vendors of such lace. Sir Francis Michel, being gathered up by this exorbitant jurisdiction; and the lace which had been manufactured by the patentees was universally found to be adulterated, and to be composed more of copper than of silk.

These grievances the Commons represented to the king; and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He seemed ever thankful for the information given him; and he discharged his duties, he believed to a man, knowing to him, had crept into his administration. "I assure you, he said, "had I before heard these things complained of, I would have done the office of a just king, and out of parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more, than you now intend to do."

A sentence was passed for the punishment of Michel and Mompesson. It was executed on the former. The latter broke prison and escaped. Villiers, was at that time, sent purposely on a formidable expedition, by some, of the king's emissaries. He met with some resistance; but the operation was successful. The Commons, without a negative, voted him two subsidies, and that, too, at the very beginning of the session, contrary to the maxims frequently adopted by their predecessors. The reasons for this proceeding are, that they knew, in the present manner, to the examination of grievances. They found that patents had been granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel, for licensing masts and ale-houses; that great sums of money had been exacted, under pretext of these licences; and that such inn-keepers as presumed to continue their business, without satisfying the necessary of the patentees, had been severely punished by fine, imprisonment, and death.

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employment, and never again to sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

This dreadful sentence, dreadful to a man of nice sensibility to honour, he survived five years; and, being released in a little time from the Tower, his genius, yet unbroken, supported itself amidst involved circumstances and a depressed spirit, and shone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weaknesses be forgotten or overlooked by posterity. In consideration of his great merit, the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his sentence, conferred on him a large pension of 1800 pounds a year, and employed every expedient to alleviate of his new and unfortunate condition. As that great philosopher, at last, acknowledged with regret, that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and by plunging into business and affairs, which require much less capacity, but greater firmness of mind, than the pursuit of learning, had exposed himself to such grievous calamities.

The Commons had entertained the idea, that they were the great patrons of the people, and that the redress of all grievances must proceed from them; and to this principle they were chiefly beholden for the regard and consideration of the public. In the execution of this office, they now kept their ears open to complaints of every kind; and in their measures into many grievances, which, though of no great importance, could not be touched on, without sensibly affecting the king and his ministers. The prerogative seemed every moment to be invaded; the king reserved every article, was more disputed; and James, who was willing to correct the abuses of his power, would not submit to have his power itself questioned and denied. After the House, therefore, had sat near six months without yet, brought no considerable business to a full conclusion, the king resolved, under pretence of the advanced season, to interrupt their proceedings; and he sent them word, that he was determined, in a little time, to adjourn them till next winter. The Commons made amends upon the Lords, and demanded them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; which was refused by the upper House. The king regarded this project of a joint petition as an attempt to force him from his measures; and yet, brought no considerable business in it, and told them, that if it were their desire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not so far comply with the request of the lower House. And thus, in these great national affairs, the same prevails, which, in private alterations, often raises a quarrel from the smallest beginnings, produced a mutual coldness and disquiet between the king and the Commons.

During the recess of parliament, the king used every measure to render himself popular with the nation, and to appease the rising ill-humour of its representatives. He had voluntarily offered to the parliament to circumscribe his own prerogative, and to abate for the future his power of granting monopolies. He now recalled all the patents of that kind, and redrew every article of grievance, to the number of thirty-seven, which had been complained of in the House of Commons. But he gained not the end which he proposed. The disgust, which had appeared at parting, could not so suddenly be dispelled. He had likewise been so imprudent as to commit to prison Sir Edward Sandys, without any known cause, besides his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as a member of parliament. And above all, the transactions in Germany were sufficient, when joined to the king's cautions, negociations, and delays, to inflame that by no means hollow and religion which prevailed throughout the nation. This summer, the ban of the empire had been published against the elector palatine; and the execution of it was committed to the Duke of Barana. The upper palatinate was, in a little time, conquered by that prince; and measures were taken in the empire for bestowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the palatine was then despoiled. Frederic now lived with his numerous family, in poverty and distress, either in Holland or at Sedan, with his under the duke of Bouillon; and throughout all the new conquests, in both the Palatinate, as well as in Bohemia, Austria, and Lusatia, the progress of the Austrian arms was rendered with no, and from the severities of the emperor, against the professors of the reformed religion.

The zeal of the Commons immediately moved them, upon their assembling, to take all the measures of the new and unfortunate state. They framed a remonstrance, which they intended to carry to the king. They represented, that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the catholic religion in England bred the most melancholy apprehensions lest it should again acquire an ascendant in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his majesty towards the professors of that religion had encouraged their insolence and tenuity; that the uncontrolled conquests, made by the Austrian family in Germany, raised mighty expectations in the English papists; but above all, that the prospect of the Spanish match elevated them so far as to hope for an entire toleration, if the final accession of that house to the crown of Spain. His majesty, therefore, entreated his majesty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatinate, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn his sword against the inhabitants of every nation, in support of the catholic interest in Europe; that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son but with a protestant princess; that the children of popular families, not computers, not that his majesty was not by no means cold to his friends and confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and though he denied that the confinement of that member had been owing to any offence committed in the House, he plausibly told them, that he thought himself fully entitled to punish such a member of parliament, as had raised its sitting as after its dissolution; and that he intended thenceforth to chastise any man, whose insolent behaviour there should minister occasion of offence; otherwise, as he added, that he would be irritated former precedents, may be thought not to have acted altogether on the defensive, had the effect which might naturally have been expected from it; the Commons were inflamed, not terrified. Secure of their own

[Anon.] HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. [A.D. 1621.—CHAP. XLVIII.]

17th April, 1621. The Commons received a petition from the citizens of Paris first come into practice while Buron held the great seal. Agrippa, quoted by Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 454. The case of the salt-mine of Nantes, France, 4th Dec. 1691. A D. 1621. This was the occasion of an interesting discussion, one of which the remarks. [41] The Commons had been involved with the Palatine, there occurs a remarkable story this session. One Foulis, who has given a kind of bibliography in his work, De la navigation, as if he were pleased with the mention of palatine and his war. The Commons were in a frame, and pretending to be a court of palatinate, and of record, proceeded to condemn him to a fine and imprisonment. The House of Commons, in which they have not prev. had a history to be published, they have been natural to me other events. Parliamentary History, vol. iv. p. 408; 409; jour. 49. 49th May, 1621. The Commons were not the munificent of the English Commons, in which they have not pr. Huyser, for what they have been natural to me other events. Parliamentary History, vol. iv. p. 408; 409; jour. 49. 49th May, 1621. The Commons were not the munificent of the English Commons, in which they have not pr.
popularity, and of the bent of the nation towards a war with the catholics abroad, and the persecution of popery at home, they little dreaded the menaces of a prince who was unsupported by military force, and whose gentle temper, and that of itself, so soon disarmed his liberty. In a new renommance, therefore, they still insisted on their former renommance and advice; and they maintained, though in respectful terms, that they were entitled to in- terpose with their council in all matters of state, that to possess entire freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors, and that it was a prerogative of the crown, to which they had a longed to the House alone, who were witnesses of his offence, to inflict a proper censure upon him.  

So rigorous an answer was nowise calculated to appease the king. It is said, when the approach of the committee who were to present it was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought; for that there were so many kings a-coming. His answer was prompt and sharp. He told the House, that their renommance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful subjects; that their pretensions to inquire into all state affairs, without exception, was such a plenitude as none of their an- cestors, even during the reign of the weakest princes, had ever ventured on; that he relied on his appointment on a compilation of views and intelligence, with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better show their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping what was their own, and not pretending to that, which depended on his prerogative; they had no title to interpose with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it. And he concluded with these memorable words, that he had begun to indulge them, in testing your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that we had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors; and as (for the most of them grew from preven- tions and exceptions,) we more particularly depend on your consent, that I were pleased to give you our royal assent to that, as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties, and to interpose our advice, where it should have been, as to preserve our own royal prerogative.

This open pretension of the king's naturally gave great alarm to the House of Commons. They saw their tide to erect privileges, if not plainly denied, yet considered at least as precarious. It might be foiled by abuse, and they had already abused it. They thought proper, therefore, immediately to oppose pretension to prerogative.  

34th Dec.  

They repeated all their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their Petition of the of the Commons; and, with his own advice and counsel. And they asserted, That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and juris- dictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted pur- tainty and inheritance of the subjects of England.  

The king, informed of these increasing heats and jeal- ousies in the House, hurried to town. He sent immedi- ately for the journals of the Commons; and, with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation; and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. He was doubly displeased; he said, with the protestation of the lower House was the manner of framing it, as well as of the matter which it contained. It was tumultuously voted, at a late hour, and in a thin House; and it was expressed in such general and ambiguous terms, as might serve for a foundation to the most enor- mous claims, and to the most unwarrantable usurpations upon his prerogative.  

The meeting of the House might have proved danger- ous after so violent a breach. It was no longer possible, while men were in such a temper, to finish any business. The king, therefore, prorogued the parliament, and soon after dissolved it, after an argument and a violent compensation. Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot, joined in commission with others, were sent to Ireland, in order to execute some business. The king, at that time, enjoyed, at least exercised, the prerogative over all matters, even without his consent, in any branch of public service.  

Sir John Saville, a powerful man in the House of Com- mons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy councilor, and soon after a baron. This event is memorable; as being the first instance, perhaps, in the whole history of England, of any king's advancing a man on account of parliamentary interest, and of making him a baron to secure him against the irregular practice. It will be regarded by political readers as one of the most early and most infallible symptoms of a regular established liberty.  

The king having thus, on one hand, torn off that sacred veil which had hitherto covered the English constitution, and which threw an obscurity upon it so advantageous to royal prerogative, every man began to indulge himself in political speculations and in- quires; and some factions which commenced in parliament were propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid the diss- courting of state affairs. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, served to stir up the people to the public. And, in every company or society, the late trans- actions became the subject of argument and debate.  

All history, said the partisans of the court, as well as the history of England, justify the king's position with re- gard to the origin of popular privileges; and every reason- able man must allow, that as monarchy is the most simple form of government, it must first have occurred to rude and un instructed mankind. The other complex and artificial additions were the successive invention of sover- eigns and legislators; or, if they were obtunded on the prince by seditions subjects, their origin must appear, on more important considerations.  

In England, the authority of the king, in all the exterior forms of government, and in the common style of law, ap- pears totally absolute and sovereign; nor does the real spirit of the constitution, as it has ever discovered itself in practice, fall much short of these appearances. The parlia- ment is created by his will; by his will it is dissolved. It is his will alone, though at the desire of both Houses, which gives authority to laws. To all foreign nations, the majesty of the monarch seems to merit sole attention and respect. And no subject, who has exposed himself to royal indignation, can hope to live with safety in the kingdom; nor can he even leave it, according to law, without the consent of his master. If a magistrate, environment, in such power and splendour, should consider his authority as sacred, and regard himself as the anointed of Heaven, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as to their judgment shall seem fitter; and that every member of the said House hath like freedom from all imprisonment, imprisonment, and maltreatment, (other than by means of the House itself,) for criticizing, or considering any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament, the nation, or any person present in the parliament, or any member or members of the House of Commons assembled in parliament, before the king; or giving evidence to any private information, either in writing or otherwise.  

James.  

Franklin, p. 60. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 44. Kemnet, p. 64.  

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his pretensions may bear a very favourable construction. Or, allowing them to be merely pious frauds, we need not be surprised, that the same stratagem which was practised by Minos, Numa, and the most celebrated legislators of ancient and modern times, be employed by the King of England. Subjects are not raised above that quality, though assembled in parliament. The same humble respect and deference is still due to the prince. Though he mitigates them in his privilege of laying before them his domestic grievances, with which they are supposed to be best acquainted, this warrants not their bold intrusion into every province of government, allowed, to all judicious examiners, it must appear, "That the lines of duty are as much transgressed by a more independent and less respectful exercise of acknowledged powers, as by the usurpation of such as are new and unusual.

The lovers of liberty, throughout the nation, reasoned after a different manner. It is in vain, they said, that the king traces up the English government to its first origin, in order to represent the privileges of parliament as independent and precarious: prescription, and the practice of so many ages, must, long ere this time, have given a sanction to these assemblies, even though they had been derived from an origin no more dignified than that which they acknowledge. If the written records of the English nation, as asserted, represent parliaments to have arisen from the consent of monarchs, the principle of human nature, when we trace government a step higher, must show us, that monarchs themselves consent to all their authority to the voluntary submission of the people. But, in fact, no age can be shown, when the English government was altogether an unmixed monarchy: and, if the privileges of this nation have, at any period, been overpowered by violent irritations of foreign force or domestic usurpation; the generous spirit of the people has ever seized the first opportunity of re-establishing the ancient government and constitution, though in the style of the laws, and in usual forms of administration, royal authority may be represented as sacred and supreme; whatever is essential to the exercise of sovereign and legislative power must still be regarded equally divine and indivisible. Or, if any distinction be made in this respect, the preference is surely due to those natural councils, by whose interposition the exorbitancies of tyrannical power are restrained, and that sacred liberty is preserved, which heroic spirits, in all ages, have deemed more precious than life itself.

Nor is it sufficient to say, that the mild and equitable administration of James affords little occasion, or no occasion, of complaint. How moderate soever the exercise of his authority, how exact soever be his observance of the laws and constitution: "If he founds his authority on arbitrary and dangerous principles, it is requisite to watch him with the same care, and to oppose him with the same vigour, as if he had indulged himself in all the excesses of cruelty and tyranny."

Amidst these disputes, the wise and moderate in the nation endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, an equitable neutrality between the opposite parties; and the more they reflected on the course of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found in fixing just sentiments with regard to them. On the one hand, they regarded the very rise of parties as a happy prognostic of the establishment of liberty; or could they ever expect to enjoy, in a mixed government, so invaluable a blessing without suffering that inconvenience, which, in such governments, has ever attended it. But when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now possessed of great revenues; and when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now possessed of great revenues; and when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now possessed of great revenues; and when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. 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so unequal a contest, besides raveling the patrician's hereditary dominions, would end in the total alienation of the people's affections from their ancient sovereign, by whom they were plundered, and in an attachment to their new masters, by whom they were protected. He persuaded, therefore, his son-in-law to disarm, under colour of duty and submission to the emperor: and, accordingly, Mansfeld was dismissed from the patrician's service; and that was the only severe penetration which it had by this means. The Earl of Bristol, a minister of vigilance and penetration, and who had formerly opposed all alliance with catholics, was now fully convinced of the sincerity of Spain; and he counselled the king to make up his mind on the subject of engaging with his views and projects. A daughter of Spain, whom he represents as extremely accomplished, would soon, he said, arrive in England, and bring with her an immense fortune of two millions of pieces of eight, or six hundred thousand pounds sterling; a sum four times greater than Spain had ever before given with any princess, and almost equal to all the money which the parliament, during the whole course of this reign, had hitherto granted to the king. But what was of more importance to James's honour and happiness, Bristol considered this match as an infallible prognostic of the patrician's restoration; nor would Philip, he thought, ever have bestowed his sister and so large a fortune in the event of engaging with England. So exact was his intelligence, that the most secret counsels of the Spaniards, he boasts, had never escaped him; and he found that they had all along concealed the truth as to the engagement with the patrician as measures closely connected, or altogether inseparable. However, little calculated James's character to extort so vast a concession; however improper the measures which he had employed for engaging with this ambassador could not withstand the plain evidence of facts, by which Philip now demonstrated his sincerity. Perhaps too, like a wise man, he considered, that reasons of state, which are supposed solely to influence the councils of monarchs, are not always of so great weight as to prejudice a nation; and that milder views of gratitude, honour, friendship, generosity, are frequently able among princes, as well as private persons, to overbalance these selfish considerations; that the manner of restoration of James had been so conspicuous in all these transactions, his reliance on Spain, his confidence in his friendship, that he had at last obtained the cordial alliance of that nation, so celebrated for honour and fidelity. Or, if policies must still be supposed the ruling motive of all public measures, the maritime power of England was so considerable, and the Spanish dominions so divided, as might well induce the council of Philip to the resolution, that was adopted by the masters of the sea, and could not be purchased by too great concessions. And as James, during so many years, had been allured and seduced by hopes and protestations, his people enraged by delays and disappointments; it would probably occur, that there was now so medium left between the most inveterate hatred and the most esteemable alliance between the nations. To not mention, that as a new spirit began about this time to animate the councils of France, the friendship of England became every day more necessary to the greatness and security of the Spanish monarch.

All measures being, therefore, agreed on between the parties, sought was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, which might be considered as a mere formality. The king, justified by success, now exulted in his pacific counsels, and boasted of his superior sagacity and penetration; and when all these flattering prospects were blasted by the tempest of passion, in which he had for some time been therefrom a private condition, to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people.

Ever since the fall of Somerset, Buckingham had governed, with an uncontrolled power, over the court. As soon as James's eyes have been opened, he had now full opportunity of observing how unfaith his favourite was for the high station to which he was raised. Some accomplishments of a courier shown by the latter to Buckingham, that the marriage and the restitution of the palatinate were obtained by the advice of the English. We cannot make New Franklin, p. 71, 72. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 196, 199, 200. Earl, Hist. vol. i. p. 119.

1 Franklin, p. 77. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 66.
he possessed: of every talent of a minister he was utterly destitute. Headlong in his passions, and inapposite equally of prudence and of dissimulation: sincere from violence rather than candour; expensive from profusion more than generosity: a warm friend, a furious enemy; but without any choice or discernment in either: with these qualities he had early and quickly mounted to the highest rank; and none of the state which attends fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition.

A. D. 1625.

Among those who had experienced the
arrangement of this overgrown favourite, the Prince of Wales himself had not been entirely spared; and a great coldness, if not an enmity, had, for that reason, taken place between them. Buckingham, distrusts and unexampled, with that sight connections with foreign and overcome his aversion, and at the same time envious of the great credit acquired by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation, beheld himself of an expidient, by which he might at once gratify both these inclinations. He represented to Charles, that persons of his exalted station were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage, the chief circumstance in life; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, to which they were unknown; not endeared by sympathy, not obliged by service; wooed by treaties alone, by negociations, by political interest: that however accomplished the infants, she must not be permitted to be a mechaniæ of state, and could not but think with aversion of that day, when she was to enter the bed of a stranger; and, passing into a foreign country and a new family, had adieu to her sister, the sole share ofert her that it was necessary to the prince's power to soften all these rigours, and by such an obligation on her, as would attach the most indifferent temper, as would warm the coldest affections: that his joy should be an unsullied gaiety, which would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance, and suit the amorous and enterprising character of that nation, must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and dazzling personage, whose language was the palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be terminated by so illustrious an agent, seconded by the mediation and entreaties of the greatest infants: that Spanish generosity, moved by that unexampled trust and confidence, would make concessions beyond what could be expected from political views and considerations; and that he would quickly return to the interest of the house of Stuart, and published the most happy palatinate, by the same enterprise which procured him the affections and the person of the Spanish princess.

The mind of the young prince, replete with candour, was inflamed by these the fruit sanguine of the most generous and amorous ideas, suggested by Buckingham. He agreed to make application to the king for his approbation. They chose the moment of his kindest and most jocund humour, and more by the easiness which they expressed, than by the force of their reasons, they obtained a hasty and unguarded consent to their undertaking. And having engaged his promise to keep their purpose secret, they left him in order to make preparations for the journey.

He sooner was the king alone, than he temper, more cautious than sanguine, suggested very different views of the matter, and represented every difficulty and danger which could occur. He reflected, that, however the world might regard this act of marriage, it must pass for the prince, they could never forgive himself, who, at his years, and after his experience could intrust his only son, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to the discretion of foreigners, without some better than candour; expense from profusion and generosity, for the purpose of converting the prince into his hands: that Philip, when possessed of so invaluable a pledge, might well raise in his demands, and impose harder conditions of treaty: and that the temerity of the enterprise was so apparent, that the event, how prosperous soever, could not justify it; and if disastrous, it would render himself infamous to his people and ridiculous to all posterity.

Tormented with these reflections, as soon as the prince and Buckingham returned for their despatches, he informed them of all the reasons which had determined him to return. They proposed to change the terms on which they attended the prince: they possessed the fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition.
Clarendon, from whom they are here transcribed; and though minute, are not undeserving of a place in history.

The prince and Buckingham, with their two attendants, and Sir Richard Graham, master of horse to Buckingham, passed disguised and undiscovered through France; and they even ventured into the heart of Spain, without the knowledge of Charles. On the 17th March, Charles saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure, the nuncio at Madrid received and surprised every body by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch immediately paid Charles a visit, expressed the utmost esteem and attachment for his person, and made wide protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. By the most studious civilities, he showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; for there, he said, the prince was at home. Charles was received into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attends the Kings of Spain on their coronation; the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself. Observing, however, that the order of right of precedence before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence; all the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the event, the most honourable and most fortunate, had brought in the monarchy; and every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was suspended during Charles's residence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public: the Spanish idea of domestic tranquility and privacy, allows of any further intercourse, till the arrival of the dispensation. The point of honour was carried so far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantages which, on his arrival, the prince found, to proffer the royal terms of treaty: their paczual only permitted them, on one occasion, to desire more concessions in the religious articles; but, upon the opposition of Bishop, accompanied with some reproaches, they immediately desisted. The Pope, however, hearing of the prince's arrival in Madrid, took some new clauses to the dispensation; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. That treaty, which was made public by the consent of each, confirmed the ceremonial exercise of the Catholic religion by the infants and her household. Nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promised, that the children of the king of Spain should be educated, till they come to the age of ten years. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasons their minds with Catholic principles; and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the Pope insist that article, should have induced the king to reject it.

Besides the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the king; in which he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against Catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the Catholic religion in private houses. These articles, if they had ever been against these articles, had been made known to the public; since we find it by what we have imputed an enormous crime to the prince, that having received, about this time, a very civil letter from the Pope, he was induced to retract a very sound article.

Meanwhile Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. Upon this event, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, till it should be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed sending a new dispensation, in hopes that, during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to effect his conversion. The King of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the first hint, Charles obtained permission to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect, which had attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, which, with a great sum of money, Charles saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure, the nuncio at Madrid received and surprised every body by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch immediately paid Charles a visit, expressed the utmost esteem and attachment for his person, and made wide protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. By the most studious civilities, he showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; for there, he said, the prince was at home. Charles was received into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attends the Kings of Spain on their coronation; the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself. Observing, however, that the order of right of precedence before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence; all the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the event, the most honourable and most fortunate, had brought in the monarchy; and every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was suspended during Charles's residence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public: the Spanish idea of domestic tranquility and privacy, allows of any further intercourse, till the arrival of the dispensation. The point of honour was carried so far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantages which, on his arrival, the prince found, to proffer the royal terms of treaty: their paczual only permitted them, on one occasion, to desire more concessions in the religious articles; but, upon the opposition of Bishop, accompanied with some reproaches, they immediately desisted. The Pope, however, hearing of the prince's arrival in Madrid, took some new clauses to the dispensation; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. That treaty, which was made public by the consent of each, confirmed the ceremonial exercise of the Catholic religion by the infants and her household. Nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promised, that the children of the king of Spain should be educated, till they come to the age of ten years. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasons their minds with Catholic principles; and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the Pope insist that article, should have induced the king to reject it.

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parliament, be yielded to difficulties which he had not courage or strength of mind sufficient to overcome. The prince therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, assumed entirely the direction of the negotiation, and it was their business to seek for pretexts, by which they could give a colour to their intended breach of treaty.

Though the restitution of the palatinate had ever been considered by James as a natural or necessary consequence of the Spanish alliance, he had always forbidden his ministers to insist on it as a preliminary article to the conclusion of the marriage treaty. He considered, that this principality was of the solemn design of the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; and that it was no longer in the King of Spain's power, by a single stroke of his pen, to restore it to its ancient master. The strict alliance of Spain with these princes would engage Philip, he thought, to soften so disagreeable a demand by every art of negotiation; and many articles must of necessity be adjusted, before such an important point could be effected. It was sufficient, in James's opinion, if the sincerity of the Spanish court could, for the present, be ascertained; and, dreading further delays of the marriage, so long wished for, he was resolved to trust the palatine's full restoration to the event of future counsels and deliberations.

The first conditions of negotiation Buckingham now reversed; and he overturned every submission upon which the treaty had hitherto been conducted. After many fruitless armies were employed to delay or prevent the engagement, the King received positively, to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finish the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Philip understood this language. He had been acquainted with the disgust received by Buckingham; and deeming a man capable of sacrificing to his own ungovernable passions, the greatest interests of his master and of his country, he had expected, that the unbounded confidence of that favourite would induce him to employ a marriage treaty to embroil the two nations. Determined, however, to throw away the blame of the rupture entirely on the English, he delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the palatinate, either by persuasion, or by every other possible means; and when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the infant to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation given by Philip, and to drop the study of the English language. And thinking that such rash concessions, as now governed the court of England, would not stop at the breach of the marriage treaty, but would begin the preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions.

Thus James, having, by means inexplicable from the ordinary rules of politics, conducted so near an honourable peace, and neglected the passion and the transport, of his son-in-law, failed at last of his purpose, by means equally unaccountable.

But, though the expedients already used by Buckingham were sufficiently inglorious both for himself and for the nation, it was necessary for him, ere he could fully effect his purpose, to employ armies still more dishonourable.

A. D. 1644.

The king, having broken with Spain, was obliged to concert new measures; and in order to prevent the out assistance of parliament, no effectual step of any kind could be taken. The benevolence, which, during the interval, had been rigorously excised for the palatinate, though leaved for so popular an end, had pro-

cured to the king less money than ill-will from his subjects.6 Whatever discouragements, therefore, he might receive from his ill agreement with former

parliaments, there was a necessity of summing once more this assembly; and it might be hoped, that the Spanish alliance, which gave such umbrage, being abandoned, the Commons would now be better satisfied with the king's administration. In his speech, January 29th, 1644, he hinted of his cause of complaint against Spain; and he graciously condescended to ask the advice of parliament, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of the war. Buckingham delivered to a committee of Lords and Commons a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip; but partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. He said that, after many years' negotiation, the king found not himself any nearer his purpose; and that he had never brought the treaty beyond the general professions and declarations; that he, from those double intentions of Spain, resolved at last to take a journey to Madrid, and put the matter into the utmost trial: he would, in short, give no artificial dealings as made him conclude all the steps taken towards the marriage to be false and deceitful: that the restitution of the palatinate, which had ever been regarded as the main object the king had in view, was seriously intended by Spain; and that, after enduring much bad usage, the prince was obliged to return to England, without any hopes, either of obtaining the infants, or of restoring the elective palatinate.

This narrative, which, considering the importance of the occasion, and the solemnity of that assembly to which it was delivered, deserves great blame, was yet vouched for by both the prince himself and his minister; and the King himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. The conduct of these princes it is difficult fully to excuse. It is in vain to plead the youth and inexperience of Charles; unless his inexperience and youth, as it is probable if not certain, really led him into error, and made him swallow all the fallacies of Buckingham. And though the king was here hurried from his own merriment, to reproach others, by no means have induced him to prostitute his character, and seem to touch the impostures, at least false colourings, of his favourite, of which he had so good reason to entertain a suspicion. Buckingham's narrative, however artfully disguised, contained so many contradictory circumstances, as were sufficient to open the eyes of all reasonable men; but it concurred with the passion and the prejudices, and, without the assistance of parliament, no scruple was made of immediately adopting it. Charmed with having obtained at length the opportunity, so long wished for, of going to war with papists, they little thought of future consequences; but immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well as that which regarded the marriage, and that for the restitution of the palatinate. The people, ever greedy of war, till they suffer by it, displayed their triumph and joy with unrestrained liberality, and with free rejoicings, and by insults on the Spanish ministers. Buckingham was now the favourite of the public, and of the parliament. Sir Edward Coke, in the House of Commons, called him the scourge of the nation.1 Every place

1 Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 277. 2 Franklin, vol. i. p. 32. 3 Kenton, p. 272. 4 Franklin, p. 104. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 112. 5 Rushworth, vol. i. p. 110. 6 To show by what violent means benefices were usually raised, John Denton, in his adaptor, 1644: in hisHoraeSpesianaesAuctore, that Horace, a citizen of London, was the first who refused to contribute any thing, upon wages; and that afterwards, it was the custom that the provosts of the city, instead of themselves raising the money, allotted it to the poor, and assigned the labour to be done by the carpenters. 7 It was the opinion of many, that the Spanish ambassadors was expected, and that the king and the Spanish minister were so far from being afraid of the insurgents in Ireland, that they were afraid of an invasion from Spain. 8 It must, however, be confessed, that the king afterwards called the insurgents farmers, and that he confirmed them in their number, but refused, upon the application of his ministers, to remove the tenants and squires from the names, and the king promised them by his order. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 104. James was probably pleased with the title of farmer, as it added to his favour. 9 Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 75. 10 Franklin, p. 90. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 120. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 181. 11 Clarendon, vol. i. p. 6.
revered with his praises. And he himself, intoxicated by a popularity which he enjoyed so little time, and which he so ill deserved, violated all duty to his indulgent master, and entered into cabals with the puritanical members, who had ever opposed the royal authority. He even encouraged schemes for abolishing the order of bishops, and selling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expenses of a Spanish war. And the king, though he still entertained prospects for terminating war, and for making an accommodation with Spain, was so borne down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and increased by Buckingham, that he was at last obliged, in a speech to parliament, to soften the accents of his voice, and to say that he would engage to support him. It doubts of their sincerity in this respect, doubts which the event showed not to be ill-grounded, had probably been one cause of his former pacific and dilatory measures.

In his speech on this occasion, the king began with lamenting his own misfortunes, that, having so long valued himself on the epithet of the public monarch, he should now, to his old age, be obliged to exchange the blessings of peace for the inevitable calamities of war. He represented to them the immense and continued expense requisite for military armaments; and besides supplies, from time to time, as they should become necessary, he demanded an unlimited power of money, and a stock before the commencement of hostilities. He told them of his intolerable debts, chiefly contracted by the sums remitted to the palatinate; but he added, that he did not think it just that he should maintain an entire industry which was sufficient for him, if the honour and security of the public were provided for. To remove all suspicion, he who had ever strenuously maintained his prerogative, and who had even in some instances, for causing an alarm of doubtful, now made an imperfect concession, of which the consequences might have proved fatal to royal authority: that voluntarily offered, that the money voted should be paid to a committee of parliament, and should be issued by the hands of the Commons. The Commons willingly accepted of this concession, so unusual in an English monarch; they voted him only three subsidies and three fifteens and they took no notice of the complaints which he made of his own wants and necessities.

Advantage was also taken of the present good agreement between the king and parliament, in order to pass the bill against monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the king, but which had failed by the rupture between him and the last House of Commons. This bill was conceived in such terms as to render it merely declaratory; and all monopolies were condemned as contrary to the Constitution. This measure was, however, that was supposed, that every subject of England had entire power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow-subjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magistrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom. The full prosecution of this noble principle into all its natural consequences, has at last, through many contests, produced that singular and happy government which we enjoy at present.

The House of Commons also corroborated, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which, two years before, had been exercised in the case of Chancellor Bacon, and which had lain dormant for nearly two centuries, except when they served as instruments of royal vengeance. The Earl of Middlesex had been raised, by

Buckingham's interest, from the rank of a London merchant, to be treasurer of England; and, by his activity and address, seemed not unworthy of that preferment. But, as he incurred the displeasure of his patron, by scrupling or refusing some demands of money during the prince's residence in Spain, that favourite vowed revenge, and employed all his credit among the Commons to procure an impeachment of the treasurer. The king was well aware that the prince was reconciled to the prince and duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary proceedings. In a speech to the parliament, he endeavoured to apologise for Middleton, and to declare against this measure as being an improper measure for the suppression of any religion, according to the received maxim, that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. He also condemned to the public the treatment of which, he supposed, the Commons had been subjected; that the Commons was lost, to a temporary suspension of the penal laws against the catholics, which he distanced from a toleration, a term at that time extremely odious. James naturally deemed his meaning to be sufficiently explained, and feared not any reproach of falsehood or duplicity, on account of this utterance. After all these transactions, the parliament was prorogued by the king, who let fall some hints, in gentle terms, of the sense which he entertained of their unkindness, in not supplying his necessities.

James, unable to resist so strong a combination as that of his people, his parliament, his son, and his favourite, had been compelled to surrender for which, finding himself too temperate as well as judicious, he had ever entertained a most settled aversion. Though he dissembled his resentment, he began to estrange himself from Buckingham, to whom he ascribed all those violent counsels, and whom he considered as the author both of the prince's journey to Spain, and of the breach of the marriage treaty. The arrival of Bristol he impatiently looked for; and it was by the assistance of that munster, whose wisdom he respected, and whose views he approved, that he hoped in time to extricate himself from his present difficulties.

* During the prince's abode in Spain, that Return of a negociator had ever opposed, though unsuccessfully, to the impertinent measures suggested by Buckingham, his own wise and well-tempered counsels. After Charles's departure, he still, upon the first appearance,

* will easily appear from many passages in the history of that reign. But the ideas of some are much changed, during about twenty years of a peaceful and prosperous administration. The Commons, though power of himself, had recalled all patents of monopolies, were not continued without a law, and considered them, and a declaration of pacts, as necessary for the present, and establishing principles very favourable to liberty: but they were extremely moderate, when the king and his cabinet, who after having refused their request, issued a few of the royal oppressive patents, and employed

the house to make them as inflammatory as possible. The parliament had surely reason, when they confirmed, in the seventh of June, that he allowed to his parliament, all business, the right of impeaching any of his predecessors, and that this right was not, without a change of the constitution, to be admitted. But as the measure was finally referred to the Commons, Monsieur de la Bourdonne, in his debates, vol. i. p. 469, presented the liberty of the nation to the House of Commons, and the Parliament, and to the House of Commons, in his debates, vol. i. p. 23. I. Livron, vol. i. p. 23. The Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 19. P. Franklin, p. 401. I. Livron, vol. ii. p. 27. Zee Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 27. Zee Franklin, p. 103. P. less than 500,000 pounds. This principle had prevailed, during any former period of the English government, as it has been ever since, when the laws have evi-
ance of a change of resolution, interposed his advice, and strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as the advantages which England must reap from the completion of it. Enraged to find that his successful labours should be rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minister, he would understand no hints; and nothing but express orders from his master could engage him to make that de

Many of the Catholic nobility must have found this final period the least flattering to their treaty. He was not therefore surprised to hear that Buck

Nothing could be of greater consequence to Buckingham, than to keep Bristol at a distance both from the king and the parliament; lest the power of truth, enforced by so well-informed a party, should open scenes, which were but suspected by the former, and of which the latter had as yet entertained no manner of jealousy. He applied therefore to James, whose weakness, disguised to himself under the appearance of finesse and dissimulation, was now become absolutely incurable. A warrant for the arrest of Bristol to the Tower was issued immediately upon his arrival in England; and though he was soon released from confinement, yet orders were carried from him to the king, the prince, or himself, as well as from any consideration of the seriousness of the case

While the attachment of the prince to Buckingham, while the timidity of James, or the same of changing his favourite, kept the whole court in awe; the Spanish ambassador, Inoiza, endeavoured to open the king's eyes, and to cure his fears by instilling greater fears into him. He privately slipped into his hand a paper, and gave him a signal to read it at leisure. He thereupon informed him that he was as much a prisoner at London as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; that the prince and Buckingham had conspired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that the Catholic nobility were united in an open and avowed conspiracy against the king, the prince, or himself, as well as from any consideration of the seriousness of the case. He therefore, to keep the Prince of Wales, after which Charles II. had protested governors from his early years: first the Earl of Newcastle, then the Marquis of Hertford. The prospect of a rupture between James and the catholic king; and they flattered themselves, as well from the natural union of interests between them and England, as from the influence of the present weakness of the Protestant powers, that peace would soon march to their relief. Accordingly, an army of six thousand men was levied in England and sent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, Essex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renounced a captain as Maurice. It might reasonably have been expected, that this enterprise would have made the military position of the palatinate appear a point of such vast importance in England; the same effect must have been produced in France, by the force merely of political views and considerations. While that principality remained in the hands of the house of Austria, the French dominions were surrounded on all sides by the possessions of that ambitious family, and might be invaded by superior forces from every quarter. It concerned, therefore, in King Francis, to prevent the peaceable establishment of the emperor in his new conquests; and both by the situation and greater power of his state, he was much better enabled than James to give succour to the distressed prince. But this enterprise was, by Richelieu, who now began to acquire an ascendant in the French court; that minister was determined to pave the way for his enterprises, by first subduing the hugonots, and then gradually advancing a greater force on the house of Austria. The prospect, however, of a conjunction with England was presently embraced, and all imaginable encouragement was given to every proposal for concluding a marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta.

Notwithstanding the sensible experience, which James might have acquired, of the insurmountable antipathy entertained by the subjects against catholics, he still persevered in the opinion, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction. After the rupture, therefore, with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France; and to this court he immediately applied himself. The same alliances had not here place, which had so long entangled him in the Spanish negotiation: the portion promised was much inferior; and the peaceable restoration of the prince was his chief consideration. But James was afraid lest his son should be altogether disappointed of a bride; and therefore, as soon as the French king demanded, for the honour of his crown, the same terms which he had offered to the Spanish prince, he was prevailed with to comply. And as the prince, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the present distressed condition of his posterity. The court of England, however, it must be confessed, always pretended, even in their memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions granted to the catholics were inserted in the marriage treaty merely to please the Pope, and that their strict execution was, by an agreement with France, secretly dispensed with.

As much as the conclusion of the marriage treaty was acceptable to the king, as much were enterprises disagreeable, both from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking in which he was engaged, and from his own incapacity for such a scene of action.

During the Spanish war, both Southwark and Man

Buckingham was entirely English, was closely besieged by them. After reiterated remonstrances from a government impatient for completing it, and more celer.

But as Francis undertook only to assist the Pope, and was never induced by either party to be engaged in the

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. [A. D. 1634.—CHAP. XLIX

y Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

1a id., vol. i. p. 230.


d Earl of Clarendon, p. 523.

2 Echard, vol. i. p. 136.


4 Thackeray, vol. i. p. 323.
still in his hands, Ferdinand, desirous of withdrawing his forces from the palatinate, and of leaving that state in security, was unwilling that so important a fortress should remain in the possession of his enemy. To compromise all differences, it was agreed to sequester it into the hands of the infant as a neutral person; upon condition that, after the expiration of the truce, it should be delivered to Frederic; though peace should not at that time be concluded between him and Ferdinand. But after the unexpected rupture with Spain, the infants, when James demanded the execution of the treaty, offered him peaceable possession of Frankendael, and even promised a safe conduct for the garrison through the Spanish Netherlands; but there was some temerity of engaging, at this time, too, between her state and the palatinate; and for passage over that territory, no terms were stipulated. By this chicanery, which certainly had not been employed if unity with Spain had been preserved, the palatinate was totally dispossessed of his patrimonial dominions.

The English nation, however, and James's warlike counsellors, were not discouraged. It was still determined to reconquer the palatinate; a state lying in the midst of Germany, possessed entirely by the emperor and Duke of Bavaria, surrounded by potent enemies, and cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeld's force consisted of a considerable infantry, and an English army of twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse was levied by a general press throughout the kingdom. During the negotiation with France, vast promises had been made, though in general terms, by the French minister not only to furnish the prince in question, but to send the English troops, but that powerful succour should also join them in their march towards the palatinate. In England, all these professions were hastily interpreted to James.

Mansfeld's command were embarked at Dover; but, upon sailing over to Calais, found no orders yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain during some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand; where it had also been neglected to concert proper measures for their disembarkation; and some scruples arose among the States on account of the scarcity of provisions. Meanwhile, a pestilent distemper was raging in among the English forces, so long cooped up in narrow vessels. Half the army died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the palatinate. And thus ended this enterprise; the only disaster which happened to England during the prosperous and pacific reign of James.

That reign was now drawing towards a conclusion. With peace, so successfully cultivated and so passionately loved by this monarch, his life also terminated. This spring he was seized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that such a distemper, during that season, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preserve constancy in religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the palatinate. With decrecy and courage he prepared himself for his end; and he expired on the 27th of May, and was followed by a reign of twenty-two years and some days; and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. In all history, it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious, yet more unpapable and unblemished, than that of James in both kingdoms.

His character. No prince, so little enterprising and so inoffensive, was ever so much exposed to the opposite effects of public and private felicity, and of pangs and penalties. And the facts, which began in his time, being still continued, have made his character be as much disputed to this day, as is commonly that of princes who are our contemporaries. Many virtues, however, it must be owned, he was possessed of; but scarce any of them pure, or free from the corruption of the neighboring vices. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and base fondness. But while he was maintaining his own authority, he may perhaps be suspected, in a few of his actions, and still more of his pretensions, to have somewhat encroached on the liberties of his people: while he endeavored, by an exact neutrality, to acquire the good-will of all his neighbors, he was able to preserve fully the esteem and regard of none. His capacity was considerable; but fitter to discourse on general maxims, than to conduct any intricate business: his intentions were just; but more adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms.

Awkward in his person and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect; partial and undiscriminating in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Of a feeble temper more than of a frail judgment: exposed to our ridicule from his vanity; but exempt from our hatred by his freedom from pride and arrogance. And throughout the whole, it is clear that one of his character, that all his qualities were sufficed with weakness and embellished by humanity. Of political courage he certainly was destitute; and whence chiefly is derived the strong prejudice which prevails against his conduct. However, he did not entirely lose his country, but owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues. She loved shows and expensive amusements; but possessed little taste in her pleasures. A great comet appeared about the time of her death; and the vulgar conceit was, that this was a portent for the person of that unfortunate monarch, his eyes in their eyes are even the most insignificant princes.

He left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to his elector palatine. She was aged twenty-nine years. Those alone remained of six legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never discovered any tendency, even the smallest, towards a passion for any mistress.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, during this reign, were, Whytgift, who died in 1604; Bancroft, in 1610; Abbott, who survived the king. The chancellors, Lord Ellesmore, who resigned in 1617: Bacon was first lord-keeper till 1619; then was created chancellor, and was displaced in 1621: Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was created lord-keeper in his place. The high treasurers were, the Earl of Dorset, who died 1609; the Earl of Salisbury, in 1612; the Earl of Suffolke, fined, and displaced for bribery in 1618; Lord Mansfeld, resigned in 1621; the Earl of Middlesex, displaced in 1624; the Earl of Marlborough succeeded. The lord admirals were, the Earl of Nottingham, who resigned in 1618; the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Buckingham. The secretaries of state were, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Ralph Winwood, Nanton, Calvert, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton.

The numbers of the House of Lords, in the first parliament of this reign, were seventy-six, and at the end of it, sixty-eight. The numbers in the first parliament of Charles were ninety-seven. Consequently James, durance that period, created nineteen new peers above those that expired.

The House of Commons at the first parliament of this reign, consisted of four hundred and sixty-seven members. It appears, that four boroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected. And as the first parliament of Charles consisted of one whole, it may be probable, that the ninety-four members, we may infer that James created ten new boroughs.

\[t\text{Buckworth, vol. i. p. 155.}\]
CHAP. L

CHARLES I.

A parliament at Westminster.—At Oxford—Naval expedition against Naples—Second Parliament.—Impeachment of Buckingham.—Violent measures of the court.—War with France—Expedition to the Isle of Ely.

A.D. 1602.

No sooner had Charles taken into his hands the reins of government, than he showed an impatience to assemble the great council of the nation and he would gladly, for the sake of despots, have called together the same parliament which had sitten under his father, and which lay at that time under prorogation. But being told that this measure would appear unusual, he issued writs for summoning a new parliament at meet on the 7th of March; and it was not Westminster, without that the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the eighteenth of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the despatch of business.

The young prince, inexperienced and impolitic, regarded as sincere all the praises and caresses with which he had been loaded, while active in procuring the rupture with the house of Austria. And besides that he laboured under great necessities, he hastened with alacrity to a period when he might receive the most unbiased testimony of the dutiful attachment of his subjects. His discourse to the parliament was full of simplicity and cordiality. He lightly mentioned the occasion which he had for supply. He employed no intrigue to influence the suffrages of the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown who had inserted any particular sum which might be expected by him. Secure of the affections of the Commons, he was resolved that their bounty should be entirely their own deed; unassuming, unassisted; the genuine fruit of sincere confidence and regard.

The House of Commons accordingly took into consideration the business of supply. They knew that all the money granted by the last parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments; and that great anticipations were likewise made on the revenues of the crown. They were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father, who had borrowed money both from his own subjects and from foreign princes. They had learned by experience, that the public revenue could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were sensible that the present war was very lately the result of their own importunate applications and entreaties, and that they had solemnly engaged to support their sovereign in the management of it. They were acquainted with the difficulty of military enterprises, directed against the whole house of Austria; against the King of Spain, possessed of the greatest riches and most extensive dominions of any prince in Europe; against the Emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the most fortunate monarch of his age, who had subdued and astonished Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Deep impressions, they saw, must be made by the English sword, and a vigorous offensive war be waged against these mighty potentates; where they would resign a principality, which they had now fully subdued, and which they held in secure possession, by its being surrounded with all their other territories.

To answer, therefore, all these great and important ends; to satisfy their young king in the first request which he had made them; to prove their sense of the many royal virtues, particularly economy, with which Charles was endowed; the House of Commons, conducted by the wisest and ablest statesman that had ever adorned its benches in England, thought it proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000 pounds.a

This measure, which discovers rather a cruel mockery of Charles than any serious design of supporting his enterprises, was of extraordinary circumstance, when considered in all its circumstances, that it naturally summons up our attention, and raises an inquiry concerning the causes of a conduct, unprecedented in an English parliament. So numerous an assembly, composed of persons of various dispositions, was not, it is probable, wholly influenced by the same motive, while few, if any, had declared openly their true reason. We shall, therefore, approach nearer to the truth, if we mention all the views which the present conjuncture could suggest to them.

It is no more doubted, but even all against the Duke of Buckingham had an influence with many. So vast and rapid a fortune, so little merited, could not fail to excite public envy; and however men's hatred might have been such as to make a moment, while the duke's conduct seemed to gratify their passions and their prejudices, it was impossible for him long to preserve the affections of the people. His influence over the modesty of Charles exceeded even that which he had acquired over the weakness of James, nor was any public measure conducted but by his counsel and direction. His vehement temper prompted him to raise suddenly to the highest elevation his flatterers and dependents; and upon the least occasion of displeasure, he threw them down with equal impetuosity and violence. Impeachable in his hatred; fickle in his friendships: all men were either regarded as his enemies, or dreaded soon to become such. The wealth of the dukedom of the kingdom was in his unsuitable hand; while he both engrossed the entire confidence of his master, and held, invested in his single person, the most considerable offices of the crown.

However the interests of this man might have been increased by these considerations, we are not to suppose them the sole motives. The last parliament of James, amidst all their joy and festivity, had given him a supply very disproportioned to his demand and to the occasion. And so the fickle monarch, whose policy had been so longer pursued during forty years, succeeded to all the passions and principles of his predecessors; we ought rather to account for this obstinacy from the general situation of the kingdom dating that whole period, than from any circumstances which attended this particular conjuncture.

The nation was very little accustomed at that time to the burden of taxes, and had never opened their purses in any degree for supporting their sovereign. Even Elizabeth, notwithstanding her vigour and frugality, and the necessary wars in which she was engaged, had reason to complain of the Commons in this particular; nor could the authority of the princess, which was otherwise almost absolute, ever extort from them the requisite supplies. Habits, more than reason, we find in every thing to be the governing principle of mankind. In this view, likewise, the sinking of the value of subsidies must be considered as occasioned by an evident weakness of the crown, from which custom, would not augment their number in the same proportion.

The puritanical party, though dissatisfied, had not lost authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the Commons had secretly embraced the rigid tenets of that sect. All these were disgusted with the court, both by the prevalence of the principles of civil liberty essential to their party, and on account of the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy. In order to fortify himself against the resentment of James, Buckingham had affected popularity, and entered into cabals of the parliament. The weakness of the confidence of Charles, he had since abandoned this party; and on that account was the more exposed to their hatred and resentment. Though the religious schemes of many of the puritans, when explained, appeared pretty frivolous, we are not thus to imagine that they were pursued by none but persons of weak understandings. Some men of the greatest parts and most extensive knowledge that the nation at this time produced, would not enjoy unto the last hour, his dead body, when he offered up to the Divinity by a priest covered with a white linen vestment.

The match with France, and the articles in favour of catholics, though quitted him, appeared to many in the present conjuncture, were likewise causes of disgust to this whole party: though it

a A subsidy was now fallen to about 50,000 pounds. Caedova, p. 245. first edit.
must be remarked, that the connexions with that crown were much less obnoxious to the protestants, and less agreeable to the catholics, than the alliance formerly projected with Spain, and were therefore received rather with pleasure than alarm by those who had been seduced by the project.

To all these causes we must yet add another of considerable moment. The House of Commons, we may observe, was almost entirely governed by a set of men of the middle class of society, and this set of men, who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardships which some of them had undergone, in prosecution of them. Among these men were Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, these generous patriots saw with regret an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities offered them, of reducing the prerogative within reasonable compass. Though these assertions had blindingly given way to practices and precedents favourable to kingly power, and had been able, notwithstanding, to preserve some small remains of liberty; it would be impossible, they thought, when all these pretensions were moderated, and the opportunity of the age, that is to say, to maintain any shadow of popular government, in opposition to such unlimited authority in the sovereign. It was necessary to fix a choice; either to abandon entirely the interest of the nation, and the future of the age, to form and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. In this dilemma, men of such aspiring genius, and such independent fortunes, could not long deliberate; they boldly assumed the side of freedom, and resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince without extorting concessions in favour of civil liberty. The end they esteemed beneficent and noble: the means regular and certain: they resolved to try with effect the arms which the Princes who improperly lusted for an opportunity ofasserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfield had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the two houses of parliament to increase the number of men of Ireland, demanded an annual expense of 400,000 pounds; that he himself had already extirpated and anticipated in the public service his whole revenue, and had not so much as left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and his family; 4 that on his accession to the crown, he had found a debt of above 300,000 pounds, contracted by his father in support of the palatinate; and that, while Prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of 70,000 pounds, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts, the king even condescended in favour to the parliament; he said, that the request was the first he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear to him the use of parliament, and would preserve an entire harmony between him and his people.

To these reasons the Commons remained inexorable. Notwithstanding that the king's measures, on the supposition of a foreign war, which they had constantly demanded, were altogether unacceptable, they obstinately refused any further aid. Some members favourable to the court having insisted on an addition of two fifteenths to the former supply, even this pittance was refused; 5 though it was known that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in great want of pay and provisiou:s; and that Buckingham the admiral, and the treasurer of the navy, had advanced on their own credit near a hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service. Besides all their other motives, the House of Commons had made a discovery which, as they wanted but a pretence for their refusal, inflamed them against the court and against the Duke of Buckingham.

When James deserted the Spanish alliance and courted that of France, he had promised to furnish Lewis, who was entirely destitute of naval force, with one ship of war, together with seven armed vessels hired from the merchants. These the French court had pretended they would employ against the Genoese, who, being firm and useful allies to the Spanish monarchy, were naturally regarded with an evil eye, both by the King of France and of England. When these vessels by Charles's orders arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspicion that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed. That race of men, who, from great numbers and wealth, in all matters of religion, were at that time almost ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their com-

17th April.

Charles now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy which he had formerly maintained. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particular detail both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the operations which he had projected. 2 He told the parliament, that by a promise of subsidies, he had engaged the King of Denmark to take part in the war; that this monarch intended to enter into it by the north, and to reinforce those princes who impatiently lusted for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfield had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the two houses of parliament to increase the number of men of Ireland, demanded an annual expense of 400,000 pounds; that he himself had already extirpated and anticipated in the public service his whole revenue, and had not so much as left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and his family; 4 that on his accession to the crown, he had found a debt of above 300,000 pounds, contracted by his father in support of the palatinate; and that, while Prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of 70,000 pounds, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts, the king even condescended in favour to the parliament; he said, that the request was the first he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear to him the use of parliament, and would preserve an entire harmony between him and his people.

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17th April.
mander; and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ringleaders, they had it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be condemned for disobedience, than fight against his brother in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to England. The Duke knew that authority alone would not suffice, be employed much art and many subtleties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour which was spread that peace had been concluded between the French king and theSpanish, excited him to that purpose. On the 25th of July, they arrived at Dieppe they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards knighted. He ordered a squadron of twenty ships to join the French fleet, employed against the inhabitants of Rochelle. The Spanish monarch, sensible of the same consequences, secretly supported the protestants in France; and all princes had ever sacrificed to reasons of state the interests of their religion in foreign countries. All these obvious considerations had no influence. Great murmurings and discontent still prevailed in parliament. The king, though he had no ground of complaint against the French court, was thought to be as much entitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken turns in defence of their liberties and religion against the policies of other governments. He himself, from this incident, as well as from many others, that of all European nations, the British were at that time, and till long after, the most under the influence of that religious spirit which tends rather to inflame bigotry than increase peace and mutual charity.

On this occasion the Commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and reproached against some late pardons granted the priests. They attacked Muniture, one of the king's chaplains, on account of a moderate book which he had lately published, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other Christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and complaisant answer to all their remonstrances. He was, however, in his heart extremely averse to these curious measures. Though a determined protestant by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little humanity, he thought, could preserve this nation from the same excesses.

The king, finding that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and that the French were ready to use all means of duty, of the great galleys of Spain, and the Spanish people, which were characteristic of puritanism. The House of Commons discovered other unfavourable symptoms of the prevalence of that part. They petitioned the king for replacing such able clergy as had been removed. The advantage reaped by this expedition was a small compensation for the dishonour which it occasions: by means, however, of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to continue the war. The English leaders, this year, who, being disgusted in some court intrigue, took advantage of the never-failing presence of religion, in order to cover their rebellion; that the Dutch, influenced by these views, had ordered a squadron of twenty ships to join the French fleet, employed against the inhabitants of Rochelle.

That the Spanish monarch, sensible of the same consequences, secretly supported the protestants in France; and that all princes had ever sacrificed to reasons of state the interests of their religion in foreign countries. All these obvious considerations had no influence. Great murmurings and discontent still prevailed in parliament. The king, though he had no ground of complaint against the French court, was thought to be as much entitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken turns in defence of their liberties and religion against the policies of other governments. He himself, from this incident, as well as from many others, that of all European nations, the British were at that time, and till long after, the most under the influence of that religious spirit which tends rather to inflame bigotry than increase peace and mutual charity.

On this occasion the Commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and reproached against some late pardons granted the priests. They attacked Muniture, one of the king's chaplains, on account of a moderate book which he had lately published, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other Christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and complaisant answer to all their remonstrances. He was, however, in his heart extremely averse to these curious measures. Though a determined protestant by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little humanity, he thought, could preserve this nation from the same excesses.
much contested; he thought that he had by that means incapacitated them from being elected members. But his intention being so evident, rather put the Commons more upon their guard. Know of patents still remained to keep up the ill humour of the House; and men insinuated that little instruction or rhetoric to recommend to them practices which increased their own importance and consideration. The weakness of the court, also, could not more evidently appear by his being so much out of the way. The Commons, therefore, thought it expedient, in order to obtain an influence over the Commons.

Feb. 6. The views, therefore, of the last parliament were not to be contended with, and the same men had been everywhere elected, and no time had intervened since their meeting. When the king had before the House his necessities, and asked for supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths; and though they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was little proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, and ill fitted to promote those views of success and glory for which the young prince, in his first enterprise, so ardently longed. But this circumstance was not the most disagreeable one. The supply was only voted by the Commons. The passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session. A condition was therefore made of having united with the Commons for some time; and under colour of reducing grievances, which during this short reign could not be very numerous, they were to proceed in regulating and controlling every part of government, and in order to do which, and to oblige them short in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the Commons. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles at a treatment which he deemed so harsh and unconsiderate. But they saw the necessity of their measures; and, having weathered patience, observing to what side they would turn themselves.

Dissatisfaction of the Commons. The Duke of Buckingham, formerly duke of Albemarle, was a prominent of the public, and his influence was every more unpopular, by the symptoms which appeared both of his want of temper and prudence, and of the uncontrolled ascendant which he had acquired over his master. Two violent attacks were made upon the Sussex session to sustain; one from the Earl of Bristol, another from the House of Commons.

As long as James lived, Bristol, secure of the concord of that monarch, had expressed all duty and obedience; but in consequence of the unhappy events to the Duke of York's succession, he had joined with the Duke of Buckingham again. The king was extremely desirous of re-instituting himself in his former credit and authority. Even after Charles's accession he despaired not. He submitted to the king's commands of remaining at his country seat, and attempted to carry no further his measures; or, if intent to regain the good opinion of his master; but finding them all fruitless, and observing Charles to be entirely governed by Buckingham, his implacable enemy, he resolved no longer to keep any measures with the court. A new spirit he saw, and a new power, arising in the nation; and to these he was determined for the future to trust for his security and protection. 

When the parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had given orders that no writ, as is customary, should be sent to Bristol. That nobleman applied to the House of Lords by petition; and craving their good offices with the king for obtaining what was due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him,
The king seemed desirous of embracing every opportunity by which he could express a contempt and disregard for them. No one was at that time sufficiently sensible of the great weight which the Commons bore in the balance of the constitution. The history of England had never hitherto afforded one instance where any great movement or revolution had proceeded from the lower House. And as their rank, both considered in a body and individually, was but the second in the kingdom, nothing less than fatal experience could engage the English princes to pay a due regard to the inclinations of that formidable assembly.

The Earl of Salisbury, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dying about this time, Buckingham, though lying under imprisonment, was yet, by means of court-interest, chosen in his place. The Commons represented and loudly complained of this affront; and the more to enrage them, the king himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election.

The lord-keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the House not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer. And though these harsh communications were intended to be received and moderated, a few days after, by a speech of Buckingham's, they failed not to leave a disagreeable impression behind them.

Besides a more stately style which Charles in general affected to this parliament than to the last, he went so far in a message, as to threaten the Commons, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try new counsels. This language was sufficiently clear: yet enough was left uncertain and ambiguous to remain, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain, took care to explain it. "I pray you consider," said he, "what these new counsels are, or may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Councils, you know, the ambivalent opinions were used anceingly, by which those kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length by, little and little, began to stand on their prerogatives, and at last overthrow the parliaments, throughout Christendom, except here only with us. Let us be careful then to preserve the king's good opinion of parliaments, which bring such happiness to the nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his majesty and the Commons; lest we lose the repose of a free people by our turbulency in parliament. These imprudent suggestions are the more criminal, that strong precedents existed, and the custom of liberty, the Commons thought, which was to be preserved by unlimited complaisance, was no liberty at all. And it was necessary, while yet in their power, to secure the constitution by such inviolable barriers, that no king or minister should ever, for the future, dare to speak such a language to any parliament, or even entertain such a project against them.

Two members of the House, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliott, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke, were thrown into prison. The Commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no further upon business, till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged, as the reason of this measure, certain seditious expressions, which, he said, had, in their accusation of the duke, dropped from these members. Upon inquiry, it appeared that such speeches had been used. The members were released, and the king repaid no other benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the House still further, and to show some degree of precipitancy and indiscretion.

Moved by this example, the House of Peers were roused from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the Earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower. After many fruitless evasions, the king, though somewhat ungracefully, was at last obliged to comply. And in this incident it sufficiently appeared that the Lords, how little so ever employed, in whose hands the king's coffers, were not wanting in just sense of their own dignity.

The ill humour of the Commons, thus wantonly irritated by the court, and finding no gratification in the legal impeachment, Buckingham, sought other objects on which it might exert itself. The never-failing cry of popery here served them instead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against Catholics; and they presented to the king a list of persons mistrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants. To this in particular, they had, perhaps, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last House of Commons a redress of this religious grievance; but he was apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine that the parliament, when they failed of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance. A new odium, therefore, was forced upon Buckingham. His mother, who had a great influence over him, was a professed catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion; and the indulgence given to catholics was now supposed to be ill-rewarded by his credit and authority. So violent was the bigotry of the times, that it was thought a sufficient reason for disqualifying any one from holding an office, that his wife, or relations, or companions, were papists, though he himself was no catholic.

It is remarkable, that persecution was here chiefly pushed on by laymen; and that the church was willing to have granted more liberty than would be allowed by the Commons. The king himself, like Montague, failed not anew to meet with severe censures from that zealous assembly.

The next attack made by the Commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new impostions laid on merchandise by James, constituted near half the king's revenues, was a matter of which the king's resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure that nothing could be refused them. Though, before căpable of any thing like a substantial command, the king, and they found themselves utterly incapable of fixing any legal crime upon the duke, they regarded him as an unable and perhaps a dangerous minister; and they intimated to present a petition, which would then have been equivalent to a command, for removing him from his majesty's person and councils.

The king was alarmed at the yoke which he saw prepared for him. Buckingham's sole guilt, he thought, was being his friend and favourite. All the other complaints against him were mere pretences. A little before he was the idol of the people. No new crime had since been discovered against the monarch, the lord high-chancellor, by the greatest malice, the smallest appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he asked, must all mankind entertain of his honour, should he sacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary considerations? What further authority should he retain in the nation, were he capable, in the beginning of his reign, to give, in so signal a

The prince, desired by the many unavoidable causes of delay, believed that they still adhered to him.

I John Keswick. See also the Parliament before the same situation was supposed, when they in a much hurried manner, by their impetuous, irrespective, and even irrational alacrity, in which they said, Sir Charles himself was certainly deceived by Buckingham, when he connected allegiance to the person of his king with the liberties of his people, however inconsistent in their representations or the transactions they represented. They supposed that James had, with equal sincerity, been so long deceived by them; they represented them as having by their representations, the same proceedings as the House, were, in fact, but the same; the same manner of false loyalty in their narrative to the parliament. The truth is, they were not engaged to sacrifice the king, though, on the contrary, they were not even consulted by James, and were at last overcome. They became serious; but
an instance, such matter of triumph to his enemies, and disappointment to his adherents. To-day the Commons pretended to that effect; but they knew he will attack some branch of his prerogative. By their remonstrances, and promises, and protestations, they had engaged the crown in a war. As soon as they saw a retreat impossible, without losing for new incidents, without covering themselves with new pretences, they immediately deserted him, and refused him all reasonable supply. It was evident, that they desired nothing so much as to see him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which the country, and not they, would be the professed and deep, so to unbounded usurpations, it was necessary to oppose a proper firmness and resolution. All encroachments on supreme power could only be resisted successfully on the first attempt. The sovereign authority with such difficulty, reduced from its ancient and legal height; but when once pushed downwards, it soon became contemptible, and would easily, by the continuance of the same effort, now encouraged by success, be carried to the lowest extremity.

Promised by these plausible motives, Charles was determined immediately to dissolve the parliament. When this resolution was known, the House of Peers, whose confidence he had lost, and which he endeavoured to interpose, and they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to sit some time longer. Not a moment longer, cried the king hastily; and he soon after ended the session by a dissolution.

As this measure was foreseen, the Commons took care to finish and dispose their remonstrance, which they intended as a justification of their conduct to the people. 15th June. The king likewise, on his part, published a declaration, in which he gave the reasons of his disagreement with the parliament, and of their sudden dissolution, before they had time to conclude any one act. These papers furnished the partisans on both sides with ample matter of attack and counter-attack. But all impartial men judged that the Commons, though they had not as yet violated any law, yet, by their unphableness and independence, were insensibly changing, perhaps improving, the spirit and genius, while they preserved the form, of the constitution; and that the king was acting altogether without any plan; running on in a round surrounded on all sides with the most dangerous precipices, and concerning no proper measures, either for submitting to the obstinacy of the Commons, or for subduing it. After a breach with the parliament, which seemed so difficult to repair, the only rational counsel which Charles could pursue, was, immediately to conclude a peace with Spain, and to neglect the knavery and disaffection of the people, who discovered so little inclination to support him, or rather who seem to have formed a determined resolution to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy in the execution than this measure, nor more agreeable to his own and to national interest. But besides the treaties and engagements which he had entered into with Holland and Denmark, the king's thoughts were at this time averse to pacific counsels. There are two circumstances in Charles's character seemingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole course of his reign, and were in part the cause of his misfortunes: he was very steady and even obstinate in his purpose; and he was easily governed, by reason of his faculty, and of his deference to men much inferior to himself in both and understanding. His great ends he inflexibly maintained: but the means of attaining them he readily received from his successors and favourites, though not always fortunate in his choice. The violent, imperious Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries which he himself bad committed, and animated with a love of glory which he had no talents to merit, at this time, notwithstanding the hatred and the censure of the royal, acquired such an admirable descendant over the virtuous and gentle temper of the king.

The new councils, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Had he possessed any military force, on which he could rely, it is not improbable, that he had at once taken off his arms, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges. So high an army as he had received of knyly prerogative, and some of the so contemptible a notion of the rights of court.

Those popular assemblies, from which he very naturally thought he could not be separated with such ill usage. But his army was now levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; nowise superior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were in a great measure under the influence of the army. It behoved him, therefore, to proceed cautiously, and to cover his enterprises under the pretence of ancient precedents, which, considering the great authority commonly enjoyed by his predecessors, could not be wanting to himself.

A commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them. By this expedient, the king both filled his coffers, and gratified his inclination of giving indulgence to these religioBists; but he could not have employed any branch of prerogative which would have been more disagreeable, or would have appeared more exceptionable to his protestant subjects.

From the novelty of the grand behaviour of the assembly: from the city he required a loan of 100,000 pounds. The former contributed slowly: but the latter, covering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave him at last a flat refusal. In order to equip a fleet, a distribution, by order of council, was made of the maritime counties: to whom of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them.

The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of shamborough; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps further by Charles, created such violent discontent.

Of some, loans to others, the way of benevolence was proposed: methods supported by precedent, but always invasions, even in times more submissive and compliant. In the most absolute governments such expedients would be regarded as irregular and unequal.

These councils for supply were conducted with some moderation; till news arrived that a great battle was fought between the King of Denmark and Count Tilly, the imperial general; in which the former was totally defeated. Money now, more than ever, became necessary, in order to repair so great a breach in the alliance, and to support a prince who was so nearly allied to Charles, and who had been engaged in the war against the emperor, by the interest and power of his younger brother. For some time after this defeat, an act of council was passed, importing, that as the regency of affairs admitted not the way of parliament, the most speedy, equal, and convenient method of supply was by a general loan from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. That precise sum was required which each would have paid, had the vote of four subsidies passed into a law: but care was taken to inform the people, that the sums exacted were not to be called subsidies, but loans. Had any doubt remained, whether forced loans, however authorized by precedent, and even by statute, were a violation of liberty, and must, by necessary consequence, render all parliaments superfluous; this was the proper expedient for opening the eyes of the whole nation. The example of Henry VIII., who had once, in his arbitrary reign, practised a like method of levying a regular supply, was generally deemed a very insufficient authority.

The commissioners appointed to levy these loans, among other articles of secret instruction, were enjoined, "If any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays or excuses, and not open and declare all that concerneth him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used to that purpose? And that they also shall charge every such per-
son, in his majesty’s name, upon his allegiance, not to decline to any one what his answer was. b So violent an inquisitorial power, so impracticable an attempt at secr{ety, were the objects of indignation, and even, in some degree, of ridicule. The refuge of religious prejudices might support civil authority, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Manswaring, in favour of the general loan; and the court industriously spread them over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there the rule in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a constitution were rejected as seditious and impious. c So openly was this doctrine espoused by the court, that Archbishop Abbot, a popular and venerable prelate, who requested from the king’s personal body and state, to be an active sufferer, who had submitted to the system, which with so little necessity was introduced into politics, falling under more fortunate management, was played with the most terrible success against him.

The king, injured by anger and necessity, thus employed the whole extent of his prerogative, the spirit of the people was far from being subdued. Throughout England, many refused these loans; some were even active in encouraging their neighbours to insist upon their constituencies, as a protest of the council, which were thrown into prison. d Most of them with patience submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who commonly released them. Five colonels among the soldiers, Sir Thomas Darnell, Sir John Penn, Sir John Henners, Sir John Delevingne, and Sir Edmond Hambden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expense, to defend the public liberties, and to demand repletion, not as a favour from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. e No particular cause was assigned of their remission. The special command alone of the king and council was pleaded; and it was asserted, that, by law, this was not sufficient reason for releasing or repletion to the prisoners.

November. This question was brought to a solemn trial before the King’s Bench; and the whole kingdom was alive to the issue of a cause, which was of much greater consequence than that of the season. By the debates on this subject it appeared, beyond controversy, to the nation, that their ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against arbitrary power in the crown, by six several statutes, f and by an article g of the Great Charter itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution. But the kings of England who had not been able to prevent the enacting of these laws, had sufficient authority, when the title of liberty was spent, to obstruct their regular execution; and they deemed it superfluous to attempt the formal repeal of statutes which they found so many expedients and pretexts to evade. Turbulent and seditious times frequently occurred, when the safety of the people absolutely required the confinement of factious leaders; and by the genius of the old constitution, the prince, of himself, was accustomed to assume every branch of prerogative, which was found necessary for the preservation of public peace and of his own authority. Expediency at other times would cover itself under the appearance of necessity; and in proportion as precedents multiplied, the will alone of the sovereign was sufficient to supply the place of expediency, of which be constituted himself the sole judge. In an age and nation where the power of a turbulent nobility prevailed, and where the king had no settled military force, the only means that could maintain public peace, was the exertion of such prompt and discretionary powers in the crown; and the spirit of the whole had become so imitative, that those ancient laws in favour of personal liberty, while often violated, had never been challenged or revived during the course of near three centuries. Though rebellious subjects had frequently, in the open field, resisted the king’s authority; no person had been found so bold, when confined and at mercy, as to set himself in opposition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the constitution against the will of the sovereign. It was not till this age, when the spirit of liberty was universally diffused, that the principles of government were nearly reduced to a system, when the tempers of men, more civilized, seemed less to require those violent exertions of prerogative, that these five gentlemen above mentioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cause, to bring the question to a final determination. And the king was assuredly to observe, that a power exercised by his predecessors, almost without interruption, was found, upon trial, to be directly opposite to the clearest laws, and supported by few undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. These had scarcely, in any instance, refused bail upon commitments by special command of the king; cause the persons committed had seldom or never dared to demand it, at least to insist on their demand.

Sir Randall Crew, chief justice, had been nominated by the court: Sir Nicholas Lyde, esteemed more obsequious, had obtained that high office: yet the judges, by his direction, went no further than to remand the gentleman to prison, and refuse the bail which was offered. h Heathie, the attorney-general, repeatedly offered a sentence of the judges in the 34th of Elizabeth, i should enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment by the king or council. j But the judges wisely declined a decision, which might have rendered the last degree exasperated. In the present disposition of men’s minds, universal complaints prevailed, as if the kingdom were reduced to slavery. And the most invincible prerogative of the crown, it was said, that of imprisoning the subject, is here openly and solemnly, and in numerous instances, exercised for the most invidious purpose: in order to extort loans, or rather subsidies, without consent of parliament.

But this was not the only hardship of which the nation then thought they had reason to complain. The army, which had made the fruitless expedition to Cadiz, was dispersed throughout the kingdom; and money was levied upon whatever was capable of being taxed, for the maintenance of their quinquennial service. k The soldiers were billeted upon private houses, contrary to custom, which required that, in all ordinary cases, they should be quartered in inns and public-houses. l Those who had refused or delayed the loans, were sure to be loaded with a great number of these dangerous and disorderly guests.

Many too, of low condition, who had shown a refractory disposition, were pressed into the service, and enlisted in the fleet or army. m Sir Peter Haxman, for the same reason, was despatched on an errand to the palatinate. n Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former period of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy. o The soldiers, ill paid and undisciplined, committed many crimes and outrages, and much increased the public discourses of disorder, martial law, so requisite to the support of discipline, which was felt in every part of the kingdom. By a contradiction, which is natural when the people are exasperated, the outrages of the army were complained of; the remedy was thought still more intolerable. p Though the expediency, if we are not to rather
say the necessity, of martial law had formerly been deemed, of itself, a sufficient ground for establishing it; men, now become more jealous of liberty, and more refined reasons in questions of government, regarded as illegal and arbitrary, every exercise of authority which was not supported by express statute or uninterrupted precedent.

It may safely be affirmed, that, except a few courtiers or ecclesiastics, all men were displeased with this high exercise of prerogative, and that the reign of administration.

The most ancient prerogatives were pleaded in favour of the king's measures; a considerable difference, upon comparison, was observed between the cases. Acts of power, however irregular, might casually, and at intervals, be exercised; but the power of constant and uninterrupted exertion of arbitrary rule, and yet liberty still subsist in some tolerable degree under his administration. But where all these were reduced into a system, were exerted without interruption, were studiously sought for, in order to supply the places of laws, and subdue the refractory spirit of the nation, it was necessary to find some speedy remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes of preserving the freedom of the constitution. Nor did many of these men esteem the prerogation which the king had received, though great, sufficient to warrant all these violent measures. The Commons, as yet, had nowhere invaded his authority: they had only exercised, as best pleased themselves, the power to tax. It was because he had been in one House of Parliament had he met with hardihood, and indolent treatment, to make in revenue an invasion on the rights and liberties of the whole nation.

But generally, a bold man is the most generous of all men, when Judas, baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, emboldened with his own subjects, supplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures; as if the half of Europe, now ruled by young princes, Philip, Louis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves, and of their kingdoms, to their creatures and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham, were not in the first instance, nor in the second, willing to leave the inheritance to their children, and the genius of their princes would have allowed to remain for ever in tranquillity, were strongly agitated by the emulation and jealousy of the ministers. Above all, the towering spirit of Richelieu, incapable of rest, promised as active age, and gave indications of great revolutions throughout all Europe.

This man had no sooner, by supplication and intrigue, gotten possession of the reins of government, than he formed at once three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirits of the great, to reduce the rebellious hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. Undoubted and irrefragable, prudent and active, he braved all dangers, and used all means to restrain the French princes and nobles in the prosecution of his vengeance; he discovered and dissipated all their secret cabals and conspiracies. His sovereign himself he held in subjection, while he exalted the throne. Then, their while, he kept fearfully by the sword, by means of his administration, learning, order, discipline, and renown. That confused and inaccurate genius of government, of which France partook in common with other European nations, was only necessary at the very time when the incapacity of Buckingham encouraged the free spirit of the Commons to establish in England a regular system of liberty.

The correspondence between these ministers, Buckingham had entertained a mighty jealousy against Richelieu; a jealousy not founded on rivalship of power and politics, but of love and gallantry; where the duke was as much superior to the cardinal, as he was inferior in every other particular.

At the time when Charles married by proxy the Princess Henrietta, the Duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen into England. The eyes of the French court were directed by curiosity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favours of the monarchs, and, lastly, from a private station, had mounted, in the earliest youth, to the absolute government of three kingdoms. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, his fine taste in dress, festivals, and entertainments, corresponded to the expectations entertained in his favour: the affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expense, increased still further the general admiration which was paid him. All business being already concert to the tune of sight in a situation where he was perfectly qualified to excel. But his great success at Paris proved as fatal as from his former failure at Madrid. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious addresses to the queen herself; and he failed not to make impression on her by his artifice. 

In the entirely disposed to the gaiety and gaiety. The cardinal's disappointment strongly inclined him to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival. When the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Louis, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion he swore, That he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France; and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He first took advantage of some quarrels excited by the Queen of England's ambassadors, and, by a convention between the two countries, arranged for the dismissal at once all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants; and these he forsook with considerable prizes, by a sentence of the court of admiralty. But finding that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to second the intrigues of the Duke of Soubré, and to undertake at once a military expedition against that kingdom.

Soubré, who, with his brother the Duke of Rohan, was the leader of the hugonot faction, was at that time in England, and strongly solicited Charles in embrace of protection of these distressed religious. He represented, that after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been repressed by the combined squadrons of England and Holland, after a war was concluded with the French king, under Charles's mediation, the ambitious cardinal was still meditating the destruction of the hugonots; that preparations were silently making in every province of France for the suppression of their religion; that the people of England were distressed at the news of the suppression at Rochelle, the most considerable bulwark of the Protestants; that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, and considered him as a prince engaged for their interest, as an object of their devotion; that, so long as their party subsisted, Charles might rely on their attachment as much as on that of his own subjects;
but if their liberties were once ravished from them, the power of France, freed from this impediment, would soon become formidable to England, and to all the neighbouring states.

Though Charles probably bore but small favour to the hugonots, who so much resembled the puritans in discipline and worship, to religion and politics, he yet allowed himself to be guided by these arguments, enforced by the solicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of 7000 men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them intrusted to the command of the duke, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and sea service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle; but so ill concerted were Buckingham's measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit others, who appeared they were to capture them. The fleet was dispersed; and all his military operations showed equal inactivity and inexpertise. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island and defenceless, he bent his course to the Isle of Rée, which was well provisioned and fortified: having landed his men, though with some loss, he followed not the blow, but allowed Torres, the French governor, five days respite; during which St. Martin was victualled and provoked for a siege. He left behind the small fort of Prée, which could at first have made no manner of resistance: though resolved to starve St. Martin, he guarded the sea negligently, and allowed provisions and ammunition to be thrown into it: despairing of gaining by the way, he attacked it without having made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers: having found that a French army had stolen over in small divisions, and had landed at Prée, the fort which he had at first overlooked, he began to think of a retreat; but made it so unskillfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout: he was the last of the army that embarked; and he returned to England, having lost two of his demi-brigades, totally disconcerted by his own admiral and a general; and bringing no praise with him, but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

The Duke of Rothes, who had taken arms as soon as Buckingham did, was forbidden to assemble his followers, and discovered the danger of the sect, without being able to do any mischief: the inhabitants of Rochelle, who had at last been induced to join the English, hastened the vengeance of their master, exhausted the last resources in supplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate siege. Such were the fruits of Buckingham's expedition against France.

CHAP. LI.


A. D. 1627.

There was reason to apprehend some disorder or insurrection, from the discontent which prevailed among the people in England. Their liberties, they believed, were ravished from them; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had met with a severe check from the Spanish, was totally annihilated by the French war: those military honours transmitted to them from their ancestors had received a grievous strain, by two unsuccessful and ill-conducted expeditions; scarce an illustrious family but mourned, from the last of them, the loss of a son or brother: greater calamities were dreaded from the war with these powerful monarchies, concurring with the internal disorders under which the nation laboured. And these ills were ascribed, not to the refractory disposition of the two former parliaments, to which they were partly owing; but solely to Charles's obstinacy, in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham; a man nowise entitled by his birth, age, services, or merit, to that unlimited confidence reposed in him. To be sacrificed to the interests, policy, and ambition of the great, is so much the common lot of the people, that they may appear unreasonable who would pretend to complain of it: but to be the victim of the frivolous gallantry of a favourite, and of his boisterous caprices, seemed the object of peculiar indignation.

In the present period, it may be imagined that the duke dreaded above all things the assembling of a parliament: but so little foresight had they possessed in their entering schemes, that they found themselves under an absolute necessity to call it in. The expedition was now judged of money levied, or rather extorted, under colour of prerogative, had come in very slowly, and had left such ill-humour in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment of so unnecessary a supply; it was hoped it would engage the Commons to forget all past injuries; and having experienced the all effects of former obstinacy, they would probably assemble with a resolution of making some less expensive security. This argument was, in effect, concerted, by Sir Robert Cotton's advice, that Buckingham should be the first person that proposed in council the calling of a new parliament. Having laid in Third parliment

stock of merit, he expected that all his former misdemeanours would be overlooked and forgiven; and that, instead of a tyrant and oppressor, he should be regarded as the first patriot in the nation.

The views of the popular hall were much more judicious and profoud. When the Commons assembled, they appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of so much riches, that their property was computed to be sufficient for the purpose of the war. Both houses were deputed by boroughs and counties, inflamed all of them by the late violations of liberty; many of the members themselves had been cast into prison, and had suffered by the measures of the court; and all the circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace violent resolutions, they entered upon business with perfect temper and decorum. They considered, that the king, disgusted with these squabbles, would be farther satisfied, if his way should not do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, and the publick purse. The king's subject, by the Speaker, thus adjourned, "This way of parliamentary supplies, as his majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of those most gracious dispositions, and to the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy make way for the others. Remember his majesty's admonition; I say, remember it." From these solemn words, the Commons foresaw that if the least hand were afforded, the king would immediately dissolve them, and would thenceforward deem himself justified for violating, in a manner still more open, all the ancient forms of the constitution. No remedy could then be looked for, but from insurrections and civil war, of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and which must, in all events, prove calamitous to the nation. To correct the late disorders in the administration, he required some new laws, which would, no doubt, appear hard to a prince so enamoured of his prerogative; and it was requisite to temper, by the decency and moderation of their debates, the rigour which must necessarily attend their discussion. Nothing was higher a idea of the capacity of those men who now guided the Commons, and of the great authority which they had acquired, than the forming and executing of so judicious and so necessary a plan of operation.

The decency, however, which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, and recommended to others,
hindered them not from making the loudest and most vigorous complaints against the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured. Sir Francis Seymour said, "This is the great council of the kingdom, and here with certainty, if not heretofore, his majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom." We are called hither by his writ, in order to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour: and thus we must do, without flatery. Let us not act like Cambyses's judges, who, when their approbation was demanded by the prince to some illegal measure, said that though there was a written letter, he would not give his consent, as if it were their own end and pleasure. This was base flattery, fitter for our reproof than our imitation; and as far, so flattery, take away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his majesty, without neglecting the public.

But how can we express our affections, while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have anything to give! For if his majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give?

"That this hath been done, appear by the billeting of soldiers, a thing nowise advantageous to the king's service, and a burden to the commonwealth; and by the commission of illegal seizures of goods. But if they had done the contrary for fear, had been as blamable as the projectors of that oppressive measure. To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached in the pulpit, or rather stated, that all these goods are to be taken from him, and his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of our forefathers, who still preferred the peace of their private interest, any, before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterity, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretense."

"read of a custom," said Sir Robert Philips, "among the other nations, that, once every year, they held a solemn festival, in which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds, and, on the conclusion of the festival, the slaves were discharged and given their liberty, with guilds, at the expense of the late owners."

"This institution may, with some distinction, well set forth our present state and condition. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have now, at last, as slaves to those slaves, obtained, for a day, some liberty of speech: but shall not I, trust, be hereafter slaves: for we are born free. Yet what new illegal burdens our estates and persons have grown under, my heart yearns to think of, my tongue failers to utter.

"The grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty.

"Our liberties, and judgments, passed within his memory; that by which the Scots, born after James's accession, were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects; that by which the new impositions had been warranted, and the customs, the illegal few impositions were authorized; he thus proceeded:

"I can live, though another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burdened with impositions, beyond what is present at present I those slaves; but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ransacked from me; to have my person put up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,—O, impious ancestors! O, unwise forefathers! I be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties! Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?

"I am weary of reading these ways; and therefore conclude to have power of a committee, in order to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of these grievances. And this petition being read, examined, and approved, may be delivered to the king, of whose gracious answer we have no cause to fear. For no man has a reasonable expectation of so moderate, so reasonable, our intentions so loyal, and the manner so dutiful. Neither need we fear, that this is the critical parliament, as has been insinuated; or that this is the way to distraction; but assure ourselves of a happy issue. Then shall the king, as he calls us his great council, find us his true council, and own us his good council."
benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, martial law; these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The Commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges; they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted from their ancestors: and their law they Petition of Right, resolved to call a Petition of Right; as Summons of some sort. The Commons in a declaration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

While the committee was engaged in framing the petition, the favourites of each party, both in parliament and throughout the nation, were engaged in disputes about this bill, which, in all likelihood, was to form a memorable era in the English government.

That these statutes, and the particulars of the Commons, which secure English liberty, are not become obsolete, appears hence, that the English have ever been free, and have ever been governed by law and a limited constitution. Privileges in particular, which are founded on the Great Charter, must always remain in force, because derived from a source of never-failing authority; regarded in all ages as the most sacred contract between king and people. Such a charter was paid to the charter by their ancestors, that they got the confirmation of it reiterated thirty several times; and even secured it by a rule, which, though visibly received, seems in the execution impracticable. They have established it as a maxim, To be shot dead in a cottage, to be executed by a justice of the peace, to any article of that charter, cannot have force or validity. But, with regard to that important article which secures personal liberty, so far from attempting, at any time, any lessening of it, they have enacted, by capitulations, statutes, and put it out of all doubt and controversy. If in practice it has often been violated, abuses can never come in the place of rules; nor can any rights or legal privileges be extinguished by statute. A free monarchy in which every individual is a slave, is a glaring contradiction; and it is requisite, where the laws assign privileges to the different orders of the state, that it likewise secure the independence of the members. If any difference could be made in this particular, it was better to abandon even life or property to the arbitrary will of the prince; nor would such immediate danger ensue, from that concession, to the laws and to the privileges of the people. To because of his life a man may suffer any legal trial or execution of tyranny, that it must at once shock the national humanity of princes, and convey an alarm throughout the whole commonwealth. To confiscate a man's fortune, besides its being a most atrocious abuse of violence, exposes the monarch to much to the imputation of avarice and rapacity, that it will seldom be attempted in any civilized government. But confinement, though a less striking, is no less severe, a punishment; nor is there any spirit so erect and independent, as not to be broken by the long continuance of the silent and ignominious sufferings of a jail. The power of imprisonment, therefore, being the most natural and potent engine of arbitrary government, is necessarily necessary to remove it from a government which is free and legal.

The partisans of the court reasoned after a different manner. The true rule of government, said they, during any period, is that to which the people, from time immemorial, have been accustomed, and to which they naturally pay a prompt obedience. A practice which has ever struck their senses, and of which they have seen and heard innumerable precedents, has authority with them much superior to that which attends maxims derived from antiquated statutes and mouldy records. In vain do the lawyers establish it as a principle, that a statute can never be altered by the hand of posterity; in vain the Commons Resolved to alter a contrary statute; while they pretend to institute an axiom peculiar to English jurisprudence, they violate the most established principles of human nature; and even, by necessary consequence, reason in contradiction to itself, which they would represent as so sacred and inviolable. A law, to have any authority, must be derived from a legislature which has right. And whence do all legislatures derive their right but from long custom and established practice? If a statute contrary to public good be passed by them, and is governed to, either from the violence of faction or the inexperience of senators and princes, it cannot be more effectually abrogated, than by a trun of contrary precedents, which prove, that, by common consent, it has tacitly been set aside as inconvenient and impracticable. Such has been the case with all those statutes enacted during turbulent times in order to limit royal prerogative, and cramp the sovereign in his protection of the public, and his execution of the laws. But above all branches, previously voted and enacted, which is most necessary to be preserved, is the power of imprisonment. Faction and discontent, like diseases, frequently arise in every political body; and during these disorders, it is by the salutary executive alone of this discretionary power, that rebellions and civil wars can be prevented. To circumscribe this power is to destroy its nature: entirely to abrogate it, is impracticable; and the attempts itself to abrogate it are dangerous. The Supreme magistrate, in critical and turbulent times, will never, agreeably either to prudence or duty, allow the state to perish, while there remains a remedy, which, though irregular soever, is still in his power to apply. Such a man as the king, when he employs any exercis of power condemned by recent and express statute, bow greedily, in such dangerous times, will fictious leaders seize this pretence of throwing on his government, and making it answerable to the Commons. Were the alternative quite necessary, it were surely much better for human society to be deprived of liberty than to be destitute of government.

Importance of the subject from this statute. But, unless, that this subject is not, on both sides, without its difficulties. Where a general and rigid law is enacted against arbitrary imprisonment, it would appear, that government cannot, in times of sedition and faction, be conducted but by temporizing, which is most necessary to be preserved, is the power of imprisonment. Faction and discontent, like diseases, frequently arise in every political body; and during these disorders, it is by the salutary executive alone of this discretionary power, that rebellions and civil wars can be prevented. To circumscribe this power is to destroy its nature: entirely to abrogate it, is impracticable; and the attempts itself to abrogate it are dangerous. The Supreme magistrate, in critical and turbulent times, will never, agreeably either to prudence or duty, allow the state to perish, while there remains a remedy, which, though irregular soever, is still in his power to apply. Such a man as the king, when he employs any exercis of power condemned by recent and express statute, bow greedily, in such dangerous times, will fictious leaders seize this pretence of throwing on his government, and making it answerable to the Commons. Were the alternative quite necessary, it were surely much better for human society to be deprived of liberty than to be destitute of government.

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pleased in secret that all their solicitations had been eluded by the Commons, quickly passed the petition without any material alteration; and nothing but the royal assent was wanting to give the force of law to the act. The king accordingly came to the House of Peers; sent for the Commons; and being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men, when, instead of the usual concise and clear manner by which he had hitherto received petitions, Charles said, in answer to the petition, “The king willfully, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of wrong, or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in advantage as much obliged as of his own prerogative.”

It is surprising that Charles, who had seen so many instances of the jealousy of the Commons, who had himself so much roused that jealousy by his frequent evasive messages during this session, could imagine that they would rest satisfied with an answer so vague and undetermined. It was evident, that the unusual form alone of the answer must excite their attention; that the disputation must inflame their anger; and that therefore it was necessary, as the petition seemed to bear hard on royal prerogative, to come early to the fixed resolution, either gracefully to comply with it, or courageously to reject it.

It happened as might have been foreseen. The Commons were in very ill humour. Usually, when in that disposition, their zeal for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate catholics, ran extremely high. But they had already, in the beginning of the session, presented their petition of religion, and had received a satisfactory answer; though they expected that the execution of the laws against papists would, for the future, be no more exact and rigid than they had hitherto found it. To give vent to their present indignation, they fell with their utmost force on the excursion.

There is nothing which tends more to excuse, if not justify, the extreme rigour of the Commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles as were altogether incompatible with a limited government. Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the Commons found, upon inquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and, when this sermon was laid before them, contained doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that though property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet, whenever any exigence required supply, all property was transferred to the sovereign; the present of property was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his subjects. For these doctrines the Commons impeached Manwaring.

The sentence, pronounced upon him by the Pals, was, that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House, be fined a thousand pounds to the king, make submission and acknowledgment for his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book be called in and burned.

It may be worthy of notice, that so soon as the session ended, this man, so justly so odious to both Houses, received a pardon and was promoted to a living of considerable value. Some years after, he was raised to the see of St. Asaph. If the republican spirit of the Commons, beyond all the monarchical spirit of the court, this latter, carried to a high pitch, tended still further to augment the former.

And thus extremes were everywhere affected, and the just medium was gradually deserted by all men.

From Manwaring, the House of Commons proceeded to consider the petition of the Lords, and the force of all their and the Lords. As hitherto they had cautiously born to mention. In vain did the king send them a message, in which he told them, that the session was drawing near to a conclusion; and that they would not enter upon new business, but to the last adhesion to the government and ministry. Though the court endeavoured to explain and soften this message by a subsequent message; as Charles was apt hastily to correct any hasty step which he had taken; it may be seen by the conduct of the Commons: as if the method of their proceedings had here been prescribed to them. It was foreseen, that a great tempest was ready to burst on the duke; and in order to divert it, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the Lords and Commons, to endeavour giving them satisfaction with regard to the petition of right. He came therefore to the House of Peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, Let it be law as is declared. gave full sanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the House resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the nation, showed how much this petition had been the object of all men’s views and expectations.

It may be seen by the fixed resolution, that the king’s assent to the petition of right produced such a change in the government, as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing, in so many articles, the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject. Yet were the Commons far from being satisfied with this important concession. Their ill humour had been so much irritated by the king’s frequent evasive and evasive answers, that it could not be appeased by an assent, which he allowed to be so reluctantly extorted from him. Perhaps too the popular leaders, unpard and artful, saw the opportunity favourable; and, turning against the king those very weapons with which he had furnished them, resolved to pursue the victory. The bill, however, for five subsidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately passed the House; because the granting of that supply was, in a manner, tacitly contracted for, upon the royal assent to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no further confidence could have subsisted between king and parliament. Having made this concession, the Commons continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. In some particulars their industry was laudable; in some it may be liable to censure.

A little after writs were issued for summoning this parliament, the House of Commons elected Mr. Thomas Coventry, lord-keeper, the Earl of Marlborough, treasurer, the Earl of Manchester, president of the council, the Earl of Worcester, presi-ed, the Duke of Buckingham, high admiral, and all the considerable officers of the crown; in the whole thirty-three. By this commission, which, from the number of persons named in it, could be so secret, the commissioners were empowered to meet and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise: Where form and circumstance, as expressed in the commission, must be dispensed with, rather than the substance be lost or hazardous. In other words, this was a scheme for finding expedients, which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render parliaments entirely useless. The Commons applied for cancelling the commission; and were, no doubt, desirous that all the world should conclude the king’s prerogative was extremely arbitrary, and should observe what little regard he was disposed to pay to the liberties and privileges of his people.
A commission had likewise been granted, and some money remitted, in order to raise a thousand German horse, and transport them into England. These were supposed to be in readiness, in order to support the projected insurrections or exercises; though the number seems insufficient for such a purpose: the House took notice of this design, in severe terms: and no measure, surely, could be projected more generally odious to the whole nation. It may, however, be said, that he had now, at last, fallen on the only effectual method for supporting his prerogative. But at the same time be should have been sensible, that, till provided with a sufficient military force, all his attempts, in opposition to the rising spirit of the nation, must, in the end, prove wholly fruitless; and that the higher he screwed up the springs of government, while he had so little real power to retain them in that forced situation, with more fatal violence must they fly out, when any accident occurred to restore them to their natural action.

The Commons next resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct and behaviour, against whom they were implacable. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance which could render the whole administration despicable and odious. They observed, in this sense, that it amounted to no less than a toleration, hateful to God, full of dishonour and disprofit to his majesty, and of extreme scandal and grief to his good people: they took notice of the many conductors of this policy, and the petition of right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy; they mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to Arminians, the commissaries for transporting German horse, that for levying illegal impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill conduct of the Duke of Buckingham. This remonstrance was, perhaps, not the less provoking to Charles, because it was a moment pulling at the very bow-string of the subject, they were preserved in it, as in most of the remonstrances of that age, an affected civility and submission in the language. And as it was the first return which he met with for his late beneficial concessions, and for his sacrifices of prerogative, the greatest by far ever made by an English sovereign, nothing could be more the object of just and natural indignation.

It was not with the grounds that the Commons were so fierce and assuming. Though they had already granted the king the supply of five subsidies, they still retained a pledge in their hands, which they thought insured them success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had been granted by Parliament, but the Commons had artfully, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they justly deemed of such importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the

 Premises, petition of right, so lately granted.

The king, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting this remonstrance, came suddenly to the parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation.

The first fruit and issue from the embracement of this assembly, Charles began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally unsuccessful, as in his domestic government. The Earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was despatched to the relief of Rocheste, now closely besieged by hand, and threatened with a blockade by sea: but he returned without effecting any thing; and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation either of not wishing proper endeavours. In this state of things, however, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. This was a step the Commons never expected or suspected the king was likely to take. The Commons, therefore, at the same time, seized this decisive measure of the king's expectation. The same mutinous spirit which had so lately

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House of Commons, had diffused itself over the nation; and the commissioners appointed for making the assessments, had conversed at all frauds which might diminish the supply, and to the king's revenues. This national discontent, communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out in an event, which may be considered as remarkable.

There was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent and melanchohlic temper, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed, in the retreat at the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. While this private resentment was boiling in his sullen, unsociable mind, he heard the nation resound with complaints against the duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the Commons, in which his enemy was represented as the cause of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticism further inflamed these vindictive reflections; and he fancied that he should do Heaven acceptable service, if, at one blow, he dispatched this dangerous foe to religion and to his country.

From these dark views he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his bloody purpose.

He engaged in conversation with Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiment arising arose, the dispute, though conducted with temper and decency, had produced some heat; and the petitioner of right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy; they mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to Arminians, the commissaries for transporting German horse, that for levying illegal impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill conduct of the Duke of Buckingham. This remonstrance was, perhaps, not the less provoking to Charles, because it was a moment pulling at the very bow-string of the subject, they were preserved in it, as in most of the remonstrances of that age, an affected civility and submission in the language. And as it was the first return which he met with for his late beneficial concessions, and for his sacrifices of prerogative, the greatest by far ever made by an English sovereign, nothing could be more the object of just and natural indignation.

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that they needed not to trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not even intrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat were found; for that believing he should perish in the midst of his friends, he went by the shortest way to them.5

When the king was informed of this assassination, he received the news in public with an unmoved and undisturbed countenance; and the courtiers, who studied his looks, concluded, that secretly he was not displeased to be rid of a man who was generally odious to the nation.1 But Charles's command of himself proceeded entirely from the gravity and composure of his temper. He was still, as much as ever, attached to his favourite; and during his whole life, he retained on leave for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. He urged too, that Felton should be put to the question, in order to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices but the judges declared, that though that practice had formerly been very usual, it was altogether illegal. So much more exact reasoners, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous scruples of the House of Commons.

Meanwhile the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. That vast genius of Richelieu, who made him form the greatest enterprises, led him to attempt their execution by means equally great and extraordinary. To deprive the king of all succours, he had dared to project the throwing across the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boisterous ocean; and having executed his project, he now held the town closely blockaded on all sides. The inhabitants, though pressed with the greatest exigencies of famine, still refused to submit; being supported partly by the lectures of their zealous preachers, partly by the daily hopes of relief from England. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet was transferred to the Earl of Lindsey, who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour: but by the delays of the English, that work was not fully finished and fortified; and the judges declared, that though that practice had formerly been very usual, it was altogether illegal. So much more exact reasoners, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous scruples of the House of Commons.

This was the first necessary step towards the prosperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domestic factions, being deprived of this resource, that kingdom began now to enjoy its full splendour, and the publication, even of wise plans, both of war and policy, it gradually gained an ascendant over the rival power of Spain; and every order of the state, and every sect, were reduced to pay subscription to the lawful authority of the sovereign. The victory, however, over the hugonots, was at first pushed by the French king with great moderation. A toleration was still continued to them; and the only arroged and open incitement which, at that time, was granted in any European kingdom.

A D. 1628.

The failure of an enterprise, in which the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the king's authority in the parliament during the approaching session; but the Commons, when assembled, found many other causes of complaint to be of a more weighty nature. Buckingham's conduct and character, with some had afforded a reason, with others a pretense, for discontent against public measures: but after his death, there wanted not new reasons and new pretences for general dissatisfaction. Manœuvring the pardon and promotion were taken notice of; still, the marriage of the Coeuris, two clergyman, who, for like reasons, were not less obnoxious to the Commons, had met with like favour from the king: Montague, who had been censured for months before, the crown had been created Bishop of Chichester. They found,

likewise, upon inquiry, that all the copies of the petition of right, which were dispersed, had by the king's orders annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the Commons. An expedition by which Charles endeavoured to persuade the people that he had nowise receded from his former claims and pretensions, particularly with regard to the levying of tonnage and poundage, was taken credit from them.6

The great article on which the House Towneley and of Commons broke with the king, and which was完全是[?] finally created in Charles a disgust to all parliaments, was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage. On this occasion, therefore, it is necessary to give an account of the controversy.

The duty of tonnage and poundage, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of parliament; but it had been conferred on Henry V. and all the succeeding parliaments, during long periods, in order to maintain a naval force for the defence of the kingdom. The necessity of levying this duty had been so apparent, that each king had ever claimed it from the moment of his accession, and had been compelled to accept of it, or else to make up the deficiency, by levying taxes, or by the imposition of heavy duties. It was, however, usually, by vote, conferred on the prince who they found him already in possession of. Agreeably to the inaccurate genius of the old constitution, this abuse, however considerable, had never been perceived nor remedied; though nothing could be of more advantage for the parliament than to prevent the king from having this power. But contrivances of that nature were not thought of during those rude ages: and so complicated and jealous a government as the English cannot subsist without many such refinements; it is impossible to see how favourable every inaccuracy must formerly have proved to royal authority, which on all emergencies was obliged to supply, by discretionary power, the great deficiency of the laws.

The parliament did not grant the duty of tonnage and poundage to Henry VIII. till the sixth of his reign: yet this prince, who had not then raised his power to its greatest height, continued, during that whole time, to levy the imposition. A Parliament, by a steady refusal, to all the demands of merchants who had neglected to make payment to the crown; and though one expression of that bill may seem ambiguous, they employ the plainest terms in calling tonnage and poundage the king's due, even before that duty was granted on him by parliamentary authority.6 Four reigns, and above a whole century, had since elapsed; and this revenue had still been levied before it was voted by parliament. So long had the inaccuracy continued, without being remarked or corrected.

During that short interval which passed between Charles's accession and his first parliament, he had followed the example of his predecessors; and no fault was found with his conduct in this particular. But what was most remarkable in the proceedings of that House of Commons, and what proved beyond controversy that they had seriously formed an opinion favorable to the subject, was, that instead of granting this supply during the king's life-time, as it had been enjoyed by all his immediate predecessors, they voted it only for a year; and, after that should be elapsed, reserved to themselves the power of renewing it, or of renewing the same subscription. But the House of Peers, who saw that this duty was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, and who did not approve of this enervating example, did not grant the dissolution of that parliament followed so soon after,
gration it had been the enabling of the king to guard the seas, it did not follow, that because he guarded the seas, he was therefore entitled to this revenue without further formality: since the people had still reserved to themselves the right of judging how far that service merited such a supply. But Charles, notwithstanding his public declaration, was far from assenting to this conclusion in its full extent. The plain consequence, he saw, of all these rigours, and refinements, and inferences, was, that he, without a new grant, ought to have the full and entire revenue of his own, must, of a sudden, even from his accession, become a magistrate of a very different nature from any of his predecessors, and must fall into a total dependence on subjects over whom he had related, put an end, for the time, to their further pretensions.

The following interval between the second and third parliament was distinguished by so many exertions of prerogative, that men had little leisure to attend to the affair of tonnage and poundage, where the abuse of power in the crown might seem to be of a more disputable nature. But after the Commons, during the preceding session, had remedied all these grievances by means of their petition of right, which they deemed so necessary; they afterwards proceeded to take the matter into consideration, and they showed the same intention as formerly. By this means, and on the part of the revenue, very large compliances on the part of the crown. Their sudden prorogation prevented them from bringing their pretensions to a full conclusion.

When Charles opened this session, he had foreseen that such an interest might arise; and he therefore took care, very early, among many mild and reconciling expressions, to inform the Commons, 'That he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; and that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any prerogative of his own.' This concession, which he probably made from the king's moderate temper, now freed from the impulse of Buckingham's violent counsels, might have satisfied the Commons, had they entertained no other view than that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. But they carried their pretensions much higher. They insisted as a necessary preliminary, that the king should once entirely desist from levying these duties, and that he should take it into consideration, how far he would restore them to the possession of a revenue, of which he had clearly divested himself. But, besides that this extreme rigour had never been exercised towards any of his predecessors, and many obvious inconveniences attended such a course of action; and besides the customs; there were other reasons which deterred Charles from complying with so hard a condition. It was probable that the Commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reducing his prerogative to perpetual dependence; they certainly would cut off the new impositions which Mary and Elizabeth, but especially James, had levied, and which formed no despisable part of the public revenue; and they openly declared, that they had at present many important pretensions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance were refused, no supply must be expected from the Commons.

It is easy to see what an insurmountable labyrinth Charles was now involved. By his own concessions, by the general principles of the English government, and by the force of example, in which he had treated this duty, tonnage and poundage was derived entirely from the free gift of the people; and, consequently, might be withdrawn at their pleasure. If unreasonable in their refusal, they still refused nothing but what was their due. If public necessity required it, it must be thought also to require the king's compliance with those conditions which were the price of obtaining it. Though the motive for
they still lay under the reproof of innovation and heresy. The Commons now levelled against them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. To the impartial spectators sure in any such had been at that time in England, it must have given great entertainment, to see a popular assembly, inflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to discuss questions to which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquility of retrenchment, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution.

Among that complication of disputes in which men were involved, there was a spectacle to be observed, that the apellation puritan stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were all supposed to be tainted with the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these, stood the court party, the hierarchy, and the antipapists; men only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as these parties on every subject dailywarmed, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular.

The inquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with these theological or metaphysical controversies. The officers of the customs-house were supposed to be the ministers of the preachers, built during the reigns of James and Charles, and even of Elizabeth, was much governed by the puritanical party, thought that they could not better serve their cause than by branding and punishing the Arminian sect, which, introducing an innovation in the church, were the least favoured and least powerful of all their antagonists. From this measure, it was easily foreseen, that, besides gratifying the animosity of the doctrinal puritans, both the puritans in discipline, and those in politics, would reap considerable advantages. Land, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, who were the chief supporters of episcopal government, and the most zealous partisans of the discipline and ceremonies of the church, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be convinced that the court was right, it was concluded, that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigorously insisted on, and the king, deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative, on which at present he insisted.

But Charles, besides a view of the political consequences which must result from a compliance with such pretensions, was strongly determined, from principles of piety and conscience, to oppose them. Neither the dissipation incident to youth, nor the pleasures attending a high fortune, had been able to prevent this virtuous prince from embracing the most sincere sentiments of religion; and that character which, in that religious age, should have been of infinite advantage to him, proved in the end the chief cause of his ruin: merely because the religion adopted by him, was not of that precise mode and sect which his ancestors had followed. His piety, though remote from popery, had a tincture of superstition in it; and, being averse to the gloomy spirit of the puritans, was represented by them as tending towards the abominations of antichrist. Laud also had unfortunately acquired a great excedent over him; and as all those prelates, obnoxious to the Commons, were regarded as his chief friends and most favourite courtiers, he was resolved not to disarm and dishonour himself, by abandoning them to the resentment of his enemies. Being totally unpro-

vided with military force, and finding a refractory independent spirit to prevail among the people; the most solid basis of his authority, he thought, consisted in the support which he received from the hierarchy.

In the debates of the Commons, which are transmitted to us, it is remarkable to observe that sparks of that enthusiastic fire, which afterwards set the whole nation in combustion. One House made use of an illustration, which, though familiar, seems to have been borrowed from the writings of Lord Bacon. 1. If a dog alone, said he, the dog is fearful, though ever so fierce by nature: but if the dog have his master with him, he will set upon that man from whom he fled before. This shows, he continued, that he has been by higher, increase in courage and strength: and certainly man, being backed with Omnipotency, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes, and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotence. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of all us, to make a vow and covenant henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion; and then shall we henceforth expect with certainty happiness in this world. 2. Oliver Cromwell, at that time, by some report or no account in the nation, is mentioned in these debates as complaining of one, who, he was told, preached flat popery. 3. It is amusing to observe the first words of this satirical reproof corresponding with the character of the querist who, by some report or no account in the nation, is mentioned in these debates as complaining of one, who, he was told, preached flat popery.

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to prison, on account of the last tumult in the House, which was called sedition. With great difficulty, and after several delays, they were released; and the law was generally supposed to be wrested, in order to prolong their imprisonment. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of the house, they were imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behaviour, and to be bailed, the two former a thousand pounds a piece, the latter five hundred. This sentence, procured by the influence of the crown, served only for the purpose of rendering the seat of parliament, and to acquire an immense stock of popularity to the sufferers, who had so bravely, in opposition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country. The Commons of England, though an immense body, and possessed of the greater part of national property, were naturally somewhat defenceless; because of their personal equality, and their want of leaders: but the king's severity, if these prosecutions deserve the name, here pointed out leaders to them whose resentiment was inflamed, and whose courage was nowise daunted by the hardships which they had undergone in so honourable a cause.

So much did these prisoners glory in their sufferings, that though they were promised liberty on that condition, they would not condescend even to present a petition to the king, expressing their sorrow for having offended him. They unanimously refused to find sureties for their good behaviour, and were not disposed to submit to such easy terms. Nay, Hollis so industrious to continue his meritorious distress, that, when one offered to bail him, he would not yield to the rule of court, and be himself bound with his friends. Even Long, who had actually found sureties in the chief justice's chamber, declared in court, that his sureties should no longer continue. Yet because Sir John Elliot happened to die while in custody, a great suspicion was raised against the administration; and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

CHAP. LII

Peace with France.—Peace with Spain.—State of the court and ministry.—Character of the queen.—Stratified—Fear.—Inscrutability on the church.—Confound the transactions of men—Struggle.—Ship-money.—Money of the Hanoverians.

A.D. 1629.

There now opens to us a new scene. Charles, naturally disgusted with parlament, who, he found, were determined to proceed against him with unfitted rigour, both in invading his prerogative, and refusing all supplies, resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indication of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his great favourite, Buckingham, he became his own minister; and never afterwards repose in any one such unlimited confidence. As he chiefly follows his own genius and disposition, his measures are henceforward less rash and hasty; though the general tenor of his administration still wants support, his measures being partly legal, and perhaps more of being entirely prudent.

We shall endeavour to exhibit a just idea of the events which followed for some years; so far as they regard foreign affairs, the state of the court, and the government of the nation. The incidents are neither numerous nor illustrious; but the knowledge of them is necessary for understanding the subsequent transactions which are so memorable.

Charles, destitute of all supply, was necessarily reduced to embrace a measure, which ought to have been the result of reason and sound policy: he made peace with the two crowned against which he had hitherto waged a war, entered into without necessity, and conducted without glory.
were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus, and the superior valor of the Swedes. What remained of this hero's life was one continued series of victory, for which he was less beholden to fortune, than to the merits which kept him safe in arms and from industry. That rapid progress of conquest, which we so much admire in ancient history, was here renewed in modern annals; and without that cause to which in former ages we are to trace all victory, the martial virtues were not now engaged against an undisarmed and unwarlike people; nor heroes set in opposition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals of the age, were, in every encounter, and all Germany was overrun in an instant by the victorious Swede. But by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed of the purpose for which he framed the alliance. Gustavus, elated by prosperity, began to form more extensive plans of ambition; and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it to subjection under his own. He refused to restore the palatine to his principality, except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted; till the battle of Lutter, where the Swedish monarch perished in the midst of an apparent victory which he obtained over his enemy. We have carried on these transactions a few years beyond the present period, that we might not be obliged to return to them; nor be henceforth interrupted in our account of Charles's court and kingdoms. When we consider Charles as presiding in his court, as associating with his family, it is difficult to imagine a character at once more respectable and more amiable. A kind husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, a steadfast friend; to all these enliges his conduct in private life fully entitled him. As a monarch, too, in the exterior qualities, he excelled to the essential, he was not defective. His address and manner, his sense of the love of parlering the truth, and his respect for his own dignity, his humour, his meekness and formality, in the main corresponded to his high rank, and gave grace to that reserve and gravity which were natural to him. The moderation and equity which shone forth in his temper seemed to secure him a great and dangerous enterprises: the good sense which he displayed in his discourse and conversation, seemed to warrant his success in every reasonable undertaking. Other endowments likewise he had; and perhaps, of his private gentleman, would have been highly ornamental, and which, in a great monarch, might have proved extremely useful to his people. He was possessed of an excellent taste in all the elegance of court life, the love of painting, music, in some degree his favourite passion. Learned beyond what is common in princes, he was a good judge of writing in odiers, and enjoyed, himself, no mean talent in composition. In any other prince, this monarch would have been secure of a prosperous and a happy reign. But the high idea of his own authority which he had imbued, made him incapable of giving way to the spirit of liberty, which began to prevail among his subjects. His politics were not supported by such vigour and foresight as might enable him to subdue their pretensions, and maintain his prerogative at the high pitch to which it had been raised by his predecessors. And, above all, the spirit of enthusiasm being universally diffused, disappointed all the views of human prudence, and disturbed the operation of every motive which usually influences society.

But the misfortunes arising from these causes were yet remote. Charles now enjoyed himself in the full exercise of his authority, in a social intercourse with his friends and courtiers, and in a moderate use of those pleasures which he most affected. Character of the prince. After the death of Buckingham, who had reigned, somewhat alienated Charles from the queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favourite. That rustic contempt of the fair sex, which James affected, and which was, on his own part, a very decided trait of his character, made it resemble a little more a fair or an exchange, than the seat of a great prince, was very wide of the disposition of this monarch. But though full of complaisance to the whole sex, Charles reserved all his passion for his consort, to whom he attached himself with unsaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed, that, being more polished, studied, and inclined to industry from natural bent, and from industry. That rapid progress of conquest, which we so much admire in ancient history, was here renewed in modern annals; and without that cause to which in former ages we are to trace all victory, the martial virtues were not now engaged against an undisarmed and unwarlike people; nor heroes set in opposition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals of the age, were, in every encounter, and all Germany was overrun in an instant by the victorious Swede. But by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed of the purpose for which he framed the alliance. Gustavus, elated by prosperity, began to form more extensive plans of ambition; and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it to subjection under his own. He refused to restore the palatine to his principality, except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted; till the battle of Lutter, where the Swedish monarch perished in the midst of an apparent victory which he obtained over his enemy. We have carried on these transactions a few years beyond the present period, that we might not be obliged to return to them; nor be henceforth interrupted in our account of Charles's court and kingdoms. When we consider Charles as presiding in his court, as associating with his family, it is difficult to imagine a character at once more respectable and more amiable. A kind husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, a steadfast friend; to all these enliges his conduct in private life fully entitled him. As a monarch, too, in the exterior qualities, he excelled to the essential, he was not defective. His address and manner, his sense of the love of parlering the truth, and his respect for his own dignity, his humour, his meekness and formality, in the main corresponded to his high rank, and gave grace to that reserve and gravity which were natural to him. The moderation and equity which shone forth in his temper seemed to secure him a great and dangerous enterprises: the good sense which he displayed in his discourse and conversation, seemed to warrant his success in every reasonable undertaking. Other endowments likewise he had; and perhaps, of his private gentleman, would have been highly ornamental, and which, in a great monarch, might have proved extremely useful to his people. He was possessed of an excellent taste in all the elegance of court life, the love of painting, music, in some degree his favourite passion. Learned beyond what is common in princes, he was a good judge of writing in odiers, and enjoyed, himself, no mean talent in composition. In any other prince, this monarch would have been secure of a prosperous and a happy reign. But the high idea of his own authority which he had imbued, made him incapable of giving way to the spirit of liberty, which began to prevail among his subjects. His politics were not supported by such vigour and foresight as might enable him to subdue their pretensions, and maintain his prerogative at the high pitch to which it had been raised by his predecessors. And, above all, the spirit of enthusiasm being universally diffused, disappointed all the views of human prudence, and disturbed the operation of every motive which usually influences society.

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who embraced his measures, were generally well instructed in sacred antiquity, and had adopted many of those religious edicts which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries; when the Christian church, as well known, was already sunk into those superstitions which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. The pious zeal of the sect, with the patience of age, could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Men also were apt to think there was but little advantage of the secret method, and that their observances would not be imposed with such unrelenting zeal on the refractory nation; and that Laud’s scheme was to lead back the English by gradual steps to the religion of their ancestors. They considered not, that the very insufficiency of these ceremonies recommended them to the superstitious prelate, and made them appear the more peculiarly sacred and religious, as they could serve to no other purpose. Nor was the re-embellishment to the Romish ritual any objection, but rather a merit, with Laud and his brethren; who bore a much greater kindness to his mother-church, as they called her, than to the sectanes and presbyterians, and frequently recommended her to a true christian appellation; an appellation by the which, they refused, or at least were not scrupled to give them. So openly were these tenets espoused, that not only the discontented puritans believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into Romanism, but they entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud’s supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal’s hat, which he declined accepting. The answer was, as he says himself, That something dwell within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome were other than it. A court lady, daughter of the Earl of Devonshire, having turned catholic, was asked by Laud for an act of her conversion. 'Tis chiefly, said she, because I hate to travel in a crowd. The meaning of this expression being demanded, she replied, I perceive your Grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you. It must be confessed, that though Laud desired not the appellation of papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish: the same profound respect was exacted to the sacred character, the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils, the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship, and the same superstitious regard to relics, pictures and images. Nor could, therefore, that this prelate was, every where, among the puritans, regarded with horror, as the forerunner of antichrist.

A specimen of the new ceremonies to which Laud sacrificed his own quiet and that of the nation, it may not be amiss to relate those which he was accused of employing in the consecration of St. Catherine’s church, and which were the object of such general scandal and offence. On the bishop’s approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may enter in! Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.

Going over to the chancel, he several times took up, from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it: and on approaching the church altar, they marched along, some of the psalms: and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: We consecrate this church, and separate unto it as thee holy ground, to be profaned any more to common uses.

After this, turning near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such

as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying ceremonials of any sort; the bar of the pulpit must be bowed towards the east, and cried, Let all the people say, Amen.

The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalcges, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he in the same manner bowed towards the east, and cried, Let all the people say, Amen.

The sermon followed; after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner.

As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences; and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he held the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

Next, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed three times toward it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, dipped into the cup. Swearing with a horror, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy.

Orders were given and rigorously insisted on, that the communion-table should be removed from the middle of the church; or stood in all churches, except in cathedrals. It was placed at the east end, railed in, and denominated an Altar; as the clergyman who officiated received commonly the appellation of Priest. It is not easy to imagine the discontents excited by this innovation, and the suspicions which it gave rise to.

The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, were also known to be great objects of scandal, as being popish practices; but the opposition rather increased than lessened the zeal of the prelate for the introduction of these habits and ceremonies.

All kinds of ornament, especially pictures, were necessary for supporting that mechanical devotion, which was purposely to be raised in this model of religion: but as these had been so much employed by the church of Rome, and had given rise to so much superstition, or what the puritans called idolatry; it was requisite to import them into English churches, without exciting general murmurs and complaints. But Laud, possessed of present authority, persisted in his purpose, and made several attempts towards acquiring these ornaments. Some of the pictures introduced by him were also found, upon inquiry, to be the very same that might be met with in the missal-book. The crucifix too, that eternal consolation of all pious catholics, and terror of all sound protestants, was not forgotten on this occasion.

It was much remarked, that Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury, was tried in the star-chamber, for having broken, contrary to the Bishop of Salisbury’s express injunctions, a painted window of St. Edmond’s church in the city. He boasted that he had destroyed these monuments of idolatry: but for this effort of his zeal, he was fined 500 pounds, removed from his office, condemned to make a public acknowledgment, and to be bound to his good behaviour.

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended and deprived by the high commission courts; but many others were heard, by way of excommunication, imposed on the churchwardens; and they were sworn to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesi-
regular in his expense, he wanted money for the support of government; and he levied it either by the revival of ancient levies, and imposition of new duties, or by loans, and any violations, such as made the crown more disguised, of the privileges of the nation. Though humane and gentle in his temper, he gave way to a few severities in the star-chamber and high commission, which seemed necessary, in order to suppress the practice of certain abuses of law and justice, and represent the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. Under these two heads may be reduced all the remarkable transactions of this reign, during some years: for, in peaceable and prosperous times, where a revenue was called for, no objections on the part of the crown, nor any thing remarkable, but what is, in some degree, blamed, or blamable. And, lest the hope of relief or protection from parliament might encourage opposition, Charles issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; though his majesty has shown, by frequent meetings with his people, his love to the use of parliaments: yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course; he will account it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling of that assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that during this reign no more parliaments were intended to be summoned. And, indeed, no more additional impostions were exacted. Even new impostions were laid on several kinds of merchandise.

The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever; in default of the payment of customs.

In order to exercise the militia, and to keep them in good order, each county, by an edict of the council, was assessed for the maintenance of a master-master, appointed for that service.

Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the papist religion became a regular part of the revenue. This was all the persecution which it underwent during the reign of Charles.

A commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown lands upon defective titles; and on this pretence, some money was exacted from the people.

There was a law of Edward II. by which it was required of the clergy and other ecclesiastics, that they should give a declaration of the sums they received from the king, their benefactors, and of all other persons, with the names of the persons. This was a measure which, though it was not strictly enforced, was attended with some inconvenience to the clergy, and obliged them to keep a careful account of all sums received from any person.

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she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry. He was questioned in the high-commission court, for this insult on the queen; but, upon his submission, dismissed.\(^8\)

Leighton, who had written libels against the king, the queen, the bishops, and the whole administration, was condemned by a very severe, if not a cruel, sentence; but the deference of officers was allowed for some time, in expectation of his submission.\(^1\) All the severities, indeed, of this reign, were exercised against those who triumphed in their sufferings, who courted persecution, and bracketed ambition with zeal, and piety may be deemed the more just, but the less prudent. To have neglected them entirely, had it been consistent with order and public safety, had been the wisest measure that could have been embraced; as perhaps it had been the most severe punishment that could have been inflicted on these zealots.

In order to gratify the clergy with a magnificent fabric, subscriptions were set on foot, for repairing and rebuilding St. Paul's; and the king, by his counsels and example, encouraged this laudable undertaking.\(^4\) By order of the privy council, St. Gregory's church was removed, as an impediment to the project of extending and beautifying the cathedral. Some houses and shops, likewise, were pulled down, and compensation was made to the owners.\(^5\) As there was no immediate prospect of assembling a parliament, such acts of power in the extremity of his thousands did not occur, and the people have entertained some scruple with regard to them. It must be remarked, that the puritans were extremely averse to the raising of this ornament to the capital. It savoured, as they pretended, of papish superstition.

A stamp duty was imposed on cards: a new tax, which, of itself, was liable to no objection; but appeared of dangerous consequence, when considered as arbitrary and illiberal.

Monopolies were revived; an oppressive method of levying money, being unlimited, as well as destructive of industry. The last parliament of James, which abolished monopolies, had left an equitable exception in favor of new inventions; and on presence of these, and of erecting new companies and corporations, was this grievance now renewed. The manufacture of soap was given to a company who paid a sum for their patent.\(^6\) Leather, salt, and many other commodities, even down to linon rape, were put under restrictions.

It is affirmed by Clarendon, that so little benefit was reaped from these projects, that of 200,000 pounds thereby levied on the people, scarcely 1500 came into the king's coffers. Thouless accused Pope of the inconsideration of exaggerations to the disadvantage of Charles's measures; this fact, it must be owned, appears somewhat incredible. The same author adds, that the king's intention was to tax all ecclesiastics, but was dissuaded from it by the refusal reasonable supplies to the crown. An impudent project to offend a whole nation, under the view of punishment; and to hope, by acts of violence, to break their refractory spirits, without being possessed of any force to prevent resistance.

The council of York had been first erected, after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and this exercise of power, like many others, was indulged to that arbitrary monarch. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, some time after Wentworth was made president, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil jurisdiction, and that in some respects discretionary.

It is not improbable that the king's intention was only to prevent inconvenient, which arose from the bringing of every cause, from the most distant parts of the kingdom, into Westminster-hall: but the consequence, in the mean time, of this measure, was the putting of all the northern counties out of the protection of ordinary law, and

\(^{1}\) Kessel's Complete Hist. vol. iii. p. 60.


\(^{5}\) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 50, 57, 69.


\(^{3}\) The essay in the Warden, he affirmed not to be the sense of men, but a blotting of brave brains. cloistered before the sinner, as it were, came, but subjecting them to an authority somewhat arbitrary. Some irregular actions of that council were, this year, complained of.

The court of star-chamber extended its authority; and it was matter of complaint, that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts; imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishment, beyond the usual course of justice. Sir David Foulks fined 1500 pounds, chiefly because he had dissuaded a friend from complying with the commissioners of knighthood.

Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called 

\textit{Hastrum Major.}\n
Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author himself took occasion to decry against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, boozing, and maypoles. His zeal against all these levities, he says, was first moved by observing, that plays sold better than the cheapest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itself. Besides, that the players were often paupers, and desperately wicked; the play-houses, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-actors little better than incarnate devils; and so many steps in a dance, so many pages to a bell. The chief crime of Nero he represents to have been, his frequenting and acting of plays; and those, who nobly conspired his death, were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The same author says, it is a like punishment, to burn a book, and to burn the queen.

It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into enmity against the king and queen, merely because they were frequented these dissenter sermons, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastoral and interludes, which were represented at court. The author, it must be owned, had, in merrier terms, blamed the hierarchy, the censures, the innovations, the immoralities, and the new superstitions, introduced by Laud;\(^7\) and this, probably, together with the obstinacy and petulance of his behaviour before the star-chamber, was the reason why his sentence was so severe. He was condemned to be put to the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay 5000 pounds fine to the king; and to be imprisoned during life.

This same Prynne was a great hero among the puritans; and it was chiefly with a view of mortifying that sect, that, though of an honourable profession, he was condemned by the star-chamber to so numerous a punishment. The thorough-paced puritans were disposed to the contempt of all externality, and austerity of their manners, and by their aversion to all pleasure and society. To inspire them with better humour was certainly, both for their own sake and that of the public, a laudable intention on the part of the court; but whether pillories, fines, and prisons, were proper proceedings for that purpose, may admit of some question.

Another expedient which the king tried, in order to impose cheerfulness into the national devotion, was not perhaps more successful. He renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service.\(^8\) Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation.

The differences between the sects were before sufficiently great; nor was it necessary to widen them further by these inventions.

Some encouragement and protection, which the king and the bishop's gave to wakes, church-ales, brade-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the puritans in religious worship.\(^9\)

This year Charles made a journey to Scotland, attended by the court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to pass through the ceremony of

\textit{A counterpart, as it were a bequest of dogs:} four out of twelve, as it were a set of bulls, and graved downals, and a three in two of both. Christmass, as it is known, to the stars, Christmas, and Prynne employed a great number of people to personate; and the company, with whom this author had been a partner, and he was such in his lady. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 225.

\textit{Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 50, 53.}


\textit{Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 199, 200.}

\textit{Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 199, 200.}

\textit{Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 217.}
his coronation. The nobility and gentry of both kingdoms ravaged each other, in expressing all duty and respect to the king, and in showing mutual friendship and regard to each other. No one could have suspected, from exterior appearances, that such dreadful scenes were approaching. One chief article of business (for it deserves the name) which the king transacted in this parliament, was, besides obtaining some supply, to procure authority for ordering the habits of clergymen. The act did not pass without opposition and difficulty. The dreadful surplus was before men's eyes; and they apprehended, with some reason, that under sanction of this law, it would soon be introduced among them. Though the king believed that his prerogative was superior to all others, he did not think fit to direct; yet every business that belongs to the exterior government of the church, was deemed a matter of too great importance to be ordered without the sanction of a particular statute.

Immediately after the king's return to England, he heard of Archbishop Abbot's death; and, without delay, he conferred that dignity on his favourite, Laud; who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to maintain ecclesiastical discipline with greater vigour, and to aggraviate the general discontent in the nation. Laud obtained the bishopric of London for his friend Juxon; and, about a year after the death of Sir Richard Weston, created Earl of Portland, had interest enough to engage the king to make that peer his treasurer. He had been a person of great integrity, mildness, and humanity, and ended with a good understanding.Yet did this last promotion give general offence. His birth and character were too obvious to be muzzled; hence to the highest offices of the crown. And the clergy, it was thought, were already too much elated by former instances of the king's attachment to them, and needed not this further encouragement to assume dominion over the clergy. The parliaments, likewise, were much discontented with Juxon, notwithstanding his eminent virtues, because he was a lover of profane fields and hunting. A.D. 1631. Ship-money was now introduced. The ship-money, first writs of this kind had been directed to sea-port towns only; but ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals. The amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding 200,000 pounds; it was levied upon the people with equality: the money was entirely expended on the navy, to the great honour and advantage of the kingdom: as England had no military force, while all the rest of Europe was nearly in a state of a fleet seemed absolutely necessary for her security: and it was obvious that a navy must be built and equipped at leisure, during peace; nor could it possibly be fitted out on the sudden, when the enemy became urgent. Yet all these considerations could not reconcile the people to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary: by the same right any other tax might be imposed: and men thought a powerftul fleet, though very desirable both for the credit and safety of the kingdom, but an unequal recompense for their liberties, which, they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the obtaining of it.

England, it must be owned, was, in this respect, unhappy in its present situation, that the king had entered a very different idea of the constitution, from that which began in general to prevail among his subjects. He did not regard national privileges as sacred and inviolable, that nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify an infringement of them. He considered himself as the supreme magistrate, to whose care Heaven, by his birthright, had committed his people, whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with ample discretionary powers for that salutary purpose. If the observance of ancient laws and customs was consistent with the present convenience of government, he thought himself obliged to comply with that rule; as the easiest, the safest, and what proceeded the most probably from wise and well-considered nature; when the character of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinance of the people, required a new plan of administration, national privileges, he thought, must yield to supreme power; nor could any offer of the state oppose any right to the will of the sovereign, directed to the good of the public. That these principles of government were derived from the uniform tenor of the English laws, it would be rash to deny; but admitting them, and taking into consideration, the impatient humour of the people, and the variety of events, had, no doubt, in different ages, produced exceptions and contradictions. These observations alone may be established on both sides, that the appearances were sufficiently strong in favour of the king to apologizse for his following such maxims; and that public liberty must be so precarious under this exorbitant prerogative, as to render an opposition not only excusable, but laudable, in the people.

Some laws had been enacted during the reign of Henry VIII. against depopulation, or the converting of arable lands into pasture. By a decree of the star-chamber, Sir Anthony, did not quite lose the taint of that office. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into composition; and above 30,000 pounds were levied by that expedient. Like compositions, or, in default, fine or imprisonment, for not supporting the government on the king's forests; whose bounds, by decrees deemed arbitrary, were extended much beyond what was usual! The bounds of one forest, that of Rockingham, were increased from six miles to sixty. The same repressive law, which made the people liable to the king voluntary supplies, disposed them with better reason to murmur against these irregular methods of taxation.

Morley was fined 10,000 pounds for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of Whitbyhall, Sir George Toulao, one of the king's servants. This fine was thought exorbitant; but whether it was compounded, as was usual in fines imposed by the star-chamber, we are not informed.

Allison had reported, that the Archbishop of York had incurred the king's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration for the catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander and unjust, though strongly urged, his pretence, the star-chamber to be fined 1000 pounds, to be committed to prison, to be bound in his good behaviour during life, to be whipped, and to be set on the pillory, at Westminster, and to suffer eloquence, which the king had been an accompani in the guilt, was condemned by a sentence equally severe. Such events are rather to be considered as rare and detached incidents, collected by the severe scrutiny of historians, than as proofs of the prevailing genius of the king's administration, which seems to have been more gentle and equitable than that of most of his predecessors: there were, on the whole, only five or six such instances of rigor during the course of fifteen years, which elapsed before the meeting of the long parliament. And it is also certain, that scandal against the great, though seldom prosecuted at present, is, in the eye of the law, a great crime, and subjects the offender to very heavy penalties.

There are other instances of the high respect paid to the nobility and to the great in that age; when the powers of monarchy, though disputed, still maintained themselves in their pristine vigour. Clarendon tells us a pleasant story, yet if the Plaisantes come, that is, if any just or important occasion come in, it must be held or restrained here, the king and the court must be and broken as easy as the bounds of Somerset. The king's prerogatives are not to be contended with, nor can any man, without committing impious treasons, withstand them. He gives authority from the same: the king's crown must be taken from him. Somerset's hair must be cut off, before his visage can be any sat at. Hence it is, that neither the king's act, nor any act of parliament, can give away his prerogatives."


that receptacle of pirates, by whom the English commerce, and even the English coasts, had long been infested.

Burton, a divine, and Bustwick, a physician, A.D. 1657, were tried in the star-chamber for seditions and schismatical labels, and were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted on Tyne.

Tyne himself was tried for a new offence; and, together with another fine of 5000 pounds, was condemned to lose that remained of his ears. Besides that these writers had been attacked with greater severity, and the ceremonial, rites, and government of the church, the very answers which they gave in to the court were so full of contumacy and of invectives against the prelates, that they were unanswerable. Though various attempts were made, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still further the indignation of the public. The severity of the star-chamber, which was generally ascribed to Laud’s passionate disposition, was, perhaps, in itself somewhat miserable; but it will naturally to us appear enormous, who enjoy, in the utmost latitude, that liberty of the press, which is esteemed so necessary in every monarchy confined by strict legal limitations. But as these limitations were not regularly fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before; so was this liberty totally unnecessary, and, as it is now, was it so calculated for the increase of that liberty, which is incompatible with all good government. No age or nation, among the moderns, had ever set an example of such an indulgence: and it seems unreasonable to judge the measure of the preservation of the nation during one period, by the maxims which prevail in another.

Burton, in his book where he complained of innovations, mentioned among others, that a certain Wednesday had been appointed by his majesty to be celebrated without any sermon. The intention, as it was pretended, of that novelty was, by the example of a fast without sermon, to suppress all the Wednesday lectures in London. It is observable, that the church of Rome and that of England, being both of them lovers of form and ceremony and order, are more friends to prayer than preaching; while the puritanical sectaries, who find that the latter method of address, being directed to a numerous audience present and visible, is more moving and animating, have always regarded it as the chief part of divine service. Such circumstances, though minute, it may not be improper to transmit to posterity; that those who are curious of tracing the history of the human mind may remark how far its several singularities coincide in different ages.

Certain zealots bad erected themselves into a society for buying in of impropriations, and transgressions thereof to the church: and great sums of money have been bestowed on the society for these purposes. But it was soon observed, that the only use which they made of their funds, was to establish lecturers in all the considerable churches; men, who, without being subjected to episcopal authority, employed themselves entirely in preaching and spreading the fire of puritanism. Laud took care, by a decree which was passed in the court of exchequer, and which was much complained of, to abolish this society, and to stop their progress. It was however, still observed, that throughout England the lecturers were all of them puritanically affected; and from them the elogymen, who were the Earl of Northumberland, lord of manors, and of the people, commonly received the reproachful appellation of dumb dogs.

The puritans, restricted in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and contentment, and dreaded perhaps the dangerous consequences of so persecuted a people, laid in the hands of the legislature, power of making laws for extinguishing the pure and simple forms of religion; and instead thereof, they exclaimed against the indiscriminate exercise of the civil and ecclesiastical power.

This year the king sent a squadron against Salié; and with the assistance of the Emperor of Morocco, destroyed the chief town of the Barbary pirates.
colon, prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, de-
barring these devotees access even into these inhospitable
deserts. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to
sail, were detained by order of the council; and in these
were embarked Sir Arthur Hazleig, John Hambleden, John
Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to
abandon their native country, and fly to the other extre-
mity of the globe; where might they enjoy lectures and
discourses of any length or form which pleased them.
The king had deserted full leisure to return the exer-
cise of his authority.

The Bishop of Norwich, by rigorously insisting on uni-
formity, had banished many industrious tradesmen from
this city, and forced them into exile. The Duke of Grafton
began to be more intent on commerce than on orthodoxy;
and thought that the knowledge of useful arts and obedi-
ence to the laws formed a good citizen; though attended
with errors in subjects where it is not allowable for human
nature to expect any positive truth or certainty.

Complaints about this time were made, that the petition
of right was, in some instances, violated, and that, upon
a commencement by the king and council, bail or release
had been refused to Jennings, Partridge, and Danvers.

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, a man of spirit and learn-
ing, a popular prelate, and who had been lord-keeper, was
found guilty by the star-chamber, committed to the
Tower during the king’s pleasure, and suspended from
his office. This severe sentence was founded on favor-ables pretences, and was more ascribable to Lord’s ven-
genance, than to any guilt of the bishop. Land, however,
left the court the next day, and promised to the king the
good offices of the prelate with King James. But so implacesable
was the haughty prelate, that he raised up a new prosecution
against Williams, on the strongest pretence imaginable.
In order to effect the same, he also mentioned, some officers
had been sent to seize all the furniture and books of his
episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house,
they found in a corner some neglected letters, which had
been thrown away by the bishop. These, two or three
were written to one Oxshaldstone, a schoolmaster, and were directed
to Williams. Mention was there made of a little great man;
and in another passage, the same person was denominated
a little great man. By assurances and constructions, these
epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better founda-
tion was Williams tried anew, as having received scandal-
ous letters, and not discovering that private correspond-
ence. For this the fine of 8000 pounds was levied on him:
Oxshaldstone was likewise brought to trial, and condemned
to pay a fine of 5000 pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the
pillory before his own school. He saved himself by flight; and left a note in his study, where he said, "Thus he was gone beyond Canter-
bury." 8

These proceedings of Williams seem to have been the
most iniquitous measure pursued by the court during the
time that the use of parliaments was suspended. Williams
had been indicted for all his fortune to the favour of James;
but having quarrelled, first with Buckingham, then with Laud,
and then with Hambleden, he threw himself into the country
day; and with great firmness and vigour opposed all the mea-
sures of the king. A creature of the court to become its
obstinate enemy, a bishop to countenance puritans; these
circumstances excited indignation, and engaged the
masters in those securer measures. Williams had been so
wanton in his attacks, and so refractory a spirit must by
any expedient be broken and subdued. In a former trial which Williams underwent, 9 (for these
were not the first,) there was mentioned, in court, a story
which, as it discovers the genius of parties, may be worth
recalling. Sir John Langley came to him to prosecute
the puritans, the prelate asked, what sort of people some
puritans were? Sir John replied, "that to the world they
seemed to be such as would not swear, whore, or be
drunken; but they would be, cozen, and deceive; that they
would frequently hear two sermons a-day, and repeat
them too, and that sometimes they would fast all day
long." The character must be conceived to be satirical;
yet it may be allowed, that that sect was more averse to
such irrefragables as proceed from the excess of gaudy and
pleasure, than to those enormities which call the most de-
structive to any church. The prelate were opposed to the
very genus and spirit of their religion; the latter were only
a transgression of its precepts; and it was not difficult for
a gloomy enthusiast to convince himself, that a strict ob-
server of the one would alone for any violation of the other.

In 1632, the treasurer, Portland, had insisted with the
vintners, that they should submit to a tax of a penny a
quart upon all the wine which they retailed. But they
rejected the demand. In order to punish them, a decree
suddenly, without much inquiry or examination, passed
in the star-chamber, prohibiting them to sell or dress
virtuals in their houses. 10 Two years after they were ques-
tioned for the breach of this decree; and in order to avoid
punishment, they agreed to lend the king six thousand
pounds. Being threatened, during the subsequent years,
with further prosecutions, and with further demands, they
had to submit to pay half of that doty which was at first demanded of them. 11 It required little foresight to
perceive that the king’s right of issuing proclamations
must, if prosecuted, draw on a power of taxation.

Liberals and puritans preserved their number of pub-
lishing and dispersing sedition pamphlets. He was
ordered to be examined; but refused to take the oath usual
in that court, that he would answer interrogatories, even
though they might lead him to accuse himself. For the
very contempt, as it was interpreted, he was condemned to
be whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. While he was
whipped at the cart, and stood on the pillory, he harangued
the populace; but it was about as effectually as the
preaching of bishops. From his pockets also be scattered pamphlets,
said to be sedition; because they attacked the hierarchy.
The star-chamber, which was sitting at that very time,
ordered him immediately to be gaged. He ceased not
however, though both gagged and pilloried, to stamp with
his foot and gesticulate, in order to show the people, that,
if he had it in his power, he would still harangue them.
This his favour gave fresh provocation to the star-chamber;
and they sentenced him to be imprisoned two years,
and to be loaded with irons. 12 It was found difficult to
break the spirits of men who placed both their honour and
their conscience in suffering.

The trial of the church appeared in another instance
less tragic. Archy, the king’s fool, who by his office
had the privilege of jesting on his master, and the whole
court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too exacting to be offended. For having arrived
from Scotland of the first communications excited by
the liturgy, Archy, seeing the primative pass by, called to
him, Who’s fool now, my lord? For this offence Archy
was ordered, by sentence of the council, to have his coat
pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the king’s
service.

Here is another instance of that rigorous subjection in
which the court was held by the king. A number of men
of Lincoln’s-on, headed by their captains, having drank
drunken confusion to the archbishop, were, at his instigation, cited
before the star-chamber. They applied to the Earl of Dorset
for protection against being summoned. Sir John
Dorset, one of the drawers, said, Dorset. One of the drawers, they said. Where did he stand, when you were supposed to drink this health?
unjoined the earl. He was at the door; they replied, going
out of the room. *Tha’s he cried, the drawer was mistaken: You are mistaken. You called me to associate myself among the enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the

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man’s History of the New Eng. of early origin, and which indicates
for the fact beyond controversy. And if it be a curious fact, as well
whether the coat was taken at the time. It can answer any
that the eminent quarrel was almost wholly Religious, not political.
10. History of the people, where such was the character of the
most influential leaders.
15. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 418.
last word. This hint supplied the young gentlemen with a new method of defence: and being advised by Dorset to behave with great humility and great submission to the privy; the modesty of their carriage, the ignominy of their apology, with the patronage of noble lord, saved them from any severer punishment than a reproof and admonition, with which they were dismissed.  

This year John Hampden acquired, by his obstinacy, almost entire disapprobation of the commonwealth, throughout the nation, and has merited great renoun with posterity, for the bold stand which he made in defence of the laws and liberties of his country. After the imposing of such a fine from a power of the nation, and of the crown, as it had proposed this question to the judges: "Whether in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not sole judge of the necessity? These guardians of law and liberty replied, with great complacency, "That in a case of necessity he might impose this taxation, and that he was sole judge of the necessity." Hampden had been rated at twenty shillings, for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham: yet, notwithstanding this declared opinion of the judges, notwithstanding the great power and sometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithstanding the small prospect of relief from parliament; he was taxed, rather than to chance to an illegal impost, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days in the exchequer-chamber, between Mr. Justice Jeffreys and Mr. Justice Alderson, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen: but the principles, and reasonings, and behaviour of the parties engaged in the trial, were much examined and improved into the law and equity of the case, so that paid to the one side, except the hatred which attended the other. It was urged by Hampden's counsel, and by his partisans in the nation, that the plea of necessity was in vain imposed on the law, because the very plea of necessity to abolish all law, and, by irresistible violence, to dissolve all the weaker and more artificial ties of human society. Not only the prince, in cases of extreme distress, is exempted from the ordinary rules of administration; all orders of men are then levied; and any individual may consult the public safety by any expedient which his situation enables him to employ. But to produce so violent an effect, and so hazardous to every community, an overstart, in the assumption of a necessity which is merely fictitious and pretended. Where the peril is urgent and extreme, it will be palatable to every member of the society; and though all ancient rules and customs were exposed, as well as men were, men were ready, of themselves, to submit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for their preservation. But what is there in common between such suppositions, and the present condition of the nation? England enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours: and what is more, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves, and by their mutual enmities further insure their tranquillity. The very writs themselves, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the supposition of necessity, and pretend only that the seas are infested with pirates; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well await a legal supply from parliament. The exchequer-chamber is a court of admiralty; which proves a very calm and deliberate species of necessity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requisite for summoning that assembly. It is strange too, that an extreme necessity which is always apparent, and usually comes to a sudden crisis, should now have continued, without intermission, for near four years, and should have remained, during so long a time, invisible to the king and the crown. After all, that the king is sole judge of the necessity: what is this but to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? To expect that the public will be convinced by such reasoning, must aggravate the general indignation; and to have recourse against such persons and their property, so cruel a mockery of their understanding. 

In vain are precedents of ancient writs produced: these writs, when examined, are only found to require the securities of the commonwealth, the security of the crown, and the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, is abolished, and its exercise made subservient to the demands of the commonwealth, and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exercised, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the public. How wide are these precedents and these writs? How is the king to levies into the public service, to build new ships, to victual and pay them, for the public: nay, to furnish money to the crown for that purpose? What security either against the further extension of this claim, or against diverting to other purposes the public money so levied? The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money: whenever any difficulty shall occur, the administration, instead of endeavouring to elude or overcome it by gentle and prudent measures, will instantly represent it as a reason for infringing all ancient laws and institutions: and if such maxims and such practices prevail, what has become of national liberty? What authority is left to the great body of the nation, and to that very petition of right, which, in the present reign, had been so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature? 

The defenceless condition of the kingdom while unprotected with an adequate and secure revenue, established revenues, with the utmost care and frugality, to equip and maintain one; the impossibility of obtaining, on reasonable terms, any voluntary supply from parliament: all these are reasons of state, not topics of law. If these reasons support the king so far as to dispense with the legal rules of government; let him enforce his edicts by his court of star-chamber, the proper instrument of irregular and absolute power; not prostitute the chartered authority of the nation's parliament converted into an instrument of arbitrary and despotic power. If he has none other than this authority, he can have none other than that authority. 

Notwithstanding these reasons, the prejudiced judges, fourscore excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown. He paid the tax, but he was not convinced: for he, which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the dangers to which their liberties were exposed. All the individual and general questions were agitated in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently it did appear to many, that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, they said, concur with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gives aid to civil usurpation; iniquitous taxes are supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lie prostrate at the feet of the monarch. What though public peace and national industry increased the commerce and opulence of the kingdom? This advantage was temporary. The pasture was not sufficient to supply the shipping: which proves a very calm and deliberate species of necessity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requisite for summoning that assembly. It is strange too, that an extreme necessity which is always apparent, and usually comes to a sudden crisis, should now have continued, without intermission, for near four years, and should have remained, during so long a time, invisible to the king and the crown. After all, that the king is sole judge of the necessity: what is this but to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? To expect that the public will be convinced by such reasoning, must aggravate the general indignation; and to have recourse against such persons and their property, so cruel a mockery of their understanding. 

As See State Trials: Article of ship-money, which contains the speeches of four judges in favour of Hampden.
oppressions which they felt, or the greater ills which they apprehended, from the combined encroachments of church and state.

CHAP. LIII.


A D. 1674.

The grievances under which the English labour'd, when considered in themselves, without regard to the constitution, scarce deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome on the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind. Even the imposition of ship-money, independent of the consequences, was a great and evident advantage to the public, by the judicious use which the king made of the money levied by that expedient. And though it was justly apprehended, that such precedents, if patient'y submitted to, would end in a total disuse of parliaments, and in the establishment of arbitrary authority; Charles dreaded the imposition of it, not common'y much affected with consequences, and require some striking motive to engage them in a resistance of established government. All ecclesiastical affairs were settled by law and uninterrapted precedent; and the church became a considerable barrier to the power, both legal and illegal, of the crown. Peace too, industry, commerce, opulence; nay, even justice and lenity of administration, notwithstanding some very few exceptions; all these were enjoyed by the people; and every other blessing of government, except liberty, or rather the present exercise of liberty and its proper security. It seemed probable, therefore, that affairs might have continued on the same footing in England had it not been for the neighbourhood of Scotland; a country more turbulent, and less disposed to submission and obedience. It was thence that the discontent first arose; and it is therefore time for us to return thither, and to give an account of the state of affairs in that kingdom.

Discontents in Scotland.

Though the pacific and not unskilful government of James, and the great authority which he had acquired, had much allayed the feuds among the great families, and had established law and order throughout the kingdom; the Scottish nobility were still possessed of the chief power and influence over the people, the property was excepted from the jurisdictions and the feudal tenures increased their authority; and the attachment of the gentry to the heads of families established a kind of voluntary servitude under their chief. Besides that lordship had much loosened the king's connexions with the nobility, who resided chiefly at their country seats, they were in general at this time, though from slight causes, much dissatisfied with the court. Charles, from the natural piety or superstition of his temper, was extremely attached to the ecclesiastics; and as it is natural for men to persuade themselves that their interest coincides with their inclination; he had established it as a fixed maxim of policy, to increase the power and authority of that body. The prelates he thought, established regularity and discipline among the clergy; the clergy inculcated obedience and loyalty among the people: and as that rank of men had no separate authority, and no independency but on the crown; the royal power, it would seem, might, with the greater safety, be intrusted in their hands. Many of the prelates, therefore, were raised to the chief dignities of the state. Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was created chancellor; nine of the bishops were privy counsellors: the Bishop of Ross aspired to the office of treasurer; some of the prelates possessed places in the exchequer; and it was even entertained to revive the first institution of the college of justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority. These advantages possessed by the church, and which the bishops did not always enjoy with suitable modesty, disgusted the haughty nobility, who, desiring themselves much secure of their property, and qualities to this new order of men, were disinclined to find themselves inferior in power and influence. Interest joined itself to ambition, and begat a jealousy, lest the episcopal sees, which, at the Reformation, had been piled to the bishops, should again assume the precedence of that order. By a most useful and beneficial law, the impropriations had already been ravished from the great men; competent salaries had been assigned to the impoverished clergy from the national estate; and what remained, the proprietor of the land was empowered to purchase at a low valuation. The king likewise, warranted by ancient law and practice, had declared for a general resurrection of all crown lands, alienated by his predecessors; and though he took no step towards the execution of this project, the very pretension to such power had excited jealousy and discontent.

Notwithstanding the tender regard which Charles bore to the whole church, he had been able in Scotland, to acquire only the affection of the superior rank among the clergy. The ministers in general equals, if not exceeding, the nobility, in their prejudices against the court, traitors against the people, whose independence, and connexions with each other, resulted from the want of unity; though the establishment of the hierarchy might seem advantages to the inferior clergy, both as it erected dignities to which all of them might aspire, and as it bestowed a lustre on the whole order. This body, however, was not in the way; these views had no influence on the Scottish ecclesiastics.

In the present disposition of men's minds, there was another circumstance which drew consideration, and counterbalanced power and riches, the equal foundations of distinction among men; and that was, the fervour of piety, and the rhetoric, however barbarous, of religious lectures and discourses. Checked by the prelates in the licence of speaking, the disputation regarding episcopal jurisdiction both as tyranny and a usurpation, and maintained a purity among ecclesiastics to be a divine privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. While such ideas prevailed, the most moderate exercise of authority would have given disgust; much more, that extensive power, which the king's indulgence encouraged the prelates to assume. The jurisdiction of presbyters, synods, and other democratical courts, was, in a manner, abolished by the bishops; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for several years. A new oath was arbitrarily imposed on intrants, by which they swore to observe the articles of Perth, and submit to the liturgy and canons. And in a state of things, in which persons, during a course of thirty years, had been changed by means of the innovations introduced by James and Charles.

The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not but be discontented with the prelates who prevailed among these two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary ones. The same horror against popery, with which the English puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland; and among these, as being more uncultivated and uncivilized, seemed rather to be inflamed to a higher degree of ferocity. The genius of religion, which prevailed in the court and among the prelates, was a great obstacle to an opposite plan of government, and such affinity to the Roman worship, led them to mollify, as much as possible, these severe prejudices, and to speak of the catholics to more charitable language, and with more moderate expressions. From the great fear of popery was easily raised; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine service, was part of that great mystery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the court and the bishops, was extended to the nation.

The few innovations, which James had made, were considered as preparatives to this grand design; and the further alterations attempted by Charles, were represented as a plain declaration of his intentions. Through the whole course of this reign, nothing had more

b Waring, p. 35. 1674. March, p. 50.

4 King's Declaration, p. 7. Franklin, p. 615.
6 May, p. 9.
foul influence, in both kingdoms, than this groundless apprehension, which with so much industry was propagated, and with so much credulity was embraced, by all ranks of men.

Amidst these dangerous complaints and terrors of religious innovation, the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the nation were imagined, and with some reason, not to be altogether free from invasion. The examination of the high commission by James, without any authority of law, seemed a considerable encroachment of the crown, and erected the most dangerous and arbitrary of all courts, by a method equally dangerous and arbitrary. All the steps towards the settlement of episcopacy had indeed been taken with consent of parliament: the articles of Perth were confirmed in 1621; in 1633, the king had obtained a general ratification of every ecclesiastical establishment; but these laws had less authority with the nation, as they were known to have passed contrary to the sentiments even of those who voted for them, and were in reality extorted by the authority and importunity of the sovereign. The means, however, which both James and Charles had employed, in order to reinforce the parliament, were entirely regular; and no reasonable pretence had been afforded for representing these laws as null or invalid.

But the most dreaded among the greater part of the nation another principle, of the most important and most dangerous nature, and which, if admitted, destroyed entirely the validity of all such statutes. The ecclesiastical authority was supposed to be finally independent, and no act of parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself, was represented as sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. And though James had obtained the vote of assemblies for receiving episcopacy and his new rites, it must be confessed that such irregularities had prevailed in constituting these ecclesiastical courts, and such violence in conducting them, that there were some grounds for denying the authority of the Supreme Head. The least consent, attended with such invidious circumstances, would rather be prejudicial to his measures, had wholly laid aside the use of assemblies, and was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church by an authority, to which he thought himself fully entitled, and which he believed inherent in the crown.

The king's great aim was to complete the work so happily begun by his father; to establish discipline upon a regular system of canons, to introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. Some views of policy were imposed upon it by the most urgent motives, which were derived from principles of zeal and consequence.

Introduction of the canons and jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635; and liturgy was received by the nation, though without much appearing opposition, yet with great inward apprehension and discontent. Men felt displeasure at seeing the royal authority highly exalted by them, and represented as absolute and uncontrollable. They saw these speculative principles reduced to practice, and a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent either of church or state. They dreaded lest, by a parity of reason, like arbitrary authority, from like premises and principles be assumed in civil matters; and, indeed, they remarked, that the delicate boundaries which separate church and state were already passed, and many civil ordinances established by the canons, under colour of ecclesiastical authority, might be assumed in civil matters; and all negligence with which these important edicts had been compiled, when they found that the new liturgy or service-book was everywhere, under severe penalties, enjoined by them, though it had not yet been composed or published, brought upon them, and the very reception of it, as the people are most affected by what is external and exposed to the senses, it was apprehended that the chief difficulty would consist.

The liturgy which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland, was copied from that of England: but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his ancient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh.1 But the Scots had universally entertained a notion, that though riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a bountering hand, they still retained their spirit, and a more abundant and more genuine than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained that great tincture of piety, and, their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less show and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained against it, even considered in itself; much more when regarded as a preparative, which was soon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the very few alternations which distinguished the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence; this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion with which the people were possessed.2

Easter-day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: but in order to judge more surely of men's sentiments, the copies of these services were not delivered till the 23rd of July; and they even gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symptoms of discontent were apprehended, the privy-council, being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the nearest sort, most of them women, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, A pope! a pope! anticleric! stone him! raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service, much less to separate the popish from the church building in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: the council was insulted: and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and thus the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: stones were thrown at the doors and windows: and when the service was ended, the bishop, gorgeously, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy-seal, because he carried the bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and hooted at with execrations, and reviled by the populace, that his servants, with drawn swords, had not kept them off, the bishop's life had been exposed to the utmost danger.

Though it was violently suspected, that the low populace, who alone appeared, had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced; and every one spoke with disapprobation of the licentiousness of the giddy multitude. It was not thought safe, however, to hazard a new insult with any new attempt to read the liturgy; and the people seemed, for the time, to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known that the king still persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men fortified themselves still further in their prejudices against it; and great multitudes resolved to come to Edinburg, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty.3 It was not long before they broke out in the most violent disorder. The Bishop of Galloway was attacked in their chariot, and the chamber where the privy-council was sitting. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: the town-council met with the same fate: and nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their flight to the castle, which at last, after some confused confusion and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though nobody of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them.4

All men, however, began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women took part, and, as was usual, with violence: the clergy, everywhere, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same. The pulpit resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist; and the population, who for the first time witnessed what was termed a papist in Balhame's arms, united in itself stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world.1 In short, whatever mingling with faction, private interest with the state, liberty, sympathy, or party, on all hands was abandoned to the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

The private, a man of wisdom and prudence, who was all along adverse to the introduction of the liturgy, represented to the king the state of the nation: the Earl of Traquair, the treasurer, set out for London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him; every circumstance, whether the condition of England or of Scotland were considered, should have engaged him to desist from so hazardous an undertaking: yet was Charles inflexible. In his whole conduct of this affair, there appear no marks of the good sense with which he was endowed: a lively instance of that species of character is found in the frequent instance where there are found parts and judgment in every discourse and opinion; in many actions indiscretion and imprudence. Men's views of things are the result of their understanding alone: their conduct is regulated by their understanding, their temper, and their passions.

A.D. 1638. To so violent a combination of a whole 10th. Feb. kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; in which he punished all past offenders, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the Earl of Hume and Lord Lindsay. This was the first time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, how indurate it extended. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burgesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subcommittees, according to the different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity.2 And amongst all of their government was the production of the Covenant.

The covenant. This famous covenant consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many inventors, fitted to inflame the minds of men against their fellow-creatures, whom Heaven has enjoined them to cherish and to love. There followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever: and all this, for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country:2 the people, without distinction of rank or condition, of all subcommittees, agreeing to the signs of this covenant, few, in their judgment, disapproved of it; and still fewer durst openly condemn it. The king's ministers and counselors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general course of the rebellion but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so sanguinary and so pious a combination. The treacherous, the cruel, the unreeling Philip, accompanied with all the terribleness of Spanish iniquity, was not less, during the preceding century, opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scots, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy.3

The king began to apprehend the consequences. He sent the Marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled: and he thought, that on this part he had made very satisfactory concessions, when he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, till, in a fair and legal way, they could be received; and so to model the high commission, wherein certain exceptions were to be made, that general declarations could not well give content to any, much less to those who carried so much higher their pretensions. The covenanters found themselves secured by a real and whole thing. The tables were assembled in a tumultuous manner in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. Charles possessed so regular forces in either of his kingdoms. And the discontents in England, though secret, were believed so violent, that the king, it was thought, would find it very difficult to employ to such a cause the power of that kingdom. The more, therefore, the popular leaders in Scotland considered their situation, the less apprehension did they entertain of royal power, and the more rigorously did they insist on entire satisfaction. In answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they plainly told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism. And the clergy invited the commissioners. He was not to be met with, where there are found parts and judgment in every discourse and opinion; in many actions indiscretion and imprudence. Men's views of things are the result of their understanding alone: their conduct is regulated by their understanding, their temper, and their passions.

Hamilton returned to London: made another fruitless attempt; obtained no concessions, to Edinburgh; returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The king was now willing entirely to abolish the canons, and regulate the liturgy. He was even resolved to limit extremely the power of the bishops, and was content if on any terms he could retain that order in the church of Scotland.3 And to insure all these gracious offers, he gave Hamilton authority to summon first assembly, then a parliament, where every national grievance might be redressed and remedied. These successive concessions of the king, which yet came still short of the rising demands of the malcontents, discovered his own weakness and the inconstancy of his purpose. The offer, however, of an assembly and a parliament, in which they expected to be entirely masters, was willingly embraced by the covenanters.

Charles, desiring what advantage his enemies had reapprised from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side; and he ordered one to be drawn up for that purpose. It consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery above mentioned; which, though the king did not approve of it, he thought it safest to adopt, in order to remove all the suspicions entertained against him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had been careful not to except the king; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expressed the duty and loyalty of the subscribers to his majesty.2 But the covenanters, perceiving that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide their interests, and that its ultimate aim seemed to detestation, and without delay they proceeded to model the future assembly, from which such great achievements were expected.4

The genius of that religion which prevailed in Scotland, and which, every day, was secretly gaining ground in England, was far from inculcating deference and submission to the ecclesiastics; it was raised up as a wage army to resist God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so sanguinary and so pious a combination. And amongst all of their government was the production of the Covenant.

The Covenant's. This famous covenant consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many inventors, fitted to inflame the minds of men against their fellow-creatures, whom Heaven has enjoined them to cherish and to love. There followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever: and all this, for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country:2 the people, without distinction of rank or condition, of all subcommittees, agreeing to the signs of this covenant, few, in their judgment, disapproved of it; and still fewer durst openly condemn it. The king's ministers and counselors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general course of the rebellion but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so sanguinary and so pious a combination. The treacherous, the cruel, the unreeling Philip, accompanied with all the terribleness of Spanish iniquity, was not less, during the preceding century, opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scots, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy.

1 King's Decl. p. 57. 2 King's Decl. p. 57. 3 King's Decl. p. 57. 4 King's Decl. p. 57. 5 George's Decl. p. 57. 6 George's Decl. p. 57.
The clergy of Scotland, though such tumult was excited about religious worship and discipline, were both poor and in small numbers; nor are they in general to be considered, at least in the beginning, as the ringleaders of the sedition which was raised upon the non-conformity, the imprudence, the lassitude, apprehending, from several instances which occurred, a spirit of moderation in that order, resolved to dominate entirely in the assembly which was summoned, and to hurry on the ecclesiastics by the same furious zeal with which they were carried on in England. It had been usual, before the establishment of prelacy, for each presbytery to send to the assembly, besides two or three ministers, one lay-commissioner; and, as all the ministers and assessors, of any kind, had men of affairs and men of weight among them, they were also sent. The number of assessors, on the other hand, was fixed by the assembly, and in 1638 was 76. This was doubtless intended to equalize the ecclesiastical court nearly equally the ecclesiastics. Not only this institution, which James, apprehensive of zeal in the cause, had abolished, was now revived by the covenanters: they also introduced an innovation, which served still further to reduce the clergy to subjection. By an edict of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder from each parish was ordered to attend the presbytery, and to give his voice in the choice of both of the commissioners. But ministers who should be deputed to the assembly. As it is not usual for the ministers who are put in the list of candidates, to claim a vote, all the elections, by that means, fell into the hands of the clergy; yet more serious, the more to overawe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon, of choosing to every commissioner, four or five lay assessors, who though they could have no voice, yet might influence the election. This was done to indemnify the church, to which, in their last assembly, they had been defeated, by a tumultuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious trites, and faction without a reasonable object. The assembly met at Glasgow: and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators; and it was thought, that the resolutions taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into, of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner, too, protested against that court, as illegally constituted, and selected; and, in his majesty’s name, dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly since the accession of James VI. had been, upon pretty reasonable grounds, declared null and invalid: and not only a parliament which affected ecclesiastical affairs were supposed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority; but such a measure was perceived as an innovation, which might subject the whole nation. The assembly, though with the commotion, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

The independence of the ecclesiastical establishment, upon a Presbyterian principle, which had been zealously adopted at the Reformation, and which, though James and Charles had obliged the church publicly to disclaim it, had secretly been adhered to by all ranks of people. It was commonly asked, whether Christ or the king were superior? And as the answer seemed obvious, it was inferred, that the assembly, being Christ’s council, was superior in all spiritual matters to the parliament, which was only the king’s. But as the covenanters were considered, though it seemed to them irrefragable, would not be assented to by the king; it became necessary to maintain their religious tenets by military force, and not to trust entirely to supernatural assistance, of which, however, they held themselves well assured. They cast their eyes on all sides, abroad and at home, whence ever they could expect any aid or support. 

After France and Holland had entered into a league against Spain, and framed a treaty of partition, by which they were to conquer and to divide between them the Low Country provinces, England was invited to preserve neutrality between the contracting powers, and the French and Dutch should attack the maritime towns of Flanders. But the king replied to De Estrades, the French ambassador, who opened the proposal, that he had a sufficient army ready, and could cut off the French with an army of 15,000 men, in order to prevent these projected conquests. This answer, which proves that Charles, though he expressed his mind with an imprudent candour, had at last acquired a just idea of national interest, irritated Cardinal Richelieu; and in revenge, that politic and enterprising minister carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the covenanters with money and arms, in order to encourage them in their opposition against their sovereign. But the chief resource of the Scottish malcontents was in themselves and in their own vigour and abilities. No regular established commonwealth could take just measures; great measures, or execute them. The more to overawe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon, of choosing to every commissioner, four or five lay assessors, who though they could have no voice, yet might influence the election. This was done to indemnify the church, to which, in their last assembly, they had been defeated, by a tumultuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious trites, and faction without a reasonable object. The whole kingdom was in a manner engaged; and the ministers and covenanters, of families of the first rank, of which their family interest enabled them to maintain. The Earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporise, had at last embraced the covenant; and he became the chief leader of that party; a man equally capable and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a factious and turbulent period. The Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Lothian, the Lords Linsey, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, distinguished themselves in that party. Many Scotch officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under War. Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. The command was intrusted to Lesley, a soldier of experience and abilities. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles which belonged to the king, being unprovided with victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized. And the whole country, except a small party, where the Marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the covenanters, was in a very little time put into a tolerable posture of defence. The fortifications of Edinburgh were begun, and carried on with great rapidity. Besides the inferior sort, and those who laboured for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hand to the work, and deemed the most abject employment to be dignified by the sanctity of the cause. Women, too, of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the lowest rabble; and carried on their shoulders the rash business requisite for completing the fortifications. We must not omit another auxiliary of the covenanters, and no inconsiderable one; a prophetess, who was much followed and adored by the people. She was Michelsinn, a woman full of wisdom, partly hysteric, partly religious; and inflamed with a zealous concern for the ecclesiastical discipline of the presbyterians. She spoke at certain times only, and had often interruptions of days and weeks; but when she began to renew her exertions, warning of the happy event was conveyed over the whole country, thousands crowded about her house, and every word which she uttered was received with veneration. The reason, as the most obvious one, was that the prophetess was an invener...
tion of Satan. When she spoke of Christ, he usually gave him the name of the Covenanting Jesus. Rollo, a popular preacher, and zealous covenant, was her great favourite; and passed her, on his part, no less veneration.

Being desired by the spectators to pray a prayer, and to speak to her, he answered, " That is not right, not, that it would be ill manners in him to speak, while his master Christ was speaking in her ot.

Charles had agreed to reduce ecclesiastical authority so much as the people of Scotland had long been of any service to support the crown; and this sacrifice of his own interests he was willing to make, in order to attain public tranquility and peace. But he could not consent entirely to abdication, which he fealt far better than what is usual of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. This narrowness of mind, if we would be impartial, we must either blame or excuse equally on both sides; and thereby antici-

S过高 was Charles's aversion to violent and sanguinary measures, and so strong his affection to his native kingdom, that it is probable the contest he was already near to these laudable passions and his at-

Charles's foresight and prudence, and made him take those military preparations which he had projected for subduing the re-

the Queen had great interest with the catholics, both from the sympathy of religion, and from the favours and indulgences which she had been able to procure to them. She now employed her credit, and pers-

While the whole had the appearance of a splen-

The Scottish army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers had more reputation and experience; and the soldiers, though disciplined and ill-arm’d, were animated as well by the national aversion, and the dread of becoming a province to their old enemies, as by an unsurmountable fervour of religion. The pulpits had already assisted the officers in leving recruits, and had thundered out anathemas against all who should not to an end the Lord against the mighty? Yet so prudent were the leaders of the mal-

Charles knew that the force of the Covenanters was con-


cents, besides that the prelacy must be sacrificed to their religious prejudices, such a check would be given to royal authority, which had, very lately, and with much difficulty, been thoroughly established in Scotland, that he must expect to lose his kingdom through this check rather than the appearance of majesty. The great men, having proved, by so sensible a trial, the impotence of law and prerogative, would return to their former licentiousness: the preachers would retain their innate arrogance and the people, used to the privileges of justice, would retain their authority than that which they found to domineer over them. England also, it was much to be feared, would imitate so bad an example; and having already a strong propensity of the people to domineer over the crown, they would expect, by the same sedulous practices, to attain the same indulgence. To advance so far, without bringing the rebels to a total submission, at least to reasonable con-

On the other hand, Charles considered that Scotland was never before, under any of his ancestors, so united, and so animated in its own defense; yet had often been able to foal or elude the force of England, combined heartily in one cause, and imured by long practice to the use of arms. How much greater difficulty should he find at present, to persuade the people to an abdication, on any religious prejudices; while he could only oppose to them a nation endued by long peace, and lukewarm in its service, or, what was more to be dreaded, many of them engaged in the same party with himself for a while. Should the war be ever ended beyond a considerable time (he could expect to finish it in that period) his treasuries would fail him; and for supply, he must have recourse to an English parliament, which, by fatal experience he had already found the crown had been in his time more to supply the necessities of the crown. And what if he receive a defeat from the rebel army! This misfortune was far from being impossible. They were engaged in a national cause, and the nobles and gentlemen would rally on the king's side.

His army was retained entirely by pay, and looked on the quarrel with the same indifferency which naturally belongs to mercenary troops, without possessing the discipline by which such troops are commonly distinguished. And the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was engaged and England discontented, were so dreadful, that no motive should persuade him to hazard it.

It is evident that Charles had fallen into such a situa-

The malcontents had been very industrious in repre-

braced. So far, therefore, from being willing to second the king in subduing the free spirits of the Scots; they rather pitied that unhappy people, who had been pushed to those extremes: and they thought that the example of Ireland and France should be offered as a model. An English monarch could, perhaps, be persuaded, in some time, to be more advantageous to England, and encourage her to recover, by a vigorous effort, her violated laws and liberties. The gentry and nobility, who, without attachment to the assembly, were prepossessed against the Scotch, had made before a detachment of the Scotch, caused all their hostilities to blaze up at once: and the king, whose character was not sufficiently vigorous or decisive, and who was apt, from facility, to embrace hasty counsels, suddenly assented to a measure which was recommended by all about him, and which favoured his natural propensity towards the misguided subjects of his native kingdom.

Charles, having so far advanced in pacific measures, ought not to have recommended them, and have submitted to every tolerable condition demanded by the assembly and parliament; nor should he have recommenced hostilities, but on account of such enormous sums. The king of Traquair had laid down a prudent cause, if possible, to the whole English nation. So far, indeed, he adopted this plan, that he agreed not only to confirm his former concessions of abrogating the canons, the liturgy, the high commission, and the articles of Perth; but, in the opportunity of the Scottish parliament, he had so zealously contended. But this concession was gained by the utmost violence which he could impose on his disposition and prejudices: he even secretly retained an intention of seizing favourable opportunities, in order to recover the ground which he had lost. And one step further he could not prevail with himself to advance. The assembly, when it met, paid no deference to the king's prepossession: they were determined to do otherwise. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: he was willing to allow it contrary to the constitutions of that church. They stigmatized the liturgy and canons as popish: he agreed simply to abolish them. They denounced the high commission, tyranny: he was content to set it aside. The parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced preconceptions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarchy, to put the country in debt; and, what was worse, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when, by the king's instructions, Traquair, the commissioner, prorogued them. And on account of these measures, which, if once foreseen, was the war renewed with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king.

No sooner had Charles concluded the pacification without conditions, than the necessity of his affairs and his want of money obliged him to disband his army; and as the soldiers had been held together solely by mercenary views, it was not possible, without great trouble, and expense, and loss of time, again to assemble them. The more prudent covenanters had concluded, that their pretensions being so contrary to the interests, and still more to the inclinations, of the king, it was likely that they should again be obliged to support their cause by arms; and that they were therefore careful in distinguishing their treachery: to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacific disposition. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: the soldiers were warned not to think that they were now supported by an English invasion: and the religious zeal which animates all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their standards as soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders. The crown, which in their last expedition they had acquired, by obliterating their past errors and pretensions, gave courage to every one in undertaking this new enterprise. a

The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army; but soon discovered, that all savings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenue would be insufficient to support them anent, therefore, his uneasiness was such and unkind and irremediable, must now, after above eleven years' intermission, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, after much forced revenue, and after the courtier's excessive efforts to satisfy all the most pressing necessities of the crown.

As the king resolved to try, whether this House of Commons would be more propitious than his predecessor, and grant him supply on any reasonable terms; the time appointed for the meeting of parliament was late, and very near the time allotted for opening the campaign against the Scots. After the past experience of their ill humour, and of their encroaching disposition, he thought that he could not in prudence trust them with a long session, till he had seen some better proofs of their good intentions: the urgency of the occasion, and the little time allowed for debate, were reasons which he reserved against the malcontents in the House: and an incident had happened, which, he believed, had now furnished him with still more cogent arguments.

He had intercepted a letter written to the King of France by the Scottish malcontents; and had conveyed this letter to the king. Charles, partly repenting of the large concessions made to the Scots, partly disgusted at their fresh insolence and pretensions, seized on it with glee. He conducted Traquair, now Earl of Loudon, commissioner from the covenanters; one of the persons who had signed the treasonable letter. And he now had the matter before the parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the resentment, and alarm by the danger, of this application to a foreign power. By the mouth of the lord keeper, Finch, he discovered his wants, and informed them that he had been able to assemble his army, and, from his numbers and distance, which he possessed, but by means of a large debt of above 300,000 pounds which he had contracted, and for which he had given security upon the crown-lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments: that the season was far advanced, the time precious, and none of it must be lost in deliberation: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhausted by unnecessary pence, or unnecessary expenses, but that all was of a kind of magnificence: that whatever supplies had been levied on his subjects, had been employed for their advantage and preservation, and like vapours rising out of the earth, and gathering into a cloud, had fallen in sweet and refreshing showers on the same fields from which they had been at first exhaled: that though he desired such immediate assistance as might prevent for the time a total disorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them from their right to inquire into the state of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the redress of their grievances: that as much as was possible of this season should afterwards be allowed them for that purpose: that as he expected only such supply as present as the current service necessarily required, it would be requisite to assemble them again next winter, when they should have full leisure to conclude whatever business had this session; and that business was therefore so urgent among them: that the parliament of Ireland had twice put such trust in his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the session, a large supply, and had ever experienced good effects from the confidence reposed in him; that, in every circumstance, his people should, forsworn and such as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and parliament.

However plausible these topics, they made small impression on the House of Commons. By some illegal, and several suspicious, measures of the crown, and by the
courageous opposition which particular persons, amidst
dangers and hardships, had made to them; the minds of
men, throughout the nation, had taken such a turn, as to
ascribe every honour to the refractory opposers of the king
and the ministers. These were the only patriots, the only
lovers of their country, the only heroes, and perhaps, too,
the only true Christians. A reasonable compliance with
the court was slavish dependence; a regard to the king,
secret flattery; the breach of his confidence was evidence
of his perfidy, shame, and prostitution. This general cast of thought, which has, more or
less, prevailed in England, during near a century and a
half, and which has been the cause of much good and much ill
in this world, never prevailed more than during the
reign of Charles. The present House of Commons,
being entirely composed of country gentlemen, who came
into parliament with all their native prejudices about them,
and whom the crown had no means of influencing, could
not fail to contain a majority of these stubborn patriots.
Affairs likewise, by means of the Scottish insurrection,
and the general discontents in England, were drawn so
near to a crisis, that the leaders of the House, sagacious
and persevering, began to foresee the consequences, and
to hope, that the time, so long wished for, was now come,
when royal authority must fall into a total subordination
under popular assemblies, and when public liberty must
acquire a firm and stable foundation. By reducing the crown to
its natural circumstances, they had hitherto found, that the king had been
pushed into violent counsels, which had served extremely
the purposes of his adversaries; and by multiplying these
necessities from prodigality, they, having examined on all sides, must, at last, be overthrown, and be
no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people.
Whatever, therefore, tended to compose the differences
between king and parliament, and to preserve the govern-
ment uniformly in its present channel, was zealously op-
posed by these popular leaders; and their past conduct
and sufferings gave them credit sufficient to effect all their
purposes.

The House of Commons, moved by these and many
other obvious reasons, instead of taking notice of the
king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his
applications for supply, entered immediately upon griev-
ances; and a speech which Pym made them on that
subject, was much more heartened to, than that which
the lord keeper had delivered to them in the name of their
sovereign. The subject of Pym's harangue has been suf-
ficiently explained above; where we have an account of
all the grievances, imaginary in the church, more real in
the state, of which the nation, at that time, so loudly complained.4

The House began with examining the
behaviour of the speaker the last day of the former par-
liament; when he had refused to pay the king's dem-
and, to put the question; and they declared it a breach of
privilege. They proceeded next to inquire into the
imprisonment and prosecution of Sir John Eliott, Hollis,
and Valentine; the affair of ship-money was canvassed;
and plentiful subject of inquiry was suggested on all
hands. Grievances were regularly classed under three
heads; those with regard to privileges of parliament, to
the property of the subject, and to religion.5 The king,
seeing a large and inextricable field opened, pressed
them again for supply; and finding his message inef-
factual, he came to the House of Peers, and desired their
good offices with the Commons. The peers were sensible
of the king's urgent necessities; and thought that
supply, on this occasion, ought, both in reason and in
decency, to go before grievances. They ventured to
represent their sentiments to the Commons; but their
interference did harm. The Commons had always
claimed, as their peculiar province, the granting of sup-
plies; and though the Peers had here gone no further than
offering advice, the lower House immediately thought
properly to deprive those to whom they should belong, of
their breach of privilege.6 Charles, in order to bring the matter
of supply to some issue, solicited the House by new mes-
sages: and finding that ship-money gave great alarm and
distress to the lower classes, he was never inter
ested in making a constant revenue of it, that all the money levied
had been regularly, with other great sums, expended on
supplying the navy; he now went so far as to offer them
a total abolition of that obnoxious claim, by any law
which the Commons should think proper to present to
him. In return, he only asked, for his necessities, a sup-
ply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand
pounds, and that payable in three years; but at the same
time, he let them know, that considering the situation
of the nation, he had no money to spare.7 The king, though the majority was against him, never had
more friends in any House of Commons; and the debate
was carried on for two days, with great zeal and warmth
on both sides.

It was urged by the partisans of the court, that the hap-
pier occasion, which the fondest wishes could suggest, was
now presented, for removing all disgusts and jealousies
between king and people, and for reconciling their sove-
igns for ever to the use of parliaments. That if they,
on their part, laid aside all enormous claims and preten-
sions, and provided, in a reasonable manner, for the public
necessities; they needed entertain no suspicion of any
insoluble or illegal usurpation in the crown. That though due regard had not always been paid, during
this reign, to the rights of the people, yet no invasion of
them had been altogether deliberate and voluntary; murb
Shrews, a matter of accident, being a rash, impudent,
less, of a formed design to subvert the constitution. That
to repose a reasonable confidence in the king, and gener-
ously to supply his present wants, which proceeded neither
from the desire of extorting, nor from an ill-intention of
the king, he would by no means, but an act of gaining on his generous nature, and extorting, by gentle
violence, such concessions as were requisite for the establish-
ment of public liberty. That he had promised, not only
on the word of a prince, but also on that of a gentleman,
the expression which he had been pleased to use, that
after the supply was granted, the parliament should still
have liberty to continue their deliberations: could it be
suspected, that any man, any prince, much less such a one,
whose word was but as yet, scanty and invalid, would for
so small a motive forfeit his honour, and, with it, all
future trust and confidence, by breaking a promise so
public and so solemn? That even, if the parliament should
be deceived in repose this confidence in him, they
never lost any thing, nor incurred any danger; since it was
evidently necessary, for the security of public peace, to
supply him with money in order to suppress the Scottish
rebellion. That he had so far suited his first demands to
their prejudices, that he only asked a supply for a few
months, and was willing, after so short a trust from them,
to fall again into dependence, and to trust them for his
further support and subsistence. That if he now seemed
desirous of such a supply, it was a matter of necessity
and policy, and, besides, he made a considerable offer, and was willing, for the future, to
depend on them for a revenue, which was quite necessary
for public honour and security. That the nature of the
English constitution supposed a mutual confidence be-
tween king and parliament; and if they should refuse it
on their part, especially with circumstances of such out-
rage and indignity; what could be expected but a total
dissolution of government, and violent factions, followed
by the most dangerous convulsions and intestine disorders?

In opposition to these arguments, it was urged by the
malcontent party, that the court had discovered, on their
part, but few symptoms of patriotism or good-will, for
which they now so kindly invited the Commons. That
eleven years' intermission of parliaments, the longest that
was to be found in the English annals, was a sufficient
indication of the jealousy entertained against the people;
or rather of designs formed for the suppression of all their
liberties and privileges. That the ministers might well
plead necessity, nor could any thing, indeed, be a stronger
proof of some insinuable necessity, than their embracing a
moral, and a corporal, and a personal punishment; that their
aversion, as the assembling of an English parliament.
That this necessity, however, was purely ministerial, not
national: and if the same grievances, ecclesiastical and
disputable, under which they themselves laboured, had gushed
the Scots to extremities; was it requisite that the English

5 Rush. vol. iii. p. 1136.
6 Idem, ch. iii. p. 1147.
should forge their own chains, by imposing chains on their unhappy neighbours? That the ancient practice of parliament was to give grievances the precedence of supply; and that it ought to stand as a rule to an assembly of men, that the course of the precedents should not be followed, formed on a jealousy inherent in the constitution, and was never interpreted as any peculiar difficulty of the present sovereignty. That a practice, which had been upheld, during times, by the most delicate liberty, might not, in common prudence, be departed from, where such undeniable reasons for suspicion had been afforded. That it was ridiculous to plead the advanced season, and the urgency of supply; when it plainly appeared, that in order to afford security for the present, and to reduce the Commons, great political contrivance had been employed. That the writs for elections were issued early in the winter; and if the meeting of parliament had not purposely been delayed till so near the commencement of military operations, there had been leisure sufficient to have redressed all national grievances, and to have proceeded afterwards to an examination of the King's occasion for supply. That the intention of so gross an artifice was to engage the Commons, under pretence of necessity, to violate the regular order of parliament; and a precedent of that kind being once established, no inquiry into public matters, would afterwards be practicable; because, any argument more unanswerable could be pleaded for supply, than an offer to abolish ship-money; a taxation the most illegal, and the most dangerous, that had ever, in any reign, been imposed upon the nation: and that, by bypassing the Commons, the King might, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; at least, give encouragement for advancing new pretentions of a like nature, in hopes of resigning them on like advantageous conditions.

These reasons, joined to so many occasions of ill-humour, seemed to sway with the greater number: but to make the matter worse, Sir Harry Vane, the secretary, told the Commons, that without any authority from the king, nothing less than twelve subsidies would be accepted as a compensation for the abolition of ship-money. This assertion, proceeding from the indiscretion, if we are not rather to call it the treachery, of Vane, displeased the House, by showing a stiffness and rigidity in the king, which, in a claim so ill-grounded, was deemed inexcusable. We are informed likewise, that some men, who were thought to understand the state of the nation, affirmed in the House, that the amount of twelve subsidies was a greater sum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of those times, with regard to taxes.

The king was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw that his friends in the House were out numbered by his enemies, and that the same counsels were still prevalent, which had ever bred such opposition and disturbance. Instead of hoping that any supply would be granted him to carry on war against the Scots, whom the majority of the House regarded as their best friends and firmest allies; he expected every day that they would present him an address for making peace with those rebels. And if the House met again, a vote, was informed, would certainly pass, to blast his revenue of ship-money; and thereby rene

all the opposition, which, with so much difficulty, he had surrounded in levying that taxation. Where great events can all succeed it is difficult to follow the best conduct, and nor is it any wonder, that the king, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy,

Disolution. should hastily have formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this parliament: a measure however of which he soon after repented, and which the subsequent events, more than any convincing reason, inclined every one to condemn. The last parliament, which ended with such vigour and violence, had yet, as it first creased their intentions with greater appearance of moderation than this parliament had hitherto assumed.

An abrupt and violent dissolution naturally excites disputes among the people, who usually put entire confidence in their representatives, and expect from them the redress of all grievances. As if there were not already sufficient grounds of complaint, the king persevered still to act with such oppression. In those counsels, which, from experience, he might have been sensible were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and Sir John Hotam were summoned before the council; and refusing to give any account of their conduct to parliament, were committed to prison, for the petitions and complaints, which had been made to the public authorities, or were demanded from Crew, chairman of the commitee, and on his refusal to deliver them, he was sent to the Tower. The studies, and even the pockets, of the Earl of Warwick and Lord Brooke, before the expiration of privilege, were searched, in expectation of finding treasurable papers. These acts of authority were interpreted, with some appearance of reason, to be invasions on the right of national assemblies. But the king, after the first provocation which he met with, over sufficiently respected the privileges of parliament; and by his example, he further confirmed their resolution, when they should acquire a support, to pay like disregard to the prerogatives of the crown.

Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation was still allowed to sit; a practice, of which, since the Reformation, there was but few instances, and which was allowed for the reason that it would be illegal to grant to the king a supply from the spirituality, and framing many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with those which had taken place in Scotland, imposed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the universities, by which every one swore to maintain the established government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c. These steps, to the present; the chief advantage of which, was to extend the subsidies deemed illegal; because not ratified by consent of parliament, in whom all authority was now supposed to be centred. And nothing besides could afford more subject of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an et cetera in the midst of it.

The people, who generally abhorred the Dissolution in convocation as much as they revered the parliament, could scarcely be restrained from insulting and abusing this assembly; and the king was obliged to give them guards in order to protect them. An attack too was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above 500 persons; and he found it necessary to fortify himself for his defence. A mark was given of two thousand sectaries, entered St. Paul's, where the high commission then sat; tore down the benches; and cried out, No bishop, no high commission. All these instances of discontent were pressages of some great revolution; had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it.

In this disposition of men's minds, it was in vain that the king issued a declaration, in order to convince his people of the necessity, which he lay under, of dissolving the last parliament. The chief topic, on which he insisted, was, that the Commons imitated the bad example of all their predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in crowning his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his standing revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors; and these practices were totally incompatible with monarchy.
The king, disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, was obliged to recourse to other expedients, in order to supply his urgent necessities. The ecclesiastical subsidies were most unsatisfactory; and it was known that the clergy should contribute to a war, which was in a great measure of their own raising. 1 He borrowed money from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he belabored among the people, that it is said, 30,000 pounds were lent to the king in a few days; though nothing but treachery could be more disagreeable to a prince, full of dignities, than to be a burden on his friends, instead of being a support to them. Some persons thought the king inclined towards forming a party from the court, yet still repelled by the spirit of liberty, which was now become unconquerable. 2 A loan of 40,000 pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had built in the Tower, exposed to the risk of insolvency, and of course of prejudice from the soldiery, levied on the counties; an ancient practice, 3 but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India Company upon trust, and sold, at a great detriment, for very meagre and most unprofitable land; covering two or three thousand pounds of base money. 4 Such were the extremities to which Charles was reduced. The fresh difficulties which, amidst the present distress, did not fail of being added to the present load of step-money, obliged him to exert continual acts of authority, augmented the discontent of the people, and increased his indigence and necessitines. 5 To these arts, however, the king added the public service, though with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of 19,000 feet, and 2000 horses. The Earl of Northumberland was appointed general: the Earl of Stratford, who was the vice-regent of Ulster in Ireland, became general of the horse; and Lord Conway, general of the foot. A small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition. 6

Great were the effects of zeal and unanimity, that the Scottish army, though somewhat less ready than the king's; and they marched to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, besides their general knowledge of the secret discontents of that kingdom, Lord Laisthe had forged a letter to the king of Scots, and undertook the negotiation of a treaty at Hip. 

The Scots upon whom, the king agreed in a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. The Earl of Herbert, the Earl of Devon, Lord Bolingbroke, and the bishop of London, Newburn, Bristol, and Berkshire, the Lords Kencott, Wharton, Dunsmore, Pake, Broke, Savile, Poulte, and Howard of Exeter, were chosen by the king; all of them popular men, and well known to the people of Scotland, in order to prevent any rotation taken, against such an expedition. In order to secure the meetings of the parliament, the king renewed the lease of the castle of the Tower, and the new subsidy, and the extension of the privileges conferred on the church. 7

On the 20th August, the king, by a detachment of 4500 men under Conway, was supposed to determine with respect to the passage of the river. The Scots first entrenched, with great civility, not to stop the people that would go down, and then attacked them with great bravely, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground. Such a panic seized the whole English army, that the Earl of Newburn, the queen's brother, fled to the side of Durham; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire. 8

The Scots took possession of Newcastle; and though sufficiently strong to have maintained it for their victory, but they were weak in discipline, and persevered in their resolution of paying for every thing, in order still to maintain the appearance of an amicable correspondence with England. They also depatched messengers to the queen, who arrived in York; and they took care, after the advantage which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and they even made apologues, full of sorrow and contrition, which spoiled all the occasion. 9

The nation was universally and highly discontented. The army was discouraged, and began likewise to be discontented, both from the conventicle of general disgust, and as an excuse of their extraordinary situation, when deserting rather than want of will than of courage to fight. The treasury too was quite exhausted, and every expedition for supply had been tried to the utmost. No event had happened which might have been rendered authoritative, at least as very probable; yet such was the king's situation, that no provision could be made, nor was even any resolution taken, against such an exigency. 10

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all things the House of Commons, and who expected no supply from them on any reasonable terms, thought, that in his present distresses, he might be enabled to levy supplies by the authority of the peers alone. But the employing the army to a necessity which appeared distant and doubtful, rendered it impossible for him to avail himself of a necessity which was now at last become real, urgent, and inevitable.

By Northumberland's sickness, the command of the army had devolved on Strafford. This nobleman possessed more vigour of mind than the king or any of the council. He advised Charles rather to put all to hazard, than to throw the issue of the necessity which appeared imminent into the hands of the army. His opinion therefore was, that the king should push forward, and attack the Scots, and bring the affair to a quick decision; and if he were ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befall him, than what, from his inactivity, he would certainly be exposed to. To show how easy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an assault to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and he gained an advantage over them. Necessity of arms had as yet been agreed to during the treaty at Ripon; yet great clamour prevailed, on account of this act of hostility. And when it was known that the officer who conducted the assault, was a violent outcast was raised against the king, for employing that hated sect to the murder of his protestant subjects.

It may be worthy of remark, that several mutinies had arisen among the English troops, when marching to join the army; and some officers had been murdered, merely on suspicion of their being papists. The petition of right had abolished all martial law; and by an inconvenience which naturally attended the plan, as yet new and unformed, these martial laws were made absolutely impossible for the generals to govern the army, by all the authority which the king could legally confer upon them. The lawyers had declared, that martial law could not be executed, except in the presence of an enemy; and because it had been found necessary to execute a mutineer, the generals thought it advisable, for their own safety, to apply for a pardon from the crown. This weakness, however, was executed by the king, and by the council. Conway said, that if any lawer were so unwise to attempt to discover the secret to the soldiers, it would be necessary instantly to refuse him, and to hang the lawyer himself by sentence of a court-martial.

An army thus undisciplined, frightened, sedition, ill-paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and retaining in subjection a discontented and zealous nation.

Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last determined to yield to it; and as he foresaw, that the great council of the peers would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech, that he had already taken this resolution. He informed them likewise, that the queen, in a letter which she had written to him, had very earnestly recommended that step to him. This good prince, who was extremely attached to his consort, and who passionately wished to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amidst all his distress, the interests of his domestic tenement.

In order to subjoin both armies, (for the king was obliged, in order to save the northern counties, to pay his enemies,) Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of 200,000 pounds. And the peers at York, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, even joined in the same request. So low was this price already fallen in the eyes of his own subjects!

As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scots, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: a proposal willingly embraced by that nation, who were now sure of treating with advantage, in a place where the king, they foresaw, would be in a manner a prisoner, in the midst of his implacable enemies and their determined friends.

**Chap. LIV.**

Meeting of the long parliament—Strafford and Laud impeached—Lush and Wharton by—Great authority of the Commons—The bishops attacked—Lomond and powicock—Ordered till—Strafford's trial—Bill of attainder—Execution of Strafford—High commission and star-chamber abolished—King's journey to Scotland.

The causes of distrust which, for above thirty years, had been daily multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great revolution or convulsion. The uncertain and undefined limits of prerogative and privilege had been eagerly disputed during that whole period; and in every controversy between prince and people, the question, however doubtful, had always been decided by each party in favour of its own pretensions. Too lightly, perhaps, moved by the appearance of necessity, the king had even assumed powers incompatible with the principles of limited government, and had rendered it impossible for his most zealous partisans entirely to justify his conduct, except by topics so unpopular, that they were more fitted, in the present position of men's minds, to inflame than to appease the general discontent. Those great supports of public authority, law and religion, had likewise, by the unbounded compliance of judges and prelates, lost much of their influence over the people; or rather, had in every respect been identified with the law and religion, authorized the spirit of opposition and rebellion. The nobility, also, whom the king had no means of retaining by offices and preferments suitable to their rank, had been persuaded with the general discontent, and unwarily threw themselves into the scale which already began too much to preponderate. Sensible of some encroachments which had been made by royal authority, men entertained no jealousy of the Commons, whose enterprises for the acquisition of power had ever been covered with the appearance of public good, and had hitherto gone no further than some disappointment efforts and endeavours. The progress of the Scottish malcontents reduced the king to an entire dependence for support upon the people, and in England brought great accession of authority to the latter: the near prospect of success roused all latent murmurs and pretensions, which had hitherto been held in check violent constraint, and the talk of revolution and opinion ran so strongly against the court, that the king was in no situation to refuse any reasonable demands of the popular leaders, either for defining or limiting, the powers of his prerogative. Even many extravagant claims, in his present situation, would probably be made, and must necessarily be complied with.

The triumph of the malcontents over the church, was not yet so immediate or certain. Though the political and religious partisans mutually lent assistance to each other, there were many who joined the former, yet declined all connexion with the latter. The hierarchy had been embarrassed in England, ever since the Reformation: the Romish church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of ecclesiastical government: the ancient fathers, too, bore testimony to episcopal jurisdiction: and though charity may seem at first to have had place among Christian pastors, the period during which it prevailed, was so short, that few undisputed traces of it remained in history. The bishops, and their more zealous partisans, inferred thence the divine indefeasible right of prelacy: others regarded that institution as venerable and useful: and if the love of novelty led some to adopt the new rites and discipline of the puritans, the reverence to antiquity retained many in their attachment to the liturgy and government of the church. It behaved, therefore, the zealous innovators in...
parliament to proceed with some caution and reserve. By promoting all measures which reduced the powers of the crown, they hoped to disarm the king, whom they justly regarded, from private, but with the object of controlling policy, to be the determined patron of the hierarchy. By declaring against the supposed encroachments and tyranny of the prelates, they endeavoured to carry the nation from a hatred of their persons, to an opposition against their office and character. And when the means to effect this were difficult, they thought, to lead them, by degrees, into many measures, for which they formerly entertained the greatest aversion. Though the new sectaries composed not, at first, the majority of the nation, they were inflamed, as is usual among innovators, with extreme zeal for their opinions. Their unaccountable passion, disguised to themselves, as well as to others, under the appearance of holy fervour, was well qualified to make proselytes, and to seize the minds of the ignorant multitude. And one furious enthusiast was able, by his active industry, to surround the indolent efforts of many sober and reasonable antagonists.

When the nation, therefore, was so generally disconsolate, and little suspicion was entertained of any design to subvert the church and monarchy; so wonder that almost all elections ran in favour of those who, by their bugbear, morality, to poetry and politics, had encouraged the national prejudices. It is a usual compliment to regard the king's inclination in the choice of a speaker; and Charles had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to a place of importance. It was not the least interest of the crown at that time possess in the nation, that Gardiner was disappointed of his election, not only in London, but in every other place where it was attempted. And the king was obliged to make the choice of speaker fall on Lenthall, a lawyer of some character, but not sufficiently qualified for so high and difficult an office.  

The eager expectations of men with regard to the long-dispatched, to a parliament, summoned at so critical a period, during such general dissensions; a parliament which, from the situation of public affairs, could not be abruptly dissolved, and which was to execute every thing left unfinished by former parliaments; these motives, so important and interesting, engaged the attendance of all the members; and the House of Commons was never observed to be, from the beginning, so full and numerous. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business, and, by unanimous consent, they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive.

The Earl of Strafford was considered as chief minister, both of the credit which the king possessed with his master, and of his own great and uncommon vigour and capacity. By a concurrence of accidents, this man laboured under the severe hatred of all the three nations which composed the British monarchy. The Scots, whose authority now ran extremely high, looked on him as the capital enemy of their country, and one whose counsels and influence they had most reason to apprehend. He had engaged the parliament of Ireland to advance large subsidies, in order to support a war against them; he had levied an army of 9000 men, with which he had menaced all their western coast: he had obliged the Scots, who lived under his government, to renounce the covenant, their national idol: he had, in Ireland, proclaimed the Scottish covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the king had issued any such declaration against them in England; and he had ever dissuaded his master against the late treaty and alliance with the arms, which had been most dishonourable. So avowed and violent were the Scots in their resentment of all these measures, that they had refused to send commissioners to treat at York, as was first proposed; because, they said, the Lieutenant of Ireland had, in a manner, been the capital enemy, being general of the king's forces, had been the chief command and authority. Strafford, first as deputy, then as lord lieutenant, had governed Ireland during eight years with great vigour, activity, and order: he was, but with very little popular the nation so averse to the English government and religion, these very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. The manners too and character of this great man, though to all full of courtesy, and to his friends full of affection, and to his enemies of contempt, and liberty, and toleration, could not be concealed. His authority and influence, during the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate his fall. It would not be easy, it was observed, to extricate him.

The universal discontent which prevailed in England against the court, was all pointed towards the Earl of Strafford; though without any particular reason, but because he was the minister of state whom the king most favoured and most trusted. His extraction was honourable, his paternal fortune considerable: yet envy attended his sudden and great elevation. And his former associates in popular counsels, finding that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, represented him as the great apostate of the commonwealth, whom it believed them to sacrifice as a victim to public justice.

Strafford, sensible of the load of public services under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and he begged the king's permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire; where indeed his council, had encouraged him to believe, from the reason of his distance, to elude the attacks of his enemies. But Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical moments, and that it was time to make him acquit himself of his duties. Strafford still insisted on the danger of his appearing among so many enraged enemies, the king, little appreciative that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament.  

No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the House of Commons. Pyn, in a long studied discourse, drew into many heinous things, and enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and, from a complication of such oppressions, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing entirely the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom.  

Could any thing, he said, increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that during the reign of the deepest of princes, the constitution had been endangered by the worst of ministers, and that the virtues of the king had been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsel. We must inquirer, who had possessed himself with these bitterest thoughts; and though doubtless many civil counselors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet is there one who challenges the infamous pre-eminece, and who, by his courage, enterprise, and capacity, is entitled to the first place among these betrayers of their country. He is the Earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been intrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny; and will appear, from a survey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counsel. Some instances of imperious expressions, as well as actions, were given by Pyn; who, after having entered into the manner, and the character of that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manners. The austere genius of Strafford, occupied in the pursuits of ambition, had not rendered his heart less susceptible to such sensible inferences, and secured him from the dominion of the fear; and in that sullen age, when the irregularities of pleasure were more reproachful than the most odious crimes, these weaknesses were thought worthy of being mentioned, together with his terrors. These things being so related, the whole, the orator concluded, that it belonged to the House to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the further mischiefs, justly to be apprehended from the wicked power, requisite over the measures and counsels of their sovereign.
Sir John Clotworthy, an Irish gentleman, Sir John Hot- 
ham of Yorkshire, and many others, entered into the same 
topics: and, after several hours spent in bitter invective, 
when the doors were locked in order to prevent all dis-
covery of their purpose; it was moved, in consequence of 
the resolution secretly taken, that Strafford should im-
mEDIATELY be impeached of high treason. This motion was 
received with universal approbation; nor was there, in all 
the debate, one person that opposed it, to stop the torrent 
of any testimony in favour of the earl's conduct. Lord Falk-
land alone, though known to be his enemy, modestly de-
sired the House to consider, whether it would not better 
suit the king's maxims of procedure, to leave it to the com-
mittee many of those particulars which had been men-
tioned, before they sent up an accusation against him. It 
was ingeniously answered by Pym, that such a delay 
might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their 
power to proceed any further in the prosecution: that when 
Strafford should learn, that so many of his enormities 
were discovered, his conscience would dictate his con-
demnation; and, so great was his power and credit, he 
would immediately prejudice the dissolution of the parlia-
ment, or attempt some other desperate measure for his own 
preservation: that the Commons were only accusers, not 
judges; and it was the province of the Peers to determine 
whether Strafford should, by a verdict of death, and, if so, to 
which person, did not amount to the highest crime known by 
the law. Without further debate, the impeachment was 
declared; Pym was chosen to carry it up to the Lords: most 
of that body were in the same opinion with the Speaker, 
and Strafford, who had just entered the House of Peers, 
and who little expected so speedy a prosecution, was im-
mEDIATELY, upon this general charge, ordered into custody, 
with several symptoms of violent prejudice in his judges, 
and as a traitor to his sovereign.

Laud impeached.

In the inquiry concerning grievances, and 
in the censure of past measures, Laud could 
not long escape the severe scrutiny of the Commons; 
who, in this instance, felt the interest of their prelate, 
as well by their prejudices against his whole order, as by 
the extreme antipathy which his intemperate zeal had 
drawn upon him. After a deliberation, which scarcely 
lasted half an hour, an impeachment of high treason was 
voted against this subject, the first, both in rank and in 
favour, throughout the kingdom. Though this incident, 
considering the example of Strafford's impeachment, and 
the present disposition of the commons, and the necessity, 
needed be no pursuit to him; yet was he betrayed into 
so much passion, when the accusation was presented. The 
Commons themselves, he said, though his accusers, did not believe 
him guilty of the crimes with which they charged him: an 
insinuation which, on the very day, upon more mature deliber-
ation, he desired leave to retract: but so little favourable 
were the Peers, that they refused him this advantage or indulgence. Laud also was immediately, upon this general 
charge, sequestered from parliament, and committed to 
custody.

The capital article insisted on against these two great 
men, was the design which the Commons supposed to 
have formed, of subverting the laws and constitution of 
England, and introducing arbitrary and unlimited au-
thority into the kingdom. Of all the king's ministers, no 
one was so obnoxious in this respect as the lord keeper 
Fennel, whose voice in the king's council, and the 
parliament, had left the chair, and refused to put the ques-
tion, when ordered by the House. The extra-judicial 
opinion of the judges in the case of ship-money, had been 
procured by his intrigues, persuasions, and even menaces. 
In all unpopular and illegal measures, he was ever most 
active; and he was even believed to have declared publicly, 
that while he was keeper, an order of council should 
always, with him, be equivalent to a law. To appease the 
rage of the commons, and put an end to the clamour 
heard at their bar. He prostrated himself with all humility 
before the House; but this submission availed him nothing. 
An impeachment was resolved on; and, in order to escape 
their fury, he thought proper secretly to 
withdraw and retire into Holland. As he 
was not esteemed equal to Strafford, or even to Laud, 
either in capacity or in fidelity to his master, it was 
generally believed that his escape had been connived at by 
the popular leaders. This impeachment, however, in his ab-
sees, was carried up to the House of Peers.

Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, was a creature of 
Laud's; a sufficient reason for his being extremely 
noxious to the Commons. He was secretly suspected too 
of the crime of popery; and it was known that, from com-
pliance to the queen, and indeed in compliance with the 
king's maxims of procedure, he granted many indul-
gences to catholics, and had signed warrants for the 
pardon of priests, and their delivery from confinement. 
Grinstone, a popular member, called him, in the House, 
the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon. 
Finding that the scrutiny of the Commons 
was pointed towards him, and being sensible Windebank 
that England was no longer a place of safety for men of his 
character, he suddenly made his escape into France.

Thus, in a few weeks, this House of Commons, not op-
posed, or rather seconded, by the Peers, had produced such 
a revolution in the government, that the two most 
powerful and most favoured ministers of the king were 
thrown out of the land and the court, to be tried for their 
life; two other ministers had, by flight alone, saved them-
changes from a like fate: all the king's servants saw that no 
protection could be given them by their master; a new 
Government was established in the counties, and a new 
tribunal all those trembled, who had before exulted most 
in their credit and authority.

What rendered the power of the Commons more formidable 
was, the extreme influence which they had been 
derected. Not content with the authority which they had 
gained by acquiring these great ministers, they were re-

solved to render the most considerable bodies of the nation 
obeysions to them. Though the aid of the great authority 
people, they determined, for the support of the Commons, 
likewise with terrors, and to overawe those who might still 
be inclined to support the falling ruins of monarchy.

During the late military operations several powers had 
been exercised by the lieutenants and deputy-sheriffs of 
counties; and these powers, though necessary for the 
defence of the nation, and even warrantcd by all former 
precedent, yet not being authorized by statute, were now 
voted to be illegal; and the persons who had assumed them, 
declared delinquents. This term was newly come into 
vogue, and expressed a degree or species of guilt not 
exactly known or ascertained. In consequence of that 
determination, many of the nobility and prime gentry of 
the nation, while out ofNoving, as they justly thought, the 
legal powers of magistracy, unexpectedly found themselves 
involved in the crime of delinquency. And the Commons 
reaped this multiplied advantage by their vote: they dis-
turned the crown; they established the maxims of rigid 
and liberty; and they spread the terror of their own 
authority.

The writs for ship-money had been directed to the 
sheriffs, who were required, and even obliged, under 
severe penalties, to assess the sums, upon individuals, and 
to levy them by their authority. Yet were all the sheriffs, 
and all those who had been employed in that illegal serv-
vice, tried, by a very rigorous sentence, to be delinquents. 
The king, by the maxims of law, could do no wrong; his 
ministers and servants, of whatever degree, in case of any 
violation of the constitution, were alone culpable.

All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had 
been employed during so many years in levying tonnage 
and poundage, and the new impositions, were likewise 
declared criminals, and were afterwards glad to compound 
for a pardon by paying a fine of 130,000 pounds.

Every discretion and probability common in the star-
chamber and high-commission courts, which, from their 
very constitution, were arbitrary, underwent a severe scruti-
ny: and all those who had concurred in such sentences,
were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. No minister of the king, no member of the council, but found himself exposed by this decision.

The judges who had given their vote against Hambden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the Parliaments and obliged to find sureties for their appearance. Berkeley, a judge of the King's Bench, was seized by order of the House, even when sitting in his tribunal; and all men saw with an assurance the irresistible authority of their jurisdiction.

The sanction of the Lords and Commons, as well as that of the king, was declared necessary for the confirmation of this sentence. And if this judgment, it might be confessed, however reasonable, at least useful, it would have been difficult to justify by any precedent. But the present was no time for question or dispute. That decision which abolished all legislative powers, except that of parliament, was requisite for completing the new plan of liberty, and rendering it quite uniform and systematized. Almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convention, found themselves exposed by these new principles to the imputation of delinquency.

The most unpopular of all Charles's measures, and the least justifiable, was the revival of monopolies, so solemnly and especially prohibited by the newly generated and reformed parliament. Sensible of this unlaudy measure, the king, had of himself recalled, during the time of his first expedition against Scotland, many of these oppressive patents; and had then repeatedly annulled by a recent act of parliament. But the receipt of every one who was concerned in them declared delinquent. The Commons carried so far their detestation of this odious measure, that they assumed a power which had formerly been seldom practised, and they expelled all their members who were monopolists or projectors: an artifice, by which, besides increasing their own privileges, they weakened still further the very small party which the king secretly retained in the House. Maldon, a notorious monopolist, was hearing associated himself with the ruling party, was still allowed to keep his seat. In all questions, indeed, of elections, no steady rule of decision was observed; and nothing further was regarded than the affections and attachments of the parties. Men's passions were too much heated to be shocked with any instance of justice, which served ends so popular as those which were pursued by this House of Commons. The whole sovereign power being thus in a manner transferred to the Commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed in a moment from a monarchy almost absolute, to a pure democracy; the more evident weakness now visible in the executive, the parade of liberty roused; and agreeably to the spirit of free government, no less indignation was excited by the view of a violated constitution, than by the ravages of the most enormous tyranny.

This was the time when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and to distinguish by the public. Then was celebrated the superiority of Pyon, more fitted for ultrasound ornament, matured, not chilled, by his advanced age and long experience: then was displayed the mighty ambition of Hambden, taught disguise, not moderation, from former constraint; supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty: but whether founded in a love of power or zeal for liberty, is still, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain: then too were known the dark, and debasing character of Tyrannical government: the imperious spirit of Hollis, violent and sincere, open and entire in his counsels and in his friendships; the enthusiastic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends which he pursued, sagacious and profound in the means which he employed; incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.

So little money would be received for past measures, so contagious the general spirit of discontent, that even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the church and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour against the redress of grievances, and in searching the authors of them. The lively and animated Digby displayed his eloquence on this occasion, the firm and undaunted Capell, the modest and candid Palmer. In this high tone and spirit are found the virtuous names of Hyde and Falkland. Though in their ultimate views and intentions, these men differed widely from the former; in their present actions and discourses, an entire concurrence and unanimity was observed.

By the daily harangues and invectives against illegal usurpations, not only the House of Commons inclined themselves with the highest animosity against the court: the nation caught new fire from the popular leaders, and seemed now to have made the first discovery of the many supposed disorders in the government. While the law in several instances seemed to be violated, they went no further than some secret and calm murmurs; but mounted up into a public tumult, because they now thought to be restored to its former integrity and vigour. The capital, especially, being the seat of parliament, was highly animated with the spirit of mutiny and disaffection. Tumultuous meetings of the people of parliament were frequently raised; and every man, neglecting his own business, was wholly intent on the defence of liberty and religion. By stronger contiguity, the popular affections were communicated from town to town, in this place of general redemptive and society.

The harangues of members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontent against the king's administration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the Commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. Vengeance was fully taken for the long silence and constraint, in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commission, these preachers had been retained. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions dangerous by their sedentary zeal and fulminance more than by any art or elegance of composition. So little restraint was there, that the whole public charity which, during this tumult of various prejudices and passions, could be heard or attended to.

The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Basset, and Barrow, had produced less effect in the House of Commons, without the instance of them. These libellers, far from being tamed by the rigorous punishments which they had undergone, showed still a disposition of repeating their offences; and the ministers were again set to work by further ennuimensions, and still further inflame the prevailing discontents. By an order, therefore, of council, they had been carried to remote prisons; Basset to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pens, ink, and paper, was refused them. The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed in an arbitrary manner by the Commons: even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal, and the judges ordered to make reparation to the sufferers. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended by a mighty concourse of compassion; and the charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, all the inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed them with cries and acclamations. Their tum still increased, as they drew nigh to London. Some miles from the city, the zeals of their party met...
them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphant entrance: boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession: the roads were strewed with flowers, and amidst the highest exultations of joy, were intermixed loud and virulent invectives against the pretenders, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages. The more ignoble these men were, the more sensible was the insult upon royal authority, and the more dangerous was the spirit of division and mutiny, which it discovered among the people.

Lilburne, Leighton, and every one that had been punished for seditious libels during the preceding administration, were placed in this dilemma, and were deemed dangerous from the judges and ministers of justice.

Not only the present disposition of the nation insured impunity to all libellers: a new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of popular discontent. Petitions to parliament were drawn, charging redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions was procured, the petitions were presented to the Commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints which they contained.

It is permitted by historians favourable to the royal cause to encourage their own party in a declaration, that a most disingenuous or rather criminal practice prevailed, in conducting many of these addresses. A petition was first framed; moderate, reasonable, such as might please or please any particular interest. The names were afterwards torn off, and the petition was considered as an instrument which had served the purposes of the popular faction. We may judge of the wild fury which prevailed throughout the nation, when so scandalous an imposture, which affected to represent the sense of the people, were purchased, without drawing infamy and ruin upon the managers.

So many grievances were offered, both by the members, and by petitions without doors, that the House was divided into various committees, charged, each of them, with the examination of some particular violation of law and liberty, which had been complained of. Besides the general committees of religion, trade, privileges, laws; many subdivisions of these were formed, and a strict scrutiny was every where carried on. It is to be remarked, that, before the beginning of this century, when the Commons assumed less influence and authority, complaints of grievances were usually presented to the House by members, and they were willing to have the facts observed by them. These general committees, which were a kind of inquisitorial courts, had not then been established; and we find that the king, in a former declaration, complained of their multiplication; the present number is a violation of royal authority. But never was so much multiplied as at present, the use of these committees; and the Commons, though themselves the greatest employers, employed the usual artifice of complaining against innovations, and pretending to recover the ancient and established government.

From the reports of their committees, the House daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, and inflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hampden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions for knighthood stigmatized; the enlargement of the forests condemned; patents for monopoles annulled; and every late measure had particular opposition in the camp and the courts. To-day, a sentence of the star-chamber was excused against: to-morrow, a decree of the high-commission. Every discretionary act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was still ascertained, that a formed design had been laid to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

From necessity, the king remained entirely passive during all this eventful period: he had no friends, no courtiers, who continued faithful to him, were seized with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the Commons in power and popularity; and were glad, by their unactive and inoffensive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despaired all those, who from interest or habit were most attached to monarchy. And as for those who maintained their duty to the king, merely from respect to the constitution, they seemed by their concurrence to swell that inundation which began already to deluge every thing. "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," declared the Commons. It was a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clean the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine, continued he, may again be restored to its former use and mien, provided it be given entire; so as not a pin be wanting. But this was far from the intention of the Commons. The machine, they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which retarded and crossed its operations, and destroyed its utility. Happy had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented, in their present plenteous of power, to remove such parts only as might justly be deemed superfluous and incongruous.

In order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, the Commons, besides confounding and overawing their opponents, judged it requisite to inspire the people with an impression and subservience; particularly into the Scots, and the religious partisans, to whose assistance and good offices they were already so much beholden.

No sooner were the Scots masters of the northern counties, than they laid aside their first professions, which they had been affected to support; and in order to prevent the destructive egress of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of 850 pounds a day, in full of their subsistence. Part of the parliament, that might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burden, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent a purpose, they was afterwards continued from the citizens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum, were at first voted: and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, and at the same time, credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by parliament: a practice which, as it diminished the authority of the crown, was willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the Commons, with regard to every branch of revenue which they granted to the king. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament, and the army raised to protect the nation; and to that total subjection in which he was now held: the Commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invectors, till all their own enemies should be suppressed, and all their purposes effected. We cannot yet spare the Scots, said Strode plainly to the House, the use of Zeruiah are still too strong for us: an allusion to a passage of Scripture, according to the mode of that age. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies; a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted, yet it was always understood that the time to care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the most unlimited complaisance and the most important services. The king having, in his first speech, called them rebels, observed that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately subject to certain and even retrench the expression. The Scottish commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the Earl of Rothes and Lord Loudon, found every advantage to conducting

their treaty; yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely dissatisfied, as with the popular leaders in the House of Commons. The church was assigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practise the presbyterian form of worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed as any form of toleration. So violent was the propensit\' towards this new religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded to the church. Those, who were so happy as to find access early in the morning, kept their places by subscription; those who were seldom able to get in, to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching, at least, some distant murmur or broken phrases of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, united with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such inveterate avidity as were these lectures, delivered with righteous cant, and a provincial accent, full of burlesque and of ignorance.

The most effectual expedient for paving court to the zealous Scots, was to promote the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to this innovation, the popular leaders among the Commons, as well as their more serious cousins, were extremely inclined. The puritans party, whose progress, though secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to profess themselves, and to make a stand for the reformed religion. The prevalence of that sect in the parliament discovered itself, from the beginning, by insensible but devious symptoms. Marshall and Burgess, two puritanical clergymen, were chosen to preach before the House, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. It being the custom of the House always to take the sacrament before they enter upon business, they caused a particular service, which was assigned to them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. When, the clerk of the House always to take the sacrament before they enter upon business, they caused a particular service, which was assigned to them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. It being the custom of the House always to take the sacrament before they enter upon business, they caused a particular service, which was assigned to them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length.

Every meeting of the Commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high commission, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgraced were all lawyers of civil liberty at the doctrines promulgated by the clergy, that these invectives were received without control; and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repel the exorbitances of the haughty, and such as pretended totally to subvert episcopal jurisdiction. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious priesthood, was common applied to all churchmen, addicted to the established discipline and worship; though the episcopal clergy in England, during that age, seem to have been, as they are at present, sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of religion, and pretended to be signed by many hundreds of the puritanical persuasion. But what made most noise was, the city petition for a total alteration of church government. In 15,000 subscribers were annexed, and which was presented by Alderman Pennington, the city member. It is remarkable that, among the many ecclesiastical abuses there complained of, an allowance, given by the licensers of books, to publish a translation of Ovid's Art of Love, is not forgotten by these rustic censors.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the people, the leaders in the House resolved to proceed with caution. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. As a consequence, the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the House of Peers; a measure not unacceptable to the zealous faction of toleration. So anxious was the government devoted attachment of that order to the will of the monarch. But when this bill was presented to the Peers, it was rejected by a great majority; the first check which the Commons thereby gave to their project was a remarkable prognostic of what they might afterwards expect from the upper House, whose inclinations and interests could never be totally separated from the throne. But, to show how little they were discouraged, the Commons boldly brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy; though they thought proper to let the bill sleep at present, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity of reviving it.

Among other acts of regal executive power, which the Commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Carne, in his petition to these orders, was committed, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and from his abhorrence of that superstitious figure, would not any where allow one piece of wood or stone to lie over another at right angles.

The Bill for enclosing common land, which was attacked on account of innovations. Cozens, who had long been obnoxious, was exposed to new censures. This clergyman, who was Dean of Peterborough, was extremely popular in his diocese; he was known to his clergy to break the communicants to break the sacramental bread with their fingers; a privilege on which the puritans strenuously insisted; he would not so much as allow it to the clergymen in his diocese. A crated knife must perform that sacred office, and must never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar service.

Cozens likewise was accused of having said, The king has no such authority in ecclesiastical matters, than the dog who barks my horse's heels. The expression was violent; but it is certain, that all those high churchmen, who were so industrious in reducing the lathy to submission, were extremely fond of their own privileges and independency, and were desirous of exempting the nation from all subjection to the crown. A committee was elected by the lower House, as a court of inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of scandalous ministers. The politicians among the Commons were apprised of the great importance of the pulpit for guiding the people; the legislators were enraged against the prelatical clergy; and both of them knew that no established church could be overthrown by strictly observing the principles of justice, equity, or clemency. The proceedings, therefore, of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc both on the church and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy; and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them. In order to join constant to cruelty, they gave the sufferers the epithet of scandalous, and endeavoured to render them as odious as they were miserable. The greatest vices, however, which were to be reproached to a great part of them, were, bowing at the name of Jesus, placing the communion table in the east, reading the king's oratory on Sunday, and other practices, which the established government, both in church and state, had strictly enjoined them.

It may be worth observing, that all historians, who lived near that age, or what perhaps is more decisive, all authors who have casually made mention of those public transactions, still represent the civil divisors and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy, and consider the
political disputes about power and liberty, as entirely subordinate to the other. It is true, had the king been able to support government, and at the same time to abstain from all invasion of national privileges, it seems not probable he would ever have required royal authority as to overturn the whole constitution; yet so entire was the subjection into which Charles was now fallen, that had not the wound been poisoned by the in-fighting of his courtiers, the government might have been easily remedied. Houses of parliaments, imprisonments and prosecution of members, ship-money, an arbitrary administration; these were loudly complained of: but the grievance which was most clamorous and constant, especially latter, were the surfeits, the rates placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the sabbath, embroidered cope, lawn sleeves, the use of the ring in marriage, and the cross in baptism. On account of these, were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and, to the disgrace of that age, and of this island, it must be acknowledged that the disorders in Scotland entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an origin.6

Some persons, partial to the patriots of this age, have ventured to put them in balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity and modern times, as Pym, Hampden, Vane, as just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, untainted courage, extensive enterprise; in these particulars, perhaps, the Roman do not much surpass the English worthies: but it will ever be observed that in their conversation, and private as well as public behaviour of both are inspected1 Compare only one circumstance, and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble ancients was totally employed in the study of Greek eloquence and philosophy; is the cultivation of polite letters and civilized society: the whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the figures and wordy hypocrisies of their times.

The laws, as they stood at present, protected the church, but they exposed the catholics to the utmost rage of the puritans; and these unhappy religious, so obnoxious to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain unmolested. The voluntary contribution which they had made, in order to assist the king in his war against the Scottish covenanters, was inquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity.2 By an address from the Commons, all the money that had been paid, or might be paid, into the sanctuary, and application was made to the king for seeing two-thirds of the lands of recusants; a proportion to which, by law, he was entitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess at his pleasure. In this composition of the law, the severe and bloody laws against priests was insatiate on; and one Goodman, a jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles, however, accrescent to his principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the Commons expressed great resentment on the occasion.8 There remains a singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the king and his people:9 He escaped with his life; but it seems more probable that he was overlooked amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and goodness.

For some years, Con, a Scotchman, afterwards, Rosetti, an Italian, had openly resided at London, and frequented the court, as vested with a commission from the Pope. The queen's soul, and her authority with her husband, had been the cause of this imprudence, so offensive to the nation. But the spirit of bigotry now rose too high to permit any longer such indulgences.6 Hayward, a justice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exercise of his office, by one James, a catholic madman, was carried into the city, where, on the authority as to overturn the whole constitution: yet so entire was the subjection into which Charles was now fallen, that had not the wound been poisoned by the infighting of his courtiers, the government might have been easily remedied. Houses of parliaments, imprisonments and prosecution of members, ship-money, an arbitrary administration; these were loudly complained of: but the grievance which was most clamorous and constant, especially latter, were the surfeits, the rates placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the sabbath, embroidered cope, lawn sleeves, the use of the ring in marriage, and the cross in baptism. On account of these, were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and, to the disgrace of that age, and of this island, it must be acknowledged that the disorders in Scotland entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an origin.6

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Charles, in the former part of his reign, had endeavoured to overcome the intractable and encroaching spirit of the Commons, by a perseverance in his own measures, by a stately dignity of behaviour, and by imposing the utmost height, and even perhaps stretching beyond former precedent, the rights of his prerogative. Finding, by experience, how unsuccessful those measures had proved, and observing the low condition to which he was now reduced, he resolved to alter his whole conduct, and to regain the confidence of his people, by pliability, by concessions, and by a total conformity to their inclinations and prejudices. It may safely be averred, that this new extreme into which the king, for want of proper counsel or support, was fallen, became no less dangerous to the constitution, and pernicious to public peace, than the other, in which he had so long and so unfortunately persevered.

The pretensions with regard to tonnage and poundage were revived, and with certain assurance of success, by the Commons. The levies of these duties, as formerly, without consent of peers, catholics, and to enslave the catholics in return to be good and loyal sub-jects. But this whole matter, though very innocuous, was most carefully regarded. The king himself believed that he as much as any papist could be. See p. 346. 354.


Rushworth, vol. v. p. 239.

It appears not that the Commons, though now entirely masters, also feared the new emperor of James; and that this emperor, familiarly complained; a certain proof: that the rules of commerce, settled by Charles and his predecessors, were not to be altered by the new prince, were immediately established; but new limits of commodities. They seem rather to have been lower than at the time of the Duke of York, 1625.
and ever increasing them at pleasure, was such an incongruity to a free constitution, where the people, by their fundamental privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own consent, as could no longer be endured by these jealous patrons of liberty. In the preamble therefore to the bill, by which the Commons granted these duties to the king, they took care, in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to disavow the authority of all independent tule of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather fairly fix, the entire dependence and subjection of the king, they voted these duties only for two months, and afterwards, from time to time, unless they should negate their own prerogatives, that the king could not arbitrarily and prudently dismiss this man, who bore both these invidious characters, remained uneunolsted. It was intended that Bedford, a popular man of great authority, as well as wisdom and moderation, should succeed Juxon; but the great prerogatives and noble prerogatives of the house of Commons, such as Croydon, was, in order to show that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his parliament, passed this important bill without any scruple or hesitatin.

With regard to the bill for triennial parliaments, he made a little difficulty. By an old statute, passed during the reign of Edward III., it had been enacted, that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently if necessary: but as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for execution; this statute had been considered as dead and inactivated, and was dissolved with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the third of November, in the third year, after the votes of peers should be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters: and in their default, that the voters themselves should proceed to the election of the members, to the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without the concurrence of their own Onion, and during the space of fifteen days. By this bill, some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown were retracted; but at the same time nothing could be more necessary than such a statute for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. A great reluctance to assemble parliaments must be expected in the king; where these assemblies, as of late, established it as a maxim to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. During long intermissions of parliament, grievances and abuses, as was found by recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become necessary for the king and council to exert a great discretionary authority, and by acts of state to supply, to every emergency present point prevalent, the danger was manifold uncertain and precarious. Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, at last gave his assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation. Solemn oaths were prescribed to him by both Houses. Great rejoicings were expressed both in the city and throughout the nation. And mighty professions were everywhere made of gratitude and mutual returns of supply and confidence. This concession of the king, it must be owned, was not entirely voluntary: it was of a nature too important to be voluntary. The sole inference which has parts been entitled to draw from the submission so frankly made to present necessity, was that he had certainly adopted a scheme of government, and for the future was resolved, by every inducement, to acquire the confidence and affections of his people.

Charles thought, that what concessions were made to the public were only little considerations, if not gratifications bestowed on individuals, who had acquired the direction of civil and public duties. A change of ministers as well as of measures was therefore resolved on. The king had several new associates in the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex. Bristol; the lords Saville, Kimbolton: within a few days after was admitted the Earl of Warwick. All these noblemen were of the popular party; and some of them afterwards, when matters were pushed to extremities by the Commons, proved the greatest support of monarchy. Juxon, Bishop of London, who had never desired the treasurer’s staff, now earnestly solicited for leave to resign it, and retire to the care of that turbulent diocese committed to him. The king gave his consent; and it is remarkable, that during all the severe inquiries carried on against these two, he had no bad words for any of the prudent and virtuous of this man, who bore both these invidious characters, remained uneuousted. It was intended that Bedford, a popular man of great authority, as well as wisdom and moderation, should succeed Juxon; but the great prerogatives and noble prerogatives of the house of Commons, such as Croydon, was, in order to show that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his parliament, passed this important bill without any scruple or hesitation.

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Charles unwarily made, and which thereafter banished all mutual confidence from the deliberations of council; where every man is supposed to have entire freedom, without fear of future punishment or inquiry, of proposing any expedient, questioning any opinion, or supporting any argument. Sir George Ratcliffe, the earl's intimate friend and confidant, was accused of high treason, sent for from Ireland, and committed to close custody. As no charge ever appeared or was prosecuted against him, it is impossible to form any intelligible interpretation to this measure, than that the Commons thereby intended to deprive Strafford, in his present distress, of the assistance of his best friend, who was most enabled, by this testimony, to justify the innocence of his patron's conduct and behaviour. When intelligence arrived in Ireland of the plans laid for Strafford's ruin, the Irish House of Commons, though they had very lately bestowed ample praises on his administration, entered into all the violent counsels against him, and prepared a representation of the miserable state into which, by his misconduct, they supposed the kingdom to be fallen. They sent over a committee to London, to assist in the prosecution of their unfortunate governor; and by intermissions from this committee, who entered into close conference with the popular leaders in England, was every measure of the Irish parliament governed and directed. And it was supposed, as well as practised; and were carried up against Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor, Sir Gerard Louthier, chief justice, and Bramhall, Bishop of Derry. This step, which was an exact counterpart to the conduct of the English parliament, had also the same purposes: it deprived the king of the ministers whom he most trusted; it discouraged and terrified all the other ministers; and it prevented those persons who were best acquainted with the public affairs from giving evidence in his favour before the English parliament.

A. D. 1641. The bishops, being forbidden by the ancient canons to assist in trials for life, and being unwilling, by any opposition, to irritate the Commons, who were already much prejudiced against them, thought proper, of themselves, to withdraw. The Commons also voted, that the new created peers ought to have no voice in that question; because the accusation being agreed to while they were contemporaneous, their consent to it was implied with that of all the Commons of England. Notwithstanding this decision, which was meant only to deprive Strafford of so many friends, Lord Seymour, and some others, still continued to lend their consent; nor was their right to any further questioned.

To bestow the greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffoldis were erected in Westminster-hall; where both High and Common Councils, for the Commons, besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. An accusation carried on by the united effort of three kindeoms against one man, unprotected by power, unassisted by counsel, dismounted by authority, was likely to prove a very unequal contest: yet such were the capacity, genius, presence of mind, displayed by this magnificent statesman, that, while argument, and reason, and law, had anywhere, he obtained an undisputed victory. And he perished at last, overwhelmed, and still unsubdued, by the open violence of his fierce and unremitting antagonists.

March 27. The articles of impeachment against Strafford are twenty-eight in number; and regard his conduct, as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as councillor or commander in the north. But though four months were spent by the managers in framing the accusation, and all Strafford's answers were extraordinary; it appears from comparison, not only that he was free from the crime of treason, but that he extinguished in his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, exposed to such severe scrutiny, was innocent, and even laudable.

The powers of the northern council, while he was president, had been extended by the king's instructions beyond what formerly had been practised: but that court being at first instituted by a stretch of royal prerogative, it had been usual for the prince to vary his instructions; and the largest authority committed to it, was allowed as legal as the most moderate, and most limited. Nor was it reasonable to conclude, that Strafford had used any art to procure those extensive powers; since he never once sat as president, or exercised one act of jurisdiction, after he was invested with this authority so much compassed of effect in the gobierno of Ireland, his administration had been equally promotive of his master's interest, and that of the subjects committed to his care. A large debt he had paid off: he had evinced a considerable sum in the exchequer: the revenue, which never before answered the charges of government, was now raised to be equal to them. A small standing army, formerly kept in no order, was augmented, and was governed by exact discipline; and a great force was then raised and paid, for the support of the king's authority against the Scottish exponents.

In industry, and all the arts of peace, were introduced among that rude people: the shipping of the kingdom augmented a hundred fold: the customs tripled upon the same rates; the exports double in value to the imports: manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and prospered; and the English and Scottish plantations, gradually advancing: the protestant religion encouraged, without the persecution or discontent of the catholics.

The troops of the north and west, had enforced without overstraining them. Discretionary acts of jurisdiction, indeed, he had often exercised, by holding courts-martial, billeting soldiers, deciding causes upon paper-petitions before the king, and by counsel, issuing orders in council, against their enemies, and for the public peace; but all this was done in the line of rigid laws and public principles; he apprehended still to the practice of all former deputies, and to the uncontrollable necessity of his situation.

So great was his art of managing elections and balancing parties, that he had engaged the Irish parliament to vote whatever was necessary, both for the payment of former debts, and for support of the new levied army; nor had he ever been reduced to the illegal expedients of the crown, for the support of his government, and the extirpation of his enemies. No imputation of incapacity could justly lie against his administration. Some instances of imperious expressions, and even actions, may be met with The case of Lord Mountnorris, of all those which were collected with so much industry, is the most flagrant and the least excusable.

It had been reported at the table of Lord Chancellor Lortis, that Annesley, one of the deputy's attendants, in moving a scold, had sorely hurt his master's foot, who was at that time afflicted with the gout. Perhaps, said Mountnorris, who was present at table, it was done in revenge of that public affront, which my lord deputy formerly put upon me: but he had a brother who would not have taken such a revenge. This casual, and seemingly innocent, at least ambiguous, expression, was reported to Strafford, who, on precaution that such a suggestion might be the foundation of an impeachment, appointed Annesley to arrange himself in another manner, and ordered Mountnorris, who was an officer, to be tried by a court-martial for mutiny and sedition against his general. The court, which consisted of the chief officers of the army, found them guilty of the capital, and condemned that nobleman to lose his head.

In vain did Strafford plead, in his own defence, against
this article of impeachment, that the sentence of Mount-

image corrupt was the deed, and that too unanimous, of the court,

not the act of the deputy, that he spake not to a member of

the court, nor voted in the cause, but sat uncovered as a

party, and then immediately withdrew, to leave them to

their freedom: that, sensible of the insolvency of the sentence,

he procured his majesty's free pardon to Mountnorris; and

that he did not even keep that nobleman a moment in sus-

pense of his fate. But to remind him, that he himself would sooner lose his right hand than execute

such a sentence, nor was his lordship's life in any danger.

In vain did Strafford's friends add, as a further apology,

that Mountnorris was a man of an infamous character, who

had procured his pardon, or executed his sentence, without

his knowledge; that, by the act of declaration; and blackened their character, by the vilest calum-

nies, when recalled: and that Strafford, expecting like

treatment, had used this expedient for no other purpose

than to subside the perturbate spirit of the man. These

excuses alleviate the guilt; but there still remains enough to

prove, that the mind of the deputy, though great and firm,

had been not a little daunted by the not of absolute

power and uncontrollable authority.

When Strafford was called over to England, he found

every thing fallen into such confusion, by the open rebellion

of the Scots, and the secret discontent of the English, that,

if he had consented to, or executed his sentences, he

might perhaps have been able to apologize for his conduct,

from the great law of necessity, which admits not, while

the necessity is extreme, of any scruple, ceremony, or de-

lay.* But, in fact, no illegal advice or consent was

given to these men: and the whole amount of his guilt, during

this period, was some peevish, or at most imperious, ex-

pressions, which, amidst such desperate extremities, and
dooming a bad state of health, had unhappily fallen from

him.

If Strafford's apology was, in the main, so satisfactory

when he pleaded to each particular article of the charge,

his victory was still more decisive when he brought the

whole court to confusion and repelled the most violent measures

of the Commons. If we could persuade, from the full view

of his conduct and behaviour. Of all species of guilt the

law of England had, with the most scrupulous exactness,

defined that of treason; because on that rule it was found

most necessary to protect the subject against the violence

of the king and of his ministers. In the famous statute

of Edward III. all the kinds of treason are enumerated, and

every other crime, besides such as are there expressly

termed, is carefully excluded from that appellation. But

with regard to this guilt, An endeavour to subvert the

dfundamental laws, the statute of treasons is totally silent: and

arbitrarily to introduce it into the fatal catalogue, is itself a

subject for the law; and having, from an act of liberty, reverses a statute the best calculated for the security

of liberty that had ever been enacted by an English

parliament.

As this species of treason, discovered by the Commons,

is entirely new and unknown to the laws; so is the species

of proof by which they pretend to fix that guilt upon the

prisoner. They have invented a kind of accumulative or

evidence, by which many actions, either totally

innocent in themselves, or criminal in a much inferior

degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and

subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law. A

hate and unguarded word, a rash and passionate action,

assisted by the malevolent fancy of the accuser, and tor-

tured by doubtful constructions, is transmuted into the

deepest guilt; and the lives and fortunes of the whole na-

tion, no longer protected by justice, are subjected to arbit-

rary will and pleasure.

* Where has this species of guilt lain so long concealed?" said Strafford in conclusion: " where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should extinguish itself, but burst out so as to consume me and

my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and,

by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform our-

selves, the best we can, to the arbitrary will of a master: than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to

the procrastination, and try us by maxims unheard of till the

very moment of the prosecution. If I sail on the Thames,

and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy

to give warning, the party shall pay me damages: but, if

the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it my

own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? Where

the token by which I should discover it? It has lain

concealed under water; and no human prudence, no

human industry, can serve to erroneously discern, much

less to attain the destruction with which I am at present threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons

were defined; and so long has it been since any man was

touched to this extent upon this crime, before myself. We

have lived, and we have been governed, by laws, happily but

we have lived gloriously abroad to the world: let us be con-
tent with what our fathers have left us: let not our ambition

carry us to be more learned than they were, in these

dangerous and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in

your lordships, and just providence, for yourselves, for

your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you,

into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbi-

try and constructive treasons, as the primitive Christians

did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the

plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime

is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleep-
ing lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which

have lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten and neg-

lected. To give a point to my plea, I will now mention the

most severe of any: that I, for my other amends for these

treasions, be the means of introducing a precedent so per-

nicious to the laws and liberties of my native country.

"However, these gentlemen at the bar say they speak

for the commonwealth; and they believe so: yet, under

favour, it is I who, in this particular, speak for the com-

monwealth. Precedents, like those which are endeavoured

to be established against me, must draw along such incon-

scientious and ill-omened train; in all which cases, I

will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry

IV.; and no man shall know by what rule to govern his

words and actions.

"Implore not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon

ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with

cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine

them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by
every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable. The

public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; and no

wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever

engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils.

"My lord, I have now troubled your lordships a great

deliberation longer than I should do, for the most

interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven left me,

I should be loth."—Here he pointed to his children, and

his weeping stopped him. —What I forfet for myself, it

is nothing: but, I confess, that my indiscernement should

forfet for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be

pleased to pardon my infirmity: something I should have

said; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I shall

leave it.

"And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his

blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all

temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our

eternal duration. And so, without some degree of

humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit,

clearly and freely, to your judgments: and whether that

rigorous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose

myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the

great Author of my existence."

Certainly, says Whltlocke, with his usual candour,

never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with

more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason,

judgment, and temper, and with a better grace to all his

words and actions, than did this great and excellent person;

and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few ex-

cepted, to remove and pity. It is remarkable, that the

historian, who is himself in the same situation, was him-

self chairman of that committee which conducted the
impeachment against this unfortunate statesman. The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days. The managers divided the several articles among them, and attacked the prisoner with all the weight of authority, with all the venality of rhetoric, with all the acuteness of long preparation; and on the side of the defence no reserve towards his most inveterate enemies, the Commons, the Scottish nation, and the Irish parliament. He took only a very short time, on each article, to recollect himself; yet his Northumberland, and solidity of his industry, humility with firmness and vigour, made such a defence, that the Commons saw it impossible, by a legal prosecution, ever to obtain a sentence against him.

While the debate on record was too important a stroke of party to be left untimely by any expedient, however extraordinary. Besides the great genius and authority of that minister, he had threatened some of the popular leaders with an impeachment; and, had he not, himself, been suddenly prevented by the impeachment of the Commons, he had, that very day, it was thought, charged Pym, Hambden, and others, with treason, for having invited the Scottish army to invade England. A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the lower House immediately after finishing these pleadings; and preparatory to it, a new proof of the earl's guilt was produced, in order to remove such scruples as might be entertained with regard to a trial of an offence of so great a magnitude.

Sir Henry Vane, secretary, had taken some notes of a debate in council, after the dissolution of the last parliament; and being at a distance, he had sent the keys of his can to a public library, in order to search for some papers, which were necessary for completing a marriage settlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmost importance; and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the House of Commons. The question before the council was: Offensive or defensive war with the Scots. The king proposes this difficulty, 4 but how can I undertake offensive war, if I have no more money? 5 The answer ascribed to Strafford was in these words: "Borrow of the city a hundred thousand pounds: go on vigorously to levv ship-money. Your majesty having tried the affections of your people, you are absolvd and loose from all rules of government, and may do what power will admit. Your majesty, having tried all ways, shall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to restrain the kingdom to obedience: for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." There followed some counsel of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the king's being absolved from all rules of government.

This paper, with all the circumstances of its discovery and communication, was pretended to be equivalent to two witnesses, and to be an unanswerable proof of those pernicious counsels of Strafford, which tended to the subversion of the laws and constitution. It was replied by Strafford and his friends, that old Vane was his most inveterate and declared enemy; and if the secretary himself, as was by far most probable, had willingly delivered to his son this paper of notes, to be communicated to Pym, this implied such a breach of oaths and of trust as rendered him totally unworthy of all credit: that the secretary's deposition was at first exceedingly dubious: unpersuaded by the means given, to say these words: even the third time, his testimony was not positive, but imported only that Strafford had spoken such or such-like words: and words may be very like in sound, and differ much in sense; nor ought the lives of men to depend upon grammatical criticisms of any expression, much less of those which had been delivered by the speaker without premeditation, and committed by the hearer for any time, however short, to the uncertain recollection of memory. . . . The king into that kingdom; a very slight alteration! the earl's discourse could regard nothing but Scotland, and implies no advice unworthy of an English counsellor.

That even retaining the expression, This kingdom, the words may fairly be understood of Scotland, which alone was the kingdom that the debate regarded, and which alone had thrown off allegiance, and could be reduced to obedience. That it could be proved, as well as the necessity of the king's ministers, by the known disposition of the forces, that the intention never was to land the Irish army in England, but in Scotland. That of six other counsellors present, Laud and Wincelbank could give no evidence; but at least two of them, cottington and kirke, no scruples, and the advice was too remarkable to be easily forgotten. That it was needless probable such a desperate counsel would be openly declared, when all the commoners, and of that high rank, and whose attachments to the court were so much weaker than his connection with the country. That though Northumberland, and he alone, had collected some such expression as that Off being absolved from rules of government, yet in such desperate extremities as those into which the king and kingdom were then fallen, a maxim of that nature, allowing it to be delivered by Strafford, may he defended upon principles the most favourable to law and liberty. And that nothing could be more iniquitous, than to extract an accusation of treason from an opinion simply proposed at the council-table, where all freedom of debate ought to be permitted, and where it was not unusual for his council to hear the sentiments of others, to propose counsels very remote from their own secret advice and judgment.

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Next Sunday after the bill passed the Commons, the parliamant's pulpits resounded with declamations concerning the necessity of executing justice upon great delinquents. 6 The populace took the alarm. About six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, fled from the city, and surrounded the houses of parliament. 6 The names of six Northumberland commoners who had most against the bill of attaintder, were posted up under the title of Straffords and, betrayers of their country. These were exposed to all the insults of the unguovernable multitude. When any of the lords, or members, in opposition to Strafford, were murdered in their ears: such as were suspected of friendship to that obnoxious minister, were sure to meet with menaces, not unacquainted with symptoms of the most desperate resolutions in the furious populace.

Complaints in the House of Commons being made against these violence, as the most flagrant breach of privilege, the ruling members, by their affected coolness and indifference, showed plainly that the popular tumults were not disgraceful to them. 7 But a new discovery, made about this time, served to throw every thing into still greater flame and combustion.

Some prince or prelate, perhaps Sir jeremy, O'neale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, Ashlariun, partly attached to the court, partly disgusted with the parliament, had formed a plan of engaging into the king's service the English army, whom they observed to be displeased at some marks of preference given by the Commons to the Scots. For this purpose, they entered into an association, took an oath of secrecy, and kept a close correspondence with some of the king's servants. The form of a petition to the king and parliament, proposing to engage the English army, to get this petition subscribed by the army. The petitioners there represent the great and unexampled concessions made by the king for the security of public peace and

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liberty; the endless demands of certain insatiable and turbulent spirits, whom nothing less will content than a total subversion of the ancient constitution; the frequent tumults which these factious malcontents had excited, and which endangered the liberty of the subject and the peace of the nation, led the government to measures to quiet these turbulent spirits. The army, alarmed by the danger, was called to order, and Goring, the chief minister, was ordered to proceed with caution and moderation. He was ordered to the House of Commons to address the members, who were assembled there to hear him. He began his speech by saying that the king's interest was at stake, and that the government must act to prevent a rebellion. He then went on to say that the king had a right to command, and that the members of the House of Commons must obey his orders. He ended his speech by saying that he was merely acting in the king's interest, and that he was doing what was necessary to prevent a rebellion. The members of the House of Commons were divided in their opinions, but Goring was able to convince them that he was acting in the king's interest. The result was that the government was able to pass the bill without much difficulty.

About eighty peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such apprehensions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only forty-five were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the House. This was a serious matter, as it showed that the peers were not willing to support the bill. A certain proof, that if entire freedom had been allowed, the bill had been rejected by a great majority. In carrying up the bill to the Lords, Sir John, the solicitor-general, added to the reports, which were submitted to the House, that the bill was necessary to prevent a rebellion. The Lords, however, were not satisfied with this explanation, and they voted against the bill. This was a great blow to the government, and it showed that the peers were not willing to support the bill of attainder.

After popular violence had prevailed over the Lords, the same battery was next applied to force the king's assent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice in the most barbarous and most open manners. Rumours of conspiracies against the parliament were anew spread abroad; invasions and insurrections talked of: and the whole nation was raised into the greatest excitement. In this condition, Goring delivered his evidence before the House: Pierre wrote a letter to his brother Northumberland, confessing most of the particulars. Both their testimonies agree with regard to the case; and it is supposed that the tumults had been prevented by Pollard, Ashburnham, and Wilmot, in all their examinations, it was regarded as a new proof of some desperate resolutions which had been taken.

But all these attempts were in vain; Goring declared that the king was safe, and that the House of Commons was not competent to judge of his conduct. The queen, terrified with the appearance of such a danger, and hearing formerly no good-will to Strafford, was in tears, and pressed him to satisfy his people in this demand, which it was hoped would be the last content them. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his virtues, ventured to advise him, if in his conscience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it.

Strafford, bearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step: he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting the request for which they were so importunate. In this, added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury as just, as by the least harm and most open menaces. But it tended to increase the popular panic, and intimat'd, what was more expressly declared in the preamble, that these blessings were now exposed to the utmost peril.

There was a sudden change in all the preceding conspiracies; in Lancashire, great multitudes of papists were assembling: secret meetings were held by them in caves and underground, in Surrey: they had entered into a plot to blow up the king, and cause the country. The provisions of arms were making before sea: sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom; and the populace, who are always terrified when present and enraged with distant dangers, were still further alarm'd in their demands of justice against the unfortunate Strafford.

The king came to the House of Lords: and though he expressed his resolution, for which he offered them any security, never again to employ Strafford in any branch of public business, he professed himself totally dissatisfied with regard to the circumstance of treason, and on that account declared his difficulty in giving his assent to the bill of attainder. The Commons too, were impatient that the greater proofs he gave of anxious concern for this minister, the more inevitable did he render his destruction.
the scaffold was full of decency and courage. "He fear-

ed," he said, "that the omen was bad for the intended
reformation of the state, that it commenced with
the shedding of innocent blood." Having but a flat adieu to his
brother and friends who attended him, and having
sent a blessing to his nearer relations who were absent;
"And now," said he, "I have nigh done! One stroke will
make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless,
and preserve their poor unerring master and
separate me from my affectionate brother and all my
friends! But let God be to you and them all in all!"
Going to dirobe, and prepare himself for the block, "I
thank God," said he, "that I am nowe free of death,
or am daunted no more by any terror; but do as cheerfully
lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going
to repose!" With one blow was a period put to his
life by the executioner.

Thus perished, in the 49th year of his age, the Earl of
Strawford, one of the most eminent personages that has
appeared in England. Though his death was loudly
demanded as a satisfaction to justice, and an atonement
for the many violations of the constitution; it may safely
be affirmed, that the sentence by which he fell was an
enormity greater than the worst of those which his im-
placable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry.
He had totally mortified the object of their resentment.
All the necessities, or, more properly speaking, the
difficulties, by which the king had been induced to use violent expedients for raising supply,
were the result of measures previous to Strawford's favour; and the proposal to raise them was
entirely innocent. Even those violent expedients themselves, which occasioned the complaint that the constitution
was subverted, had been, all of them, conducted, so far as
the measures concerned, without fraud or deceit itself,
from this unhappy measure; and though he abandoned
his best friend, yet was he still able to preserve, in some
degree, the attachment of all his adherents.

A letter written by the Secretary of State for
Strawford the final resolution which necessity had extorted
from him. The Earl seemed surprised, and starting up,
exclaimed in the words of Scripture, "Put not your trust
in princes, nor in the sons of mankind." He
was soon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared himself to suffer the fatal
sentence. Only three days' interval was allowed him.
The king, who was at this time new effort in his behalf, and sent, by
the hands of the viceroy, a letter addressed to the
Peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the
Commons about a mitigation of Strawford's sentence,
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Execution of Strawford.
Strawford, in passing from his apartment
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stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long
lived in intimate friendship; and entreated the assistance
of his prayers, in those awful moments which were
approaching; the aged primate dissolved in tears;
and having pronounced, with a broken voice, a tender blessing
on his departing friend, sunk into the arms of his attend-
ants. Strawford, still superior to his fate, moved on
with an elated countenance, and with an air even of greater
dignity than what usually attended him. He wanted that
complacent which commonly supports those who perish
by the tombstone of friendship; but addressed to the
king, that he was nowise biued up by glory, nor by the affectionate com-
mands of the spectators. Yet his mind, erect and undaunted,
found resources within itself; and maintained its unbroken
resolution, amidst the turmoils of death, and the triumph
of exultations of his misguided enemies. His discourse on
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The two ruling passions of this parliament and star-chamber were zeal for liberty, and an aversion to the church; and to both of these nothing could appear more exceptionable than the court of high commissary, whose institution rendered it entirely arbitrary, and assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. The star-chamber also was a court which exerted liberty's power, and therefore to procure redress, either with regard to the causes which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions which it formed. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish these two courts; and the principle of the most dangerous article of the king's prerogative. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles hesitated before he gave his assent. But finding that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he possessed no resource in case of a rupture, as at last affixed the royal sanction to this excellent bill. But to show the parliament that he was sufficiently apprised of the importance of his grant, he observed to them, that this statute altered in a great measure the fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of his predecessors had established.

By removing the star-chamber, the king's power of binding the people by his proclamations was indispensably abolished; and that important branch of prerogative, the strong symbol of arbitrary power, and unintelligible in a limited constitution, being at last removed, left the system of government entire consisted in uniform. The star-chamber alone was accustomed to punish infractions of the king's edicts: but as no courts of judicature now remained, except those in Westminster-hall, which take cognizance only of common and statute law, the king may thenceforth issue proclamations, but no man is bound to obey them. It must, however, be confessed, that the experiment here made by the parliament was not a little rash and adventurous. No government at that time appeared that could find a method of carrying on its business without the mixture of some arbitrary authority, committed to some magistrate; and it might reasonably, beforehand, appear doubtful whether human wisdom ever reached that state of perfection, as to support itself with no other control than the general and rigid maxims of law and equity. But the parliament justly thought, that the king was too eminent a magistrate to be trusted with discretionary power, which he might so easily turn to the destruction of liberty. And in the event it has hitherto been found, that, though some sensible inconveniences arise from the maxim of adhering strictly to law, yet the government was never overburthened under the English grateful to the memory of their ancestors, who, after repeated contests, at last established that noble, though dangerous, principle.

At the request of the parliament, Charles, instead of the polite practice of pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour; a circumstance of the greatest moment towards securing their independency, and barring the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of judicature.

The marsh's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was not thought sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished. The statutory courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the mines, being liable to a like objection, underwent a like fate. The abolition of the council of the north and the council of Wales followed from the same principles. The authority of the eleven clerks, who had a general inspection over weights and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates.

In short, if we take a survey of the transactions of this ministry, we shall find it remarkable, that in the period of its continuance, we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweigh their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty. When we consider, that this government was reduced; great provision, for the future, was made by law against the return of like complaints. And if the means by which they obtained such advantages savour often of artifice, sometimes of violence; it is to be considered, that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reason; and that factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to insure themselves against all exactions and oppressions.

The parliament now came to a pause. The king had promised his Scottish subjects, that he would this summer pay them a visit, in order to settle their government; and though the circumstances of government was very important with him, that he should lay aside that journey, they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. As 9th Sept. he must necessarily in his journey have king's journey passed through the troops of both nations, the Commons seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the disbanding of the armies. The arrests therefore of the Scots were fully paid them; and those of the English in part. The Scots returned home, and the English were separated into their several counties, and dismissed.

After this the parliament adjourned to the 30th of October, and continued sitting till the 10th of November, when, by a bill passed the houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess with very ample powers. Pym was elected chairman of the committee of the lower house. Further attempts to make additions and alterations in the powers of the Commons alone, for assuming sovereign executive powers, and publishing their ordinances, as they called them, instead of laws. The committee too, on their part, was ready to initiate the alliance of both houses to attend the king into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be espoused upon him, and extend still further the ideas of a parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the majesty of the king. The Earl of Balford, Lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Armine, Fynes, and Hamilcnd, were the persons chosen.

Endeavours were used to ensure the Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the king. So little regard was now paid to royal authority, or to the established constitution of the kingdom.

Amidst the great variety of affairs which occurred during this busy period, we have almost overlooked the marriage of the Princess Mary with William, Prince of Orange. The king concluded this transaction without communicating his intentions to the parliament, which received the proposal with satisfaction. This was the commencement of the connexion with the family of Orange; connexions, which were afterwards attended with the most important consequences, both to the kingdom and to the house of Stuart.

CHAP. LV.

Settlement of Scotland.—Conspiracy in Ireland.—Insurrection and massacre.—Meeting of the English parliament.—The tentative propositions on both sides.—Impeachment of the bishops.—Acquittal of the firee men from Fenton.—King's leave to London.—Arrives in York.—Preparations for a civil war.

The Scots, who began these fatal commotions, thought that they had finished a very A. D. 1611. perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a great part of the year, the session did not inure they granted them a present of 300,000 pounds for their brethren assistance. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have been ever good subjects; and their military expenses were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. To carry further their triumph over their sovereign
those terms, so ignominious to him, were ordered by a vote of parliament, to be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification; 1 all their claims for the restitution of property were agreed to be ratified; and what they more valued than all these advantages, they had a near prospect of spreading the Presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland, from the seeds which they had scattered of their religious principles. Never did refined Athens so exult in diffusing the sciences and liberal arts over a savage world; never did generous Rome so please herself in the view of law and order established in her dominions; as the Scots now rejoiced, in communicating their barbarous and theological fervour to the neighbouring nations.

Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, and densely fomenting encouragements upon him, arrived in Scotland, with an intention of abducting almost entirely the small share of power which there remained to him, and of giving full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects in that kingdom. The lords of articles were an ancient institution in the Scottish parliament. They were constituted after this manner. The temporal lords chose eight bishops: the bishops elected eight earls: these sixteen named eight commissioners of counties, and eight burgesses: and without the previous consent of the thirty-two who were denounced lords of articles, no motion could be made in parliament. As the bishops were entirely devoted to the crown, the lords and burgesses, by necessity, depended entirely on the king's nomination; and the prince, besides one negative after the bills had passed through parliament, possessed indirectly another before their introduction; a prejudice of much greater consequence than the former. The bench of bishops being now abolished, the parliament laid hold of the opportunity, and totally set aside the lords of articles: and, till this important novelty was admitted, it was observed, speaking generally, could not be said to enjoy any regular freedom. 2

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this institution, to which there was no parallel in England, the royal authority was always deemed much lower in Scotland than in the former kingdom. Bacon represents it as one advantage to be expected from the union, that the too extensive prerogative of England would be abridged by the example of Scotland, and the too narrow prerogative of Scotland he enlarged from the imitation of England. The English were, at that time, a civilized people, and obedient to the laws: but among the Scots, it was of little consequence how the laws were framed, or by whom voted, while the execution of them was attended with so much in their power to prevent their regular execution.

The Peers and Commons formed only one House in the Scottish parliament; and as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace English gentlemen with Scottish titles, all the determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of these votes of foreigners, who had no interest of property in the nation. It was therefore by law desiring approbation, that no man should be created a Scotch peer, who possessed not 10,000 marks (above 500 pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom. 3

A law for imperial petitions was likewise passed; and a law was passed for a last act of parliament should be appointed the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing. 4

The king was deprived of that power formerly exercised, of removing all his members from his council by the penalty of treason; a prerogative which invested him with the whole legislative authority, even in matters of the highest importance. 5

So far was indignant; but the most fatal blow given to royal prerogatives, was what in a manner dethroned the prince, was the article, that no member of the privy council, in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration lay, no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed, by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their seats four judges who had adhered to his interests; and their place was supplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the commissioners were appointed to the privy council. And all the ministers of state, counsellors, and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life or good behaviour. 6

The king, which in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church; and assisted with great gravity at the long prayers and longer sermons with which the presbyterians endeavoured to reconcile him. He bestowed pensions on his prelates, to Henderson, Gilloch, and other popular preachers; and practiced every art to often, if not to gain, his greatest enemies. The Earl of Argyle was created a marquis, Lord London an earl, Lesley was dignified with the title of Earl of Leven. 7

His friends he was obliged, for the present, to neglect and overlook; some of them were disgusted; and his enemies were not reconciled; but ascribed all his caresses and favours to artifice and necessity.

Argyle and Hamilton, being seized with an apprehension, real or pretended, that the Earl of Crawford and others meant to assassinate him, left the parliament suddenly, and retired into the country; but, upon invitation and assurance given by the king, that he would not neither cause nor effect that was visible, nor purpose, nor consequence, was commonly denominated the incident. 8

But though the incident had no effect in Scotland; what was not expected, it was attended with consequences in England. The last parliament which was now assembled, being willing to awaken the people's tenderness by exciting their fears, immediately took the alarm; as if the malignants, so they called the king's party, had had a plot at once to murder them and all the godly in both kingdoms. They applied, therefore, to Essex, whom the king had left general in the south of England, and he ordered a guard to attend them. 9

But while the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himself to the same salutary work to that kingdom; he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion broken out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. On every side, this unfortunate prince was pursued with murmurs, discontent, faction, and civil wars; and the fire from all quarters, even by the most independent accidents, at once blazed up about him.

The great plan of James, in the administration of Ireland, continued by Charles, was, by justice and peace to reconcile that turbulent people to the authority of laws, and established, introducing agriculture and industry, and making them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been subject. In order to serve both these purposes, and at the same time secure the dominion of Ireland to the English crown, great colonies of British had been carried over, and, being intermixed with the Irish, had every where introduced a new face of things into that country. During a peace of near forty years, the invertebrate quarrels between the nations seemed in a great measure to be obliterated; and though much of the landed property, forfeited by rebellion, had been conferred on the new planters, a more than equal return had been made by their instructing the natives in tillage, building, manufactures, and all the civilized arts of life. 10

This had been the course of things during the successive administrations of Chichester, Grandisson, Falkland, and, and above all, of Strafford. Under the government of this latter nobleman, the pacific plans, and grand form of government and industry, seemed to have operated with full success, and to have bestowed at last on that savage country the face of a European settlement.

After Strafford fell a victim to popular rage, the humours excited in Ireland by that great event could not be suddenly composed, but continued to produce the greatest innovations to the government. 11

The British protestants, transplanted into Ireland, having every moment before their eyes all the horrors of

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2 Ibid.
3 The same.
4 Ibid.
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povery, had naturally been carried into the opposite extreme, and had universally adopted the highest principles and practices of the puritan sect, as the happiness, was beneficial to them; and every method of limiting the authority of the crown, and detaching themselves from the King of England, was greedily adopted and pursued. They considered, not, that as they scarcely formed a twentieth part of the people, and were one day or another noxious to the ancient inhabitants, their only method of supporting themselves was by maintaining royal authority, and preserving a great dependence on their mother-country. The young Commons, like their forerunners, had overlooked the consequences; and while they imputed to him, as the wicked, every discretionary act of authority, they despised all succeeding good acts of that power, as an oath at all events, and Irish could be retained in submission. And so strong was the current for popular government in all the three kingdoms, that the most established maxims of policy were everywhere abandoned, in order to gratify this ruling passion.

Charles, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield to the Irish, as to the Scottish and English parliaments; and found, too, that their encroachments were on a rise in proportion to his concession. Those subsidies, which themselves had voted, they reduced, by a subsequent vote, to a fourth part: the court of high commission was determined to be a grievance; mutual law abolished; the jurisdiction of the common law preserved; all the acts of state were declared of no authority; every order or institution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded: and the prince was despised of all his prerogative, without the least pretice of subduing the innovations in his absolute dominion.

The standing army of Ireland was usually about 3000 men; but in order to assist the king in suppressing the Scottish covetousness, Strafford had raised 8600 more, and had sent on them a thousand, drawn from the old army; a necessary expedient for bestowing order and discipline on the new-levied soldiers. The private men in this army were all catholics; but the officers, both commanding and assisting the Protestants, and some of the king, could entirely be depended on by Charles. The English Commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army; and never ceased soliciting the king, till he agreed to break it; nor would they consent to any proposal for augmenting the standing army to 5000 men; a number which the king deemed necessary for retaining Ireland in obedience.

Charles, thinking it dangerous that 8000 men accustomed to drill and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a nation so turbulent and unsettled, agreed with the Spanish ambassador to have them transported to Flanders, and enlisted in his master's service. The officers and men, pretending this expedition, left no regular bodies of troops, disciplined in the Low Countries, should prove still more dangerous, showed some aversion to this expedient; and the king reduced his allowance to 4000 men. But when the Spaniards had hired ships for transporting these troops, and the men were ready to embark, the Commons, willing to show their power, and not displeased with an opportunity of curbing and affronting the king, prohibited every one from furnishing vessels for that service. And thus the project, formed by Charles, of freeing the country from these men, was unfortunately disappointed.

The Irish remarked all these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. Though their animosity against that nation, for want of an occasion to exert itself, seemed to be extinguished, it was only composed into a temporary and decent tranquillity. Their interest both with regard to the property and religion, secretly stimulated them to a revolt. No individual of any sect, according to the ancient customs, had the property of any particular estate; but as the whole sect had a title to a whole territory, they ignorantly supposed this barbarous community before the more secure and narrower possessions assigned them by the English. An indulgence, amounting almost to a toleration, had been given to the Catholic religion: but so long as the churches and the ecclesiastical revenues were kept from the priests, and they were only allowed to celebrate, and to administer the sacraments, by profane heretics, being themselves discontented, they were determined to endeavor to retake any cordial reconciliation between the English and the Irish nations.

There was a gentleman called Roget More, Constipacy in whom, theirs interest led them, who was descended from an ancient Irish family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asso; ciated with the Protestants, like his forerunners, secretly went from chief to chief, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, despising the most powerful of the Catholics; and by letters, by his emissaries, he represented to his countrymen the motives of a revolt. He observed to them, that by the rebellion of the Scots, and factions of the English, the king's authority in Britain was reduced to so low a condition, that he never could exert himself with any vigour in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland; that the catholics, in the Irish House of Commons, assisted by the Protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and the power of the lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting to its desired effect, any conspiracy or combination which could be formed; that the Scots, having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown, and having given a signal of independence, into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had so much greater oppressions to complain of: that the English planters, who had expelled them their possessions, and had deprived them of their liberties, were but a handful in comparison of the natives; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, trusting to the protection of their power, to the extent of inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom; that a great body of men, disciplined by the government, were now thrown loose, and were ready for any daring or desperate enterprise; that the puritanical parliament, having at length subdued their sovereign, would, no doubt, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, extend their ambitious enterprises to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the same fate as their submission to which the English land were at present exposed; and that a revolt in the Irish tending only to vindicate their nation liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never at any time be deemed as insubordinate, or the present consumptions, when their prince was, in a manner, a prisoner, and obedience must be paid, not to him, but to those who had gratuitously usurped his lawful authority.

By these considerations, more engaged all the heads of the native Irish into the conspiracy. The English of the rule, as they were called, or the old English planters, being all catholics, it was hoped afterwards joint the party which restored their religion to its ancient splendour and authority. The intention was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale and the other conspirators should begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces, and should attack all the English settlements: and that, on the same day, Lord Macartney and Roger More should surprise the castle of Dublin. The commencement of the revolt was fixed on the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. Successors to themselves, and successors to arms, they expected from France, in consequence of a promise made them by Cardinal Richelieu. And many Irish officers, who served in the Spanish troops, had engaged to join them, as soon as they saw an opportunity to dispose of their arms, by their catholic brethren. News, which every day arrived from England, of the fury expressed by the Commons against all papists, struck fresh terror into the Irish nation, and both stimulated

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the conspirators to execute their fatal purpose, and gave them assured hopes of the concurrence of all their countrymen.\textsuperscript{p} Such propensity to a revolt was discovered in all the Irish, that it was deemed unnecessary, as it was dangerous, to intrust the secret to many hands; and the appointed day drew nigh, nor had any discovery been yet made to the government. The king, indeed, had received information from many ambassadors, that something was in agitation among the Irish in former times; but though he gave warning to the administration in Ireland, the intelligence was entirely neglected.\textsuperscript{q} Secret rumours likewise were heard of some approaching conspiracy; but no attention was paid to an example which threatened men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour. The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here united their more robust powers, to overwhelm nothing but their seal for the party by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquil from their ignorance and inexperience, these men indulged themselves in the most projected rejoicings, on the very brink of destruction.

But they were awakened from their security, on the very day before that which was appointed for the commencement of hostilities. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital, or at least the more considerable part of the city, were defended, was walled up by Looney, and manned with thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition: yet was this important place guarded, and that too without any care, by no garrison. The Earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lieutenant, remained in London. The two justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, were men of small abilities; and, by an incommen- surable number of circumstances, owed their advancement to nothing but their zeal for the party by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquil from their ignorance and inexperience, these men indulged themselves in the most projected rejoicings, on the very brink of destruction.\textsuperscript{r}

The Irish intercepted the castle from a surprise, the possession extorted from Mahone came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Conolly and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where interfused with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whose strength consisted in numbers. The English, however, were already in a town with a numerous band of their partitions: others were expected that night: and, next morning, they were to enter upon, what they esteemed the easiest of all enterprises, the taking of the castle. O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons.\textsuperscript{t} The justices and council fled immediately for safety into the castle, and reinforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the protestants prepared to defend themselves. Sir John Looney, and Mahone, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and redoubled the apprehensions which already had unceasingly possessed the minds of the English.\textsuperscript{u}

But though O'Conolly's discovery saved the castle from a surprise, the confession extorted from Mahone came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Conolly and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where interfused with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whose strength consisted in numbers. The English, however, were already in a town with a numerous band of their partitions: others were expected that night: and, next morning, they were to enter upon, what they esteemed the easiest of all enterprises, the taking of the castle. O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons. The justices and council fled immediately for safety into the castle, and reinforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the protestants prepared to defend themselves. Sir John Looney, and Mahone, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and redoubled the apprehensions which already had unceasingly possessed the minds of the English. After capacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and revenge were barbarous that ever in any nation, was known or heard of, begun its operations. A universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and the helpless children, was pierced with them, and surpassed by the same stroke.\textsuperscript{v} The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight: men, on the first assault; destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse to have relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were dissolved, and death was their only friend. This was attempted, and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continual intercourse of kindness and good offices.\textsuperscript{w}

But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satisfy revenge consummated without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear inadmissible. Deserved punishment, even reformed religion, encouraged by the utmost licence, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity inherent in human breasts be destroyed by that contagion of examples which transmits men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour.

The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here united their more robust powers, to overwhelm nothing but their seal for the party by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquil from their ignorance and inexperience, these men indulged themselves in the most projected rejoicings, on the very brink of destruction.\textsuperscript{x}

The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbidding the sloth and ignorance of the men, were converted into dwellings of war. In the towns and villages, and even more the country, the fields were turned into lands, and the woods into gardens. And where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insolence for so many cruelties.

If any were assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeter death by revenge on their assassins; they were disarmed by capitulations, and promised of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. All who had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perjury equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen.\textsuperscript{y} Others, more ingenuous still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners by the fond love of life, to interest their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which they sought to shun by deserving it.\textsuperscript{z} Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of Religion resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social passion. The religious sectaries, the leaders of God and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to catholic faith and piety, was represented as an act of justice, and.extend yearning which in that rude people, was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was further stimulated by precept; and national prejudices, embroiled by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from enmity for superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agencies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal.

Such were the barbarities, by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion; an event, memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The generous nature of those, who was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties. He flew to O'Neale's camp; but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Scenes of allured mankind were expiated by so many crimes; and he retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatness of his family, and perhaps, too, by the unrestrained brutality of his na-
tire, though without any courage or capacity, acquired the entire ascendancy over the northern rebels. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster: the Scots, at first, met with more favourable treatment, and were allowed to retain their estates, but the Irish pretended to distinguish between the British nations; and claiming friendship and consanguinity with the Scots, extended not over them the fury of their massacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country, others retired into places of security, and prepared themselves for defence: and by this means, the Scottish planters, most of them at least, escaped with their lives.

From Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon; though the Irish, in these other provinces, pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goods, with wasting their cultivated fields; they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out, naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against this unhappy people, were darkened and tempestuous over the country: the innumerable crowds of children, the tender sex of women, soon sunk under the multiplied rigours of cold and hunger. Here, the husband, holding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate which he himself expected so soon to share; there, the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands, and abandoning him in his utmost distress, reserved himself to purchase the same fate; which all those efforts could not prevent or delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears, or lamentable cries, they hurried on through the hostile territories; and found every heart which was not steeled by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion.

The rearing of Dublin preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city, though timorousiy opened, received the wretched suppliants, and presented to the view a scene of human misery beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compassion swayed the amazed inhabitants, aggrieved with the flood of calamities; while they observed the numerous foes without and within, which every where environed them, and the sore want of means with which they were supplied themselves supported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thousand, were enlisted into three regiments: the rest were distributed into the houses of the citizens, who took them in, by hot and warm rations, to refresh their feeble and torpid limbs. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from these multiplied distresses, seized many of them, and put a speedy period to their lives; others, having now leisure to reflect on their mighty loss of friends and fortunes, cursed that being which they had saved. Abandoning themselves to despair, refusing all succour, they expired; without other consolation than that of receiving among their countrymen the humane protection of Irish and Scottish slaughtered companions, had been denied by the inhomin barbarians.

By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties are supposed to be a hundred and fifty, or two hundred, thousand; by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable, account, they are made to amount to forty thousand; if this estimation itself be not, as is usual in such cases, somewhat exaggerated.

All the justice accorded to Dublin and the bodies of the army which were not surrounded by the rebels; and they assembled a force of fifteen hundred veterans. They soon enlisted, and armed from the magazines, above four thou-
sand men more. They despatched a body of six hundred men to throw relief into Treblagh, besieged by the Irish. But these troops, attacked by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and did not suffer one of them. Their arms, falling into the hands of the Irish, supplied them with what they most wanted. The justices, willing to foment the rebellion, in a view of profiting by the multiplied forfeitures, henceforth thought of nothing more than providing for their own present security, and that of their capital. The Earl of Ormond, their general, remonstrated against such ruin, not to say base and interested, counsels; but he was obliged to submit to them.

The English of the pale, who probably were not at first in the secret, pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations, they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government. But in a little time, the interests of religion were found more prevalent over them, than regard and duty to their mother-country.

They chose Lord Comberstone their leader; and when the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence towards the English protestants. Besides many smaller bodies dispersed over the kingdom, the principal army of the rebellion had already assembled men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege.

Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they seduced many of their deluded countrymen to the purpose. The feverish age of children, the tender sex of women, soon sunk under the multiplied rigours of cold and hunger. Here, the husband, holding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate which he himself expected so soon to share; there, the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands, and abandoning him in his utmost distress, reserved himself to purchase the same fate; which all those efforts could not prevent or delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears, or lamentable cries, they hurried on through the hostile territories; and found every heart which was not steeled by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion.

The great event of this insurrection by a messenger despatched from the north of Ireland. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottish parliament. He expected that the mighty zeal expressed by the Scots for the protestant religion, would immediately engage them to fly to its defence, where it was so violently invaded: he hoped that their horror against popery, a religion which now appeared in its most horrible aspect, would second all his exhortations: he had observed with what alacrity they had twice run to arms, and assembled troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign; he saw with how much greater facility they could now collect forces, which had been so lately disbanded, and which had been so long inured to military discipline. The cries of their afflicted and distressed brethren in Ireland, he promised himself, would powerfully incite them to send over such a number, as might, by their aid, remove such promptitude in this utter distress. But the zeal of the Scots, as is usual among religious sects, was very feeble, when not stimulated either by faction or interest. They now considered themselves entirely a republic, and made no account of the authority of their prince, which they had utterly uninhabited. Conceiving hopes from the present distresses of Ireland, they resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours with which they should supply their neighbouring nation. And they cast their eyes towards the English parliament, with whom they were already so closely connected, and who could alone fulfil any articles which might be agreed on. Except despatches which had been to support the Scottish columns in Ulster, they would, therefore, go no further at present, than sending commissioners to London in order to treat with that power, to whom the sovereign authority was now in reality transmuted.

The king too, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, to this exigency, to have recourse to the English parliament, and depend on their fame for support. The king attempted to form them the intelligence which he had received; he informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash enterprise, but of a formed conspiracy.
against the crown of England. To their care and wisdom, therefore, his majesty said, he committed the secret and execution of the war, which, in a cause so important to national and religious interests, must of necessity be immediately entered upon, and vigorously pursued.

In the meantime, that party was now assembled; and discovered, in every vote, the same dispositions in which they had separated. The exulting of its own authority, the diminishing of the king's, were machineryed by a small majority. Every attempt which had been made to gain the popular leaders, and by offices to attach them to the crown, had failed of success, either for want of skill in conducting it, or by reason of the slender pretexts which it was then in the king's power to confer. The ambitious and enterprising patriots disdained to accept, in detail, of a precarious power; while they deemed it so easy, by one bold and vigorous assault, to possess themselves of power with a wonderful degree of success and as well by greatness, by enlarging popular authority in England. The great necessities to which the king was reduced; the violent prejudices which generally, throughout the kingdom, prevailed against the monarchy, made the most important concessions; the example of the Scots, whose encroachments had totally subverted monarchy; all these circumstances further instigated the Commons in their petition. Their former conduct, which the constitution seemed to have so lately exposed, persuaded many, that it never could be sufficiently secured, but by the entire abolition of that authority which had hitherto existed.

But this project, it had not been in the power, scarcely in the intention, of the popular leaders to execute, had it not been for the passion which seized the nation for preserving the king himself in the power which at that time accompanied it. The licence which the parliament had bestowed on this spirit, by checking ecclesiastical authority; the countenance and encouragement with which they had honoured it; had already diffused its influence to a wonderful degree; and almost of men had drank deep of the intoxicating poison. In every discourse or conversation, this mode of religion entered; in all business it had a share; every elegant pleasure or amusement, which was on this occasion to extait that and the court for it promoted; even diseases and bodily distempers were not totally exempted from it; and it became requisite, we are told, for all physicians to be expert in the spiritual profession, and the effect of it was, that not only those religious terrors with which their patience were so generally haunted. Learning itself, which tends so much to enlarge the mind, and humanize the temper, rather served on the occasion to extait that and the court for it which prevailed. Rude as yet, and imperfect, it supplied the diastal fanaticism with a variety of views, founded it on some coherence of system, enriched it with different figures of devotion; advantages with which a people, totally ignorant and barbarous, had been happily unacquainted.

From policy, at first, and inclination, not from necessity, the king attached himself extremely to the hierarchy:
intention of employing them against himself; whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves, was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first engaged the commons to reject the petition, and still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest throughout all his dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted, during the extreme distress of that kingdom; so strong was the people's attachment to the Commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the Irish rebels.

To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to frame a general remonstrance of the state of the nation; and accordingly, the committee, which at the first meeting of the Commons had been chosen for that purpose, and which had luthered no progress in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking.

The remonstrance, which had been so memorable, and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the king; but was openly declared to be an appeal to the principle of the constitution, and a protest against the manœuvres of the monarch, equalized by the lex mercatoria, and as necessary to the greatness of the nation. It consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths: malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives: loud complaints of the king's inhumanity, and of his mercifulness to the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invasions, whatever suspicious measure had been embraced by the king, from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on; and all the aggressions, with merciless rage, and the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz, and the Isle of Rhy, are mentioned: the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the hugonots; the forced loans: the illegal confinement of men: the various complaints of the violent dissolution of four parliaments: the arbitrary government which always succeeded: the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the House: the levying of taxes without consent of the Commons: the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: in short, every thing which, either with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament. And, though all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return, the praise of these advantages was ascribed, not to the king, but to the committee who had extorted his consent to so many salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the king, were no less eminent than towards the people. The royal majesty, they asserted, in his balance, rendered itself too precarious, and made even their temporary supplies to be paid to their own commissioners, who were independent of him; they pretended that they had liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more egregious, the very giving of money to the Scots, for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland; and not at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

This remonstrance, so full of acrimony and violence, was a plain signal for some further attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration that the concessions already made, however important, were not to be regarded as satisfactory. What pretensions would be advanced, how unprecedented, how unlimited, were easily imagined; and no little anxiety was occasioned, imagining that others must be preserved, than an abolition, almost total, of the monarchical government of England: The opposition, therefore, which the remonstrance met with in the House of Commons, was great. For above fourteen hours, the debate was variously managed; and from the weakness of the king's party, which probably consisted chiefly of the elderly people, and men of cool spirits, the vote was at last carried by a small majority of eleven. Some time after, the remonstrance was printed and published, without being carried up to the House of Peers for their assent and concurrence.

When this remonstrance was dispersed, it Reasons on both exaltation everywhere the same violent contro- siders, which was introduced into the House of Commons. This parliament, said the partisans of that assembly, have at length profited by the fatal example of their predecessors; and are resolved that the famine, which they have generously undertaken to rear for the protection of liberty, shall not be left to future ages insecure and imperfect. At the time when the petition of right, that required vindication of a violated constitution, was extorted from the unwilling prince; who but imagined that liberty was at last secured, and that the laws would thenceforth maintain themselves in opposition to arbitrary authority? But what was the event! A right was misled acquiescing to the people, or rather their ancient right was more exactly defined: but as the power of invading it still remained in the prince, no sooner did an opportunity offer than he totally quashed it, by a violent act of parliament, which made his will and pleasure the sole rule of government. Those lofty ideas of monarchical authority, which he has derived from his early education, which are united in his mind with his love of his kindred, and are corrobolated by his mistaken principles of religion, it is in vain to hope that, in his more advanced age, he will sincerely renounce, from any subsequent reflection or experience. Such a man is, his chimeras are extremely rare; but to expect that they will be derived from necessity, from the jealousy and resentment of antagonists, from blame, from reproach, from opposition, must be the happy issue of such an eventual resolution. These visions, however necessary, are sure to irritate a prince against limitations so cruelly imposed upon him; and each concession, which he is constrained to make, is regarded as a temporary tribute paid to fiction and sedition, and is secretly attended with a resolution of seizing every favourable opportunity to retract it. Nor should we imagine that opportunities of that kind will not offer in the course of human affairs. Governments, especially those of a mixed kind, are in continual fluctuation: the humours of the people change perpetually from one extreme to another: and no resolution can be more wise, as well as more than that of this kind, which has been acted, against the king, who had formerly pushed much less tempting ones to the utmost extremities against his people and his parliament. It is to be feared, that, if the religious question, so long as it has whirled in the maelstrom of political action, shall not speedily, to evaporate, they will quickly return to the ancient ecclesiastical establishment; and, with it, embrace those principles of slavery, which it inculcated with such zeal on its subversive prolesytes. Those patriots, who are now the public idols, may then become the objects of general detestation; and equal shouts of joy attend their ignominious execution, with those which second their present advantages and triumphs. Nor ought the apprehension of such an event to be regarded in them as a selfish consideration: in their safety is involved the security of the laws: the patrons of the constitution cannot suppress without a fatal blow to the constitution: and it is but justice that the people, who have protected, at any hazard, those who have so generously exposed themselves to the utmost hazard for the public interest. What though monarchy, the ancient government of England, be impaired, during these contest, in many of its former prerogatives: the laws will flourish the more by its decay; and it is happy, allowing that matters are really carried beyond the bounds of moderation, that the current at least runs towards liberty, and that at least the balance is in favour of the general interest of mankind and society.

The best arguments of the royalists against a further attack on the prerogative were founded more on opposite

ideas, which they had formed of the past events of this reign, than on opposite principles of government. Some invasions, they said, and those too of moment, had undoubtedly been made on national privileges: but were we to establish a precedent upon the score of their vices, we should find it to consist in the wanton tyranny and injustice of the prince, not even in his ambition or immoderate appete

for authority. The hostilities with Spain, in which the people, naturally and instinctively, were engaged, had ever imprudent and unnecessary, had proceeded from the advice, and even importunity, of the parliament; who deserted him immediately after they had embargoed him in those very measures. A young prince,possessed of honour, was naturally afraid of being foiled in his first enterprise, and had not as yet attained such maturity of counsel, as to perceive that his greatest honour lay in preserving the laws inviolate, and no less confidence of his people. The rigour of the subsequent parliament had been extreme with regard to many articles, particularly tonnage and poundage; and had reduced the king to an absolute necessity, if he would preserve the royal prerogative, of levying taxes duties by his own authority, and of breaking through the forms, in order to maintain the spirit, of the constitution. Having once made such a perilous step, he was naturally induced to continue the course, and to increase the impropriety, the use of ship-money, and other moderate, though irregular, burdens and taxes. A sure proof that he had formed no system for enshrining his people is, that the chief object of his government, was to mark their distress by a national force; a project useful, honourable, may, indispensably requisite, and, in spite of his great necessities, brought almost to a happy conclusion. It is now full time to free him from all its mark, and substituting, in his place, the lenities, after those severest, which have already had their full course against him. Never was sovereign blessed with more moderation of temper, with more justice, more humanity, than the Hungarians. Therefore, The step, which such a prince should so long have been harassed with rigours, suspicions, calumnies, complaints, encroachments; and been forced from that path in which the rest of his province, increasing the full confidence of his people, as it had constantly trod! If some few instances are found of violations made on the petition of right, which he himself had granted; there is an easier and more natural way for preventing the necessity of, than by a total abolition of any authority. Let the revenue be settled, suitably to the ancient dignity and splendour of the crown; let the public necessities be fully supplied; let the remaining articles of prerogative be left untouched; and let his most religious and virtuous courtiers, be restored into the will, of invading the constitution. From what quarter can jealousy now arise! What further security can be desired or expected? The king's preceding concessions, so far from being insufficient for public security, have rather erred on the other extreme; and, by depriving him of all power of self-defence, are the real cause why the Commons are imbued to raise pretensions hitherto unheard of in the kingdom, and to subvert the whole system of the constitution. But would they be content with moderate advantages, is it not evident that, besides other important concessions, the present parliament may be continued, till the government be reformed to the new track, and every part be restored to full harmony and concord? By the triennial act a perpetual succession of parliaments is established, as everlasting guardians to the laws, while the king possesses no independent power or military force, by which he can be supported in his invasion of them. No danger remains, but what is inseparable from all free constitutions, and what forms the very essence of their freedom; the danger of a change in the people's disposition, and defects in public security, contracted against popular privileges. To prevent such an evil, no expedient is more proper than to contain ourselves within the bounds of moderation, and to consider that all extremes naturally and infallibly beget each other. In the same manner as the past usurpations of the crown, however excusable on account of the necessity or provocations whence they arose, have excited an immeasurable appetite for liberty; let us beware, lest our encroachments, by introducing anarchy, make the people seek shelter under the peevish and despotic rule of a monarch. Authority, as well as liberty, is requisite to government; and is even requisite to the support of liberty itself, by maintaining the laws, which can alone regulate and protect it. What madness, while every thing is so happily settled under advice, and engaged, him, exactly poised and adjusted, to try the hazardous experiment of a new constitution, and renounce the mature wisdom of our ancestors for the crude whirls of turbulent innovators! Besides the certain and incomparable mischief of civil war; are not the perils apparent, which the delicate frame of liberty must inevitably sustain amidst the furious shock of arms! Whichever side prevails, can he scarcely hope to remain inviolate, and may suffer no less, or rather greater, injuries from the boundless pretentions of forces engaged in her cause, than from the invasion of enraged troops, enlisted on the side of monarchs.

The king, upon his return from Scotland, was received in London with the shouts and acclamations of the people, and with every demonstration of regard and affection. Sir Richard Gournay, lord mayor, a man of moderation and sense, understood the importance of these first dispositions, and had engaged the populace, who so lately insulted the king, and who so soon after made furious war upon him, to give him these conduct. In which Charles reapplied from this joyous reception, was soon damped by the remonstrance of the Commons which was presented to him, under a petition of a like strain. The king, however, was not to be so soon or so easily complained of; his concurrence in the Irish rebellion plainly imputed; the scheme laid for the introduction of popery and superstition inveighed against; and, as a king of grace and glory for all time, would not assent to any diocesanism of his subjects. This and other conduct of these assemblies, would have been very ill received by the generality of the people. So loud were the complaints against regal usurpations, that had the king asserted the prerogative of supremacy, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, arising from the obstancy of the Commons, he would have increased the clamours with which the whole nation already resounded. Charles, therefore, contented himself with observing in general, that even during that period so much complained of, the people enjoyed a great measure of happiness, not only comparatively, in respect of their neighbours, but even in respect of those times which were justly accounted the most fortunate. He made warm protestations of his sincerity in the reformed religion; he promised indulgence to tender consciences with regard to the ceremonies of the church; he mentioned his great concessions to national liberty; he blamed the infantilism of liberty, by which he defended against his person and the national religion; he complained of the general reproaches thrown out in the remonstrance with regard to ill counsels, though he had protected no man from disclosure, by his own authority, and had exposed no unpopular servant, and conferred offices on no one who enjoyed not a high character and estimation in the public. "If, notwithstanding this," he adds, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion
and conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to lessen the bands of government, that all men would have for their protection; by which I mean not but God in his good time will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment. Nothing shall be more contrary to my heart than that Charles was placed, than to observe, that he was obliged to confine himself within the limits of civility towards subjects who had transgressed all bounds of regard, and even of good manners, in the treatment of their sovereign.

The first instance of those parliamentary encroachments which Charles was now to look for, was, the bill for pressing soldiers to the service of Ireland. This bill quickly passed the lower House. In the preamble, the king's power of pressing, a power exercised during all former times, was declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject. By a necessary consequence, the prerogative which the crown had ever supposed of obliging men to accept of any branch of public service, was abolished and annihilated: a prerogative, it must be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. In order to elude this law, the king offered to raise 10,000 volunteers for the purpose, but the Commons, with a fierce and strong spirit, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would for the present be avoided, and the pretensions of each party be left entirely. Both Houses took fire at this measure, which, from a similar instance while the bill of attainder against Strafford was in dependence, Charles might foresee would be received with resentment. The Lords, as well as Commons, passed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill which was in agitation in either of the Houses, or to express his sentiments with regard to it, before it be presented to him for his assent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compose all matters by an apology.2

The general question, we may observe, with regard to privileges of parliament, has always been, and still continues, one of the greatest mysteries in the English constitution; and, in some respects, notwithstanding the accurate views of that government, the prerogatives and privileges are present as undetermined as were formerly the prerogatives of the crown. Such privileges as are founded on long precedent cannot be controverted: but though it were certain that no earlier kings had not, in any instance, taken notice of bills before the Houses, (which yet appears to have been very common,) it follows not, merely from their never exerting such a power, that they had renounced it or never were possessed of it. Such privileges also as are essential to all free assemblies which deliberate, they may be assumed to whatever precedents may prevail; but though the king's interposition, by an offer or advice, does in some degree overawe or restrain liberty; it may be doubted whether it imposes such evident violence as to entitle the parliament, without any other authority or concession, to claim the privilege of excluding it. But this was the favourable time for extending privileges; and had no, nor never was, this point of harmless been challenged, few bad consequences had followed. The establishment of this rule, it is certain, contributes to the order and regularity, as well as freedom, of parliamentary proceedings.

The interposition of Peers in the election ofcommons was likewise about this time declared a breach of privilege; and continues ever since to be condemned by votes of the Commons, and universally practised throughout the nation.

Every measure pursued by the Commons, and, still more, every attempt made by their partisans, were full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and showed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. Besides numberless vexations and persecutions which the clergy underwent from the arbitrary power of the lower House, the Peers, sometimes, to prevent their bills from (which at the second reading, for the observance of the laws with regard to public worship, the Commons assumed such authority, that, by a vote alone of their House, they suspended those laws, and employed a greater legislative and they particularly forbade bowing at the altar of Jesus Christ, which gave them the highest scandal, and which was one of their capital objections against the established religion.3 They complained of the king's filling five vacant sees, and considered it as an insult upon the kingdom, to complete and strengthen on no order, which they intended soon entirely to abolish. They had accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without consent of parliament; though from the foundation of the monarchy no other method had ever been practised: and they now insisted that the Peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. Their bill for taking away the bishops' votes had last winter been rejected by the Peers: but they again introduced the same bill, though no profigation had intervened; and they endeavored, by some minute alterations, to elude that rule of parliament which opposed the introduction of new sees.4 The Lords, they made a demand, the most absurd in the world, that the bishops, being all of them parties, should be refused a vote with regard to that question. After the resolution of the Lords, by the introduction of the established government of church and state, it could not be expected that their proceedings, in such a violent attempt, would there forth be altogether regular and equitable; but it must be confessed, that, in their attack on the hierarchy, they still openly passed all bounds of moderation, as supposing, no doubt, that the sacredness of the cause would sufficiently atone for employing means the most irregular and unprecedented. This principle, which professed to be so much among zealots, never declared itself so openly as during the transactions of this whole period.

But, notwithstanding these efforts of the Commons, they could not expect the concurrence of the upper House, either to this law, or to any other which they should introduce for the further limitation of royal authority. The majority of the Peers adhered to the king, and plainly forewarned the Commons of the consequences of popular usurpations on the crown. The insolence, indeed, of the Commons, and their haughty treatment of the Lords, had already risen to a great height, and gave sufficient warning of their future attempts upon that order. They muttered, and almost exclaimed, that, if they should be obliged to save the kingdom alone, and that the House of Peers would have no part in the honour. Nay, they went so far as openly to tell the Lords, That they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the Peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity: and therefore, if their lordships will not consent to the passing of acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the Commons, together with such of the Lords as are more sensible of the danger, must join together, and represent the matter to his majesty.5 So violent was the democratical, enthusiastic spirit that diffused throughout the nation, that a total confusion of all rank and order was justly to be apprehended, and the wonder was not, that the majority of the nobles should seek shelter under the throne, but that any of them should venture to desert it. But the tide of popular sway seemed never to carry them wide of the moderately defined maxims of civil policy. Among the opponents of the king are ranked the Earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, a man of the first family and fortune, and endowed with that magnified spirit which so well became the Earl of Essex, who inherited all his father's popularity, and having, from his early youth, sought renown in arms, united to a middling capacity that rigid inflexibility of
honour which forms the proper ornament of a subject and a soldier: Lord Kimbolton, soon after Earl of Manchester, a person distinguished by humanity, generosity, affability, and every amiable virtue. These men, finding that they could not get redress from the nation, ventured to encourage those popular disorders, which, they really imagined, they possessed authority sufficient to regulate and control.

To obtain a majority in the upper House, the Commons had a recourse to the populace, who on other occasions had done them such important service. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation, and seemed to espouse every movement they advocated, and even the combinations with which, they pretended, they were hourly threatened. All stories of plots, however ridiculous, were willingly attended to, and were dispersed amongst the multitude. One of those that he wished to consult, a taylor, informed the Commons, that, walking in the fields, he had heard to the discourse of certain persons unknown to him, and had heard them talk of a most dangerous conspiracy. A hundred and eight ruffians, as he learned, had been appointed to murder a hundred and eight Lords and Commoners, and were promised rewards for these assassinations, ten pounds for each lord, forty shillings for each commissner. Upon this notable intelligence, at every breath, and without a moment’s hesitation, a conference was desired with the Lords, and the deputy-lieutenants of some suspected counties were ordered to put the people in a posture of defence.

When Charles dismissed the guard which they had ordered during his absence, he complained; and, upon his promising them a new guard, under the command of the Earl of Lauderdale, they absolutely refused the offer, and were well pleased to insomuc, by this instance of jealousy, that their danger chiefly arose from the king himself. The barber barred the way to the chamber where they assembled, and thus the pretensions to those suspicions with which, they pretended, they were hourly threatened. All stories of plots, however ridiculous, were willingly attended to, and were dispersed amongst the multitude.

The Peers voted a declaration against those tumults, and sent it to the lower House; but these relaxed their concurrence. Some zealous apprentices, being seized and committed to prison, thereof. They complained of their imprisonment, and an order was given by the Commons. The sheriffs and justices having appointed constables with strong watches to guard the parliament, the Commons sent for the constables; and required that the constables, and all other violent persons in the county, should be sent to them, to attend the courts of justice.

Encouraged by these intimations of their pleasure, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threatened insurrections. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there was some skirmishes, which ended without bloodshed. By way of reprehension, these gentlemen gave notice that they had neither strength nor authority to suppress the tumults. Whitehall was supplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous and agitate their mutual hatred.

Meanwhile the tumults still continued, and even increased about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry incessantly resonated against bishops and rotten-hearted lords. The former especially, being distinguishable by the habit and dress, and armed with rapiers as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous and agitate their mutual hatred.

Securities, were exposed to the most dangerous insults. Williams, now created Archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his brethren. By his advice a protestation was drawn and addressed to the king and the House of Lords. The bishops there set forth, that though they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in parliament, yet in coming thither, they had been menaced, assaulted, and confronted, by the rabble multitude, and could not longer with safety attend their duty in the House. For this reason they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence. This protestation, which, though just and legal, was certainly ill-timed, was signed by twelve bishops, and communicated to the king, who lastly approved of it. As soon as it was presented to the Lords, that house desired a conference with the Commons, that they inform the king of the opportunity was seized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treason was immediately

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an indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly to be ascribed. This was the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members.

When the Commons employed, in their remonstrance, language so severe and indecent, they had not been actuated entirely by justice and passion: their views were more solid and profound. They considered, that in a violent attempt, such as an invasion of the ancient constitution, the more leisure was afforded the people to reflect, the less would they be compelled to adopt those rash and dangerous enterprises; that the Peers would certainly refuse their concurrence, nor were there any hopes of prevailing on them, but by instigating the populace to tumult and disorder; that the employing of such odious means for so invidious an end, would, at long-run, lose them all their popularity, and turn the tide of favour to the contrary party; and that, if the king only remained in the House of Commons, he might adopt such a form, and thus subvert the constitution. They were therefore resolved, if possible, to excite him to the tumult, and thus to bring him into the hands of his enemies. It was not long before they succeeded beyond their fondest wishes. Charles was enraged to find that all his concessions but increased their demands; and that the people, who were returning to a sense of duty towards him, were again roused to sedition and tumults; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and even the Irish massacre ascribed to his counsels and combinations; and that a method of address was adopted, not only unsuitable towards so great a prince, but which no private gentleman could bear without resentment. When he considered all these increasing acts of insolence in the Commons, he was seized with a passion to subvert all order and authority, and to create a new and unstable government. The queen and the ladies of the court further stimulated his passion, and represented, that, if he exerted the vigour and displayed the majesty of a monarch, the daring preparations of the subject rebels before him. Lord Digby, a man of fine parts, but full of levity, and hurried on by precipitate passions, suggested like counsels; and Charles, who, though commonly moderate in his temper, was ever disposed to haste resolutely.

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HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

[The following is a continuation of the narrative, describing the events surrounding the Peers' role in the Regents' intrigue.]

... and every particle and grain of the fons anderves. Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the House of Peers, and in his majesty's name, accused the peers of an intrigue against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlrig, Hamblen, Pym, and Strode. The articles were: that they had traitorously conspired to subvert the government, and to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had conspired, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his court, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal command, and to side with them in their traitorous designs; that they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the rights and very being of parliament; that, in order to complete their traitorous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them, and to that end, had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament; and that they had traitorously conspired to levy and actually levied, and to resist, an army against the king.

The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection. Some of these articles of accusation, men said, to judge by appearance, seem to be concocted with an intent to insult and impeach the parliament; nor did these persons appear any further active in the enterprises of which they were accused, than so far as they concurred with the majority in their votes and speeches. Though proofs might, perhaps, be produced, of their privately inviting the Scots to invade England; how could such an attempt be considered as treason, after the act of oblivion which had passed, and after that both Houses, with their common accusers, had entered upon three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance? While the House of Peers are scarcely able to maintain their independency, or to reject the bills sent them by the Commons; will they be led by the populace, supposing them inclined, to pass a sentence, which must totally subdue the lower House, and put an end to their ambitious undertakings? These five members, at least Pym, Hamblen, and Hollis, are the very heads of the popular party; and if these be taken off, what fate must be expected by their followers, who are many of them accomplices in the same treason! The punishment of which is to be the last triumph of the last routed party; but surely was never before attempted, in opposition to a faction, during the full tide of its power and success.

The king had not leisure to wonder at the indiscerniture of this measure: their astonishment was excited by new attempts, still more precipitate and impudent. A sergeant-at-arms, in the king's name, demanded of the House the five members; and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies, were sealed and locked. The House voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this opposition, resolved next day to come in person to the House, with an intention to demand, perhaps seize, in their presence, the persons whom he had accused.

This resolution was discovered to the Countess of Carlisle, sister to Northumberland, a lady of spirit, wit, and intrigue. She privately sent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above two hundred, armed as usual, some with halberts, some with walking swords. The king led them to the door, and himself advanced alone through the hall; while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. The speech which he made was as follows: "Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming to you. Yesterday, I sent a sergeant-at-arms, to demand the presence of five members, traitors and rebels against the king, and his majesty's opening to the protection of the House. Instead of obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I shall be, yet you cannot, and I will not, have more than one treason. Therefore am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me to answer some of the articles. But I am sure, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way: for I never meant any other: and now since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this is no unfit occasion to repeat what I have formally, that whatever I have done in favour to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it."

When the king was looking around for the accused members, he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the House? The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied: "I have, Sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House shall direct me. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me."

The Commons were in the utmost disorder; and, when the king was about to leave them, some members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, "Pray, Sir, let us have a Parliament! And the House immediately adjourned till next day.

That evening, the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpose, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to burn the city, and that the king had ordered them to arm. Next morning Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common-council immediately. About ten o'clock, he himself, attended only by three or four lords, went in Guildhall. He told the common-council that he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to show how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. After many other gracious expressions, he told them that one of the heads of the movement was broken and in custody; but that he was not inclined to his service, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, "Pray, Sir, let us have a Parliament!" and the people resounding from all quarters. One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, drew nigh to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, 'To your tents, O Israel!' the words employed by the mutinous Israelites when they abandoned Rebhonom, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign.

When the House of Commons met, they affected the greatest dismay; and adjourning themselves for some days, ordered a committee to sit in Merchant-Taylors' hall in the city. The committee made an exact inquiry into all circumstances attending the king's entry into the House: every passionate speech, every menacing gesture of any, even the meanest of his attendants, was recorded and agitated. An intention of offering violence to the parliament, of seizing the accused members in the very House, and of murdering all who should make resistance, was inferred. And that unparalleled breach of privilege, so it was called, was still ascribed to the counsel of princes and their adherents. This expression, which then recurred every moment in speeches and memorials, and which at present is so apt to excite laughter in the reader, begat at that time the deepest and most real correspondence throughout the kingdom.

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2 Whittlocke, p. 51.
4 Whittlocke, p. 90.
A letter was pretended to be intercepted, and was communicated to the committee, who pretended to lay great stress upon it. One catholic there congratulates another on the accusation of the members; and represents that incident as a breach of the same pious contrivance, which had twice already been violated by the violators of their enemies. This practice they continued for some time. When the people, by these affected panic, were worn up to a sufficient degree of rage and terror, it was thought proper that they should be discharged by some public declaration and military process, take their seats in the House. The river was covered with boats, and other vessels, laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fire. Skipper, whom the parliament had appointed, by their own authority, major-general of the city militia, conducted the members, at the head of this tumultuary army, to Westminster-hall. And when the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they did not address the insalubrious bodies, What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?

King leaves London

The king, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hamp- ton-court, determined, on his own account, with grief, shame, and remorse, for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. His distressed situation he could no longer ascribe to the rigours of destiny, or the misconduct of his adherents; but the whole of the accusation must bear the blame of whatever disasters should henceforth befall him. The most faithful of his adherents, between sorrow and indignation, were confounded with reflections on what had happened, and what was likely to follow. Seeing every prospect blasted, factions triumphant, the disconcerted populace inflamed to a degree of fury, they utterly despared of success in a cause, to whose ruin friends and enemies seemed equally to conspire.

The address of that great body was in his presence nobody pretended to justify. The legality of his proceedings met with many and just apologies; though generally offered to unwilling ears. No maxim of law, it was said, is more established or universally allowed, than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; nor has either House, during former ages, ever pretended in any of those cases to interpose in behalf of its members. Though some inconveniences should arise from the exercise of this power in this time; they would not be sufficient, without other authority, to abolish a principle established by uninterrupted precedent, and founded on the tacit consent of the whole legislature. But what are the inconveniences so pretended? The king, on pretence of treason, may seize any members of the opposite faction, and for a time, gain to his partisans the majority of voices. But if he seize only a few, will he not lose more friends by such a gross arbitrariness than he confines enemies? If he seize a great number; is not this expedient force, open and barefaced? And what remedy at all times against such force, but to oppose to it a force which is superior? Even allowing that the king intended to employ violence, not authority, for seizing the members; though at that time, and ever afterwards, he positively asserted the contrary; yet will his conduct admit of excuse. That the hall, where the parliament assembled, is an invariable sanctuary was never yet pretended. And if the Commons complain of the affront offered them, by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence; the blame must lie entirely on themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the king's message, when he peaceably demanded those members. The sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and his presence was here legally employed, both in order to declare the law, and in order to prevent those insults which their disobedience had so well merited.

Charles knew how little purpose he should urge these reasons against the present fury of the Commons.

He proposed, therefore, by a message, that they would agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his prosecution against the members, lest further misunderstandings happen with regard to privilege. They desired him to lay the grounds of accusation before the House; and pretended that he had offered a pardon to the members; offering to concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; offered any reparation to the House for the breach of privilege, of which, he acknowledged, they had reason to complain.

They were resolved to accept of no intercourse he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure; a condition to which they knew that, without rendering himself for ever vile and contemptible, he could not possibly submit. Meanwhile, they continued to threaten and to demand the violation of parliamentary privileges, and, by their violent outcries, to inflame the whole nation. The secret reason of their displeasure, however obvious, they carefully concealed. In the king's accusation of the members, they plainly saw his judgment of late parliamentary proceedings; and every adherent of the ruling faction dreaded the same fate, should royal authority be re-established in its ancient lustre. By the most unhyphen connexions, they propagated the rumour that the commons would have had, as well as increased the ability, of hurting him. The more to excite the people, whose dispositions were already very turbulent, and whose passions were more excited, a petition from the county of Buckingham was presented to the House by six thousand subscribers, who promised to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. The city of London, the county of Essex, that of Hertford, Surrey, Devon, and a petition from the apprentices was graciously received. Nay, one was encouraged from the ports; whose numbers amounted, as they said, to fifteen thousand. The proceedings of that great body contained the same articles with all the others, the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion of Ireland, the decay of trade. The porters further desired, that justice might be done upon offenders, as the atrociousness of their crimes had been observed. And they added, That if such remedies were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, That necessity has no law.

Another petition was presented by several poor people, or beggars, in the name of many thousands more; in which the petitioners proposed as a remedy for the public miseries, That those noble worthies of the House of Peers, who consort with the happy votaries of the Commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body. The Commons gave thanks for this petition.

The very women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the House; in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. They had been necessitated, they said, to imitate the example of the womeo of Tekosh; and they claimed equal right with the men, of declaring, by petition, their sense of the public cause; because Christ had purchased them as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consists equally the happiness of both sexes. Pym came to the door of the House; and having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a reasonable time, he begged that they would for the success of the Commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were affected by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and civil enmity against each other.

In the mean time, not only all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were discouraged; but the petitioners were sent for, im-
prisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents; and this unequal conduct was openly avowed and justified. Whoever desirous change, it was said, must express their sentiments; for low, otherwise, shall they be known? But those who favor the established government in church or state should not petition; because they already enjoy what they wish for.

The king had possessed a great party in the lower House, as appeared in the vote for the remonstrance; and this party, had every new cause of disgust arisen, would soon have become the majority, from the odium attending the violent measures embraced by the popular leaders. A great majority he always possessed in the House of Commons, even if their steps were confounded or chased away; and this majority could not have been overcome, but by outrages which, in the end, would have drawn disgrace and ruin on those who incited them. By the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, were all these obstacles swept away, and every rampart of royal authority laid level with the ground. The victory was pursued with impetuosity by the sagacious Commons, who knew the importance of a favourable moment in all popular commotions. The terror of their authority they extended over the whole nation; and all opposition, and even all blame, vented in private conversation, were treated as the most atrocious crimes by these severe inquisitors. So severe was it to find fault with any particular member, if he made a figure in the House; and reflections thrown out on Pym, were at this time treated as breaches of privilege. The populace without discretion, and the frantic step, from the least hurt, the men of their leaders; nor was it safe for any member to approach either House, who pretended to control or oppose the general torrent. After so undisguised a manner was this violence conducted, that Hollis, in a speech to the Peers, desired to know the names of such members as should vote contrary to the sentiments of the Commons. And Pym said, in the lower House, that the people must not be restrained in the expressions of their just desires.

By terror, or contemnity of the king's party, an undisputed majority remained everywhere where his opponents; and the bills sent up by the Commons, which had hitherto stopped with the Peers, and would certainly have been rejected, now passed, and were presented for the royal assent. These were, the pressure bill with its preamble, and the bill against the votes of the bishops in parliament. The king's authority was at that time reduced to the lowest ebb. The queen too, being secretly threatened with imprisonment, and enduring no rest in her husband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. The rage of the people was, on account of her religion, as well as her spirit and activity, universally levelled against her. Literature, the most contumacious, she had hitherto borne with silent indignation. The Commons, in their fury against priests, had seized her very confessor; nor would they release him upon her repeated applications. Even a visit of the prince to his mother had been openly complained of, and remonstrances against it had been presented to her. Apprehension of attacks still more violent, she was desirous of facilitating her escape; and she prevailed with the king to pass these bills, in hopes of appeasing for a time the rage of the multitude.

These new concessions, however important, the king immediately found to have no other effect, than had all the preceding ones: they were made the foundation of demands still more arrogant. From the facility of his disposition, from the weakness of his situation, the Commons believed that he could now refuse them nothing. And they regarded the least moment of relaxation, in their demand of royal authority, as highly impolite, during the uninterrupted torrent of their successes. The very moment they were informed of these last acquisitions, they affronted the queen, by opening some intercepted letters written to her by them; they accused an impeachment against Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his master's commands in accusing their members. And they prosecuted with fresh vigour their plan of the militia, on which they rested all future hopes of an uncontrolled authority.

The Commons were sensible that monarchical government, which, during so many ages, had been established in England, would soon regain some degree of its former authority, and the present tenants, would all their new-invented limitations be able totally to suppress an authority, to which the nation had ever been accustomed. The sword alone, to which all human ordinances must of necessity, at last, conform, could guard their acquired power, and fully secure to them personal safety against the rising indignation of their sovereign. This point, therefore, became the chief object of their aims. A large magazine of arms being in the town of Hull, and a citizen, Peter Manesty, with the advice of Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of an ancient family; and they gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Conings, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as should receive from the parliament. Not content with having obliged the king to displace Lansford, whom he had appointed governor of the Tower, they never ceased soliciting him, till he had also displaced Sir John Byron, a man of high character, and had bestowed that command on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence. After making a fruitless attempt, in which they intercepted and destroying the despatches to the minister, that the people should put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprizes of papists and other ill-affected persons, they now resolved, by a bold and decisive stroke, to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confine entirely on their own creatures and adherents.

The severe votes passed in the beginning of this parliament against lieutenants and their deputies, for exer-cising the powers which had been intrusted to them, and armed the crown, and had not left in any magistrate military authority sufficient for the defence and security of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared necessary. A large majority of the king's party, in both Houses, which restored to lieutenants and deputies the same powers of which the votes of the Commons had been re-ceived; but at the same time the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill; and thus consisted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the parliament.

The policy pursued by the Commons, and which had hitherto succeeded to admittance, was, to astonish the king by the boldness of their enterprises, to intermingle no sweetness with their severity, to employ expressions no less vigorous than necessary, to make him sensible in what little estimation they held both his person and his dignity. To a hill so destructive of royal authority, they prefixed, with an insolence seemingly wanton, a preamble equally dishonourable to the personal character of the king. These are the words: "Whereas there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody courtesies of papists and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland; and whereas, by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad," &c.

Here Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. When this demand was made; a demand which had totally changed Commons justly regarded as the last they should ever have occasion to make; he was at Dover, attending the queen and the Princess of Orange, in their embarkation. Charles had been frequently accused of an impeach-ment as a matter of so great importance, and must therefore resolve his answer till his return. The parliament instantly despatched another message to him, with solicitations still
more important. They expressed their great grief on account of his majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented, that any delay, during dangers and disturbances so great, was not less unsatisfactory and destructive than an absolute denial. They insisted, that it was their duty to see put in execution a measure so necessary for public safety. And they affirmed, that the people, in many counties, had applied to them for the protection of themselves, and, in some places, were, of themselves, and by their own authority, providing against those urgent dangers with which they were threatened.

Even after this intoleration, the king durst not venture upon a like despatch. But, seeing that attempts which threw such disdour upon him, and protesting the innocence of his intentions when he entered the House of Commons; he only desired that the military authority, if it was defective, should first be conferred upon the crown; and he promised to bestow commissions, but such as should be revocable at pleasure, on the same persons whom the parliament had named in the bill. By a former message he had dismissed his wishes, that they would lay before him, in one view, all the concessions which they deemed requisite for the settlement of the nation. They pretended, that they were exposed to perils so dreadful and imminent, that they had not leisure for such a work. The king, accordingly, resolved to remedy during this emergency; and yet maintained the prerogatives of the crown entire and unbroken.

But the intentions of the Commons were with much impatience known. The distance of time by which, without immediate measures, they could be cured by one remedy alone. They instantly replied, that the dangers and distresses of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both Houses, and to resolve to do it accordingly. They asserted, that there were parts of the kingdom which had, from their own authority, put themselves in insurrection; and that they had been distanced by those prevailing fears and jealousies, had acted suitably to the declarations and directions of both Houses, and conformably to the laws of the kingdom. And while they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where they knew he would be entirely at mercy.

I am so much amazed at this message," said the king in his very earnest reply, that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: and if so, I assure you that this message has nothing lessened them.

As for the militia, I had given the answer before I gave that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whittingham: ask yourselves whether I have not?

What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me.

Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of Heaven upon this nation, if these distinctions continue.

God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."

No sooner did the Commons despair of obtaining the king's consent to their bill, that, as those who advised his majesty's answer were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors for the safety of the nation; that this denial is of such dangerous conse-

quence, that, if his majesty persist in it, it will hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some speedy remedy be applied by the wisdom and authority of both Houses; and that such of the subjects as have put themselves in a posture of defence against these imminent dangers, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and approved by the House."

Lest the people might be averse to the seconding of all these usurpations, and, in some places, to the danger, with the terrors of invasion, with the dread of English and Irish papists; and the most unaccountable panics were spread throughout the nation. Lord Digby having entered Kingston in a coach and six, attended by a few livery servants in their livery livery; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been menaced by some of the menaces of the kingdom being removed from that furious vortex of new principles and opinions, which had transported the capital, still retained a sincere regard for the church and monarchy; and the king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. The great counsels of the king, and all quarters of England the prime nobility and gentry, either personally, or by messages and letters, expressed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to save himself and himself from that unanimous slavery with which they were threatened. The small interval of time which had passed since the fatal accusation of the members, had been sufficient to open the eyes of many, and to recover them from the astonishment with which at first they had been seized. One rash and passionate attempt of the king's seemed but a small counterbalance to so many acts of deliberate violence, which had been offered to him and every branch of the legislature; and, however sweet the sound of liberty, many resolved to adhere to that moderate freedom transmitted them from their ancestors, and now better secured by such important concessions; rather than, by engaging in a giddy search after more independence, run a manifest risk either of incurring a cruel subjection, or abandoning all law and order.

Charles, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the Commons with a vigour which he had not before exerted. Notwithstanding their remonstrances, and menaces, and insults, he still persisted in refusing their bill; and they proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two Houses, without the king's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this assembly usurpation, and, as a resolution strictly to observe the law himself, so was he determined, he said, to oblige every other person to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was essential to all laws, and so familiar in all acts of executive authority, that the parliament was afraid, had they totally omitted it, that the innovation would be too sensible to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the persons to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by such; and, in particular, he hitherto unheard of, between the office and the person of the king; those very forces which they employed against him, they levied in his name and by his authority."

\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]  
\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]

\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]  
\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]

f Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
g Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
h Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
i Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
j Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
k Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
l Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
m Halsted, part iv. l. chap. i. p. iv.  
\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]  
\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]

\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]  
\[\text{ibid. ibid.}\]

o Dugdale, p. 89.  
p Warner, p. 323.  
It is remarkable how much the topics of argument were now reversed between the parties. The king, while he acknowledged his former error, of employing a plea of necessity, in order to infringe the laws and constitution, warned the public, to their increase of suspicion, on which they threw such violent blame; and the parliament, while they cloathed their personal fears or ambition under the appearance of national and imminent danger, made unknowingly and without any regard to the most trivial instances of conduct. That the liberties of the people were no longer exposed to any peril from royal authority, so narrowly circumscribed, so exactly defined, so much unsupported by reason, and so little maintained upon very plausible topics: but that the danger, allowing it to have any existence, was not of that kind: great, urgent, inevitable; which dilutes all law, and levels all limitations; seems apparent from the simplest view of these transactions. So obvious indeed was the king's present inability to invade the constitution, that the fears and jealousies which operated on the people, and pushed them so furiously to arms, were undoubtedly not of a evil, but of a religious nature. The disconcerted imaginations of men were agitated with a continual dread of popery, with a horror against prelacy, with an antipathy to ceremonies and the liturgy, and with a violent affection for whatever was mingled with popish practices. The former spirit let loose, confounded all regard to ease, safety, interest; and dissolved every moral and civil obligation. Each party was now willing to throw on its antagonist the odium of commencing a civil war; but both of them performed such a demonstration of their judgment, which we cannot gain the people's favour and good opinion, was the chief point on both sides. Never was there a people less corrupted by vice, and more actuated by principle, than the English in this period; and in this period there existed more men who possessed more capacity, more courage, more public spirit, more disinterested zeal. The infusion of one ingredient, in too large a proportion, had corrupted all these new-joiners to the most vitriolic poison. To determine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons proposed on both sides. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Besides private adventurers without number, the king and parliament themselves carried on the controversy, by messages, remonstrances, and declarations; where the nation was really the party to whom all answers were addressed. Conducted in the sense of the mass, it could not possibly be otherwise than to the advantage. Not only his cause was more favourable, as supporting the ancient government in church and state against the most illegal pretensions: it was also defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted

...
Charles I immediately proclaimed his truant, and complained to the parliament of his disobedience. The parliament avowed and justified the action.

The county of York levied a guard for the king of 600 men: for the king of England had hitherto lived among their subjects, like fathers among their children, and had derived all their security from the dignity of their character, and from the protection of the laws. The two houses, though they had already levied a guard for themselves, had attempted to seize all the military power, all the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; and to destroy the privilege in every kind of warlike preparations: yet immediately voted, "That the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war against his parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end but the care of his kingdom, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person; that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that who- ever should assist him in such a war, were traitors to the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

The armies, which had been every where raised on presence of the service in Ireland, were henceforth more openly employed against the council; and the command of them was given to the Earl of Essex. In London, no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that those who were still living under the government of the Peers, issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces which should defend the king and both houses of parliament: for this style they still preserved. Within ten days, vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. Hardly were there men enough to receive it, or room sufficient to store it; and many, with regret, were observed to carry plate out of the palace. All the authorities could find leisure to receive them. Such zeal animat- ed the pusillanimous part of the parliament, especially in the city! The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of the houses, and even their silver thimbles and book- kins, in order to support the good cause against the malignants.

Meanwhile the splendour of the nobility, with which the king was environed, much eclipsed the appearance at Whitehall, with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the form and semblance of a king."

Charles made a declaration to the Peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land. The Peers answered this declaration by a protest, in which they declared their resolution to obey no commands but such as were warranted by that authority. By these deliberate engagements, so worthy of an English prince and English nobility, they meant to confound the furious and tumultuary resolutions taken by the parliament. The queen, disposing of the crown jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a number of arms and ammunition. Part of these, after escaping many perils, arrived safely to the king. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the parliament. In order to remove all jealousies, he had resolved, that their usurpations and illegal pretensions should be apparent to the whole world, and thought, that to recover the confidence of the people, was a point much more material to his interest than the collecting of any magazines, stores, or armies, which might breed apprehensions of violent or illegal counsels. But the urgent necessity of bis situation no longer admitted of delay. He now prepared himself for defence. With a spirit, activity, and address, which the other party apprehended, nor the other expected, he employed all the advantages which remained to him, and roused up his adherents to arms. The resources of this prince's genius increased to his difficulties; and he never appeared greater than when plunged into the deepest perils and distresses. From the mixed character, indeed, of Charles, arose in part the misfortunes in which England was involved. His political errors, or rather weaknesses, had raised him inveterate enemies: his eminent moral virtues had procured him zealous partisans: and between the hatred of the one, and the affections of the other, was the nation agitated with the most violent convulsions.

That the king might despair of all composition, the parliament sent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abdication of monarchical authority. They required, that no man should remain in the council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's should have validity, unless it was passed in council, and was attested under their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of parliament or council; that the king should be advised by council; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should have place according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament; and that no peer be made but with consent of both houses."

"Should I grant these demands," said the king in reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded: I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; and the king's authority, signified by both houses, may still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the form and semblance of a king.

When two names, so sacred in the English constitution as those of King and Parliament, were placed in opposition, no act of civil war.
wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions.

The nobility, and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. Animated with the spirit of loyalty, derived from their ancestors, they adhered to the ancient principles of their constitution, and, valuing themselves on exerting the maxims, as well as inheriting the possessions, of the old English families. And while they passed their time mostly at their country-seats, they were surprised to hear of opinions prevailing, with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied not a limitation, but an abolition, almost total, of monarchical authority.

The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The government of cities, which even under absolute monarchies is commonly republican, inclined them to this party; the small hereditary influence, which can be retained over the industrious inhabitants of towns; the natural independence of citizens; and the force of popular currents over those generated associations of mankind; all the causes gave, there, authority to the new principles propagated throughout the nation. Many families too, which had lately been enriched by commerce, saw with indignation the officials and gentry of their counties, they could not raise themselves to a level with the ancient gentry; they therefore adhered to a power, by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and considerations. And the new splendid glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty so happily supported industry, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in England.

The genius of the two religions, so closely at this time interwoven with politics, corresponded exactly to these divisions. The presbyterian religion was new, republican, and suited to the genius of the populace: the other had an air of greater show and ornament, was established on ancient authority, and bore an affinity to the kingly and aristocratical parts of the constitution. The devotees of presbytery became of course zealous partisans of the parliament: the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy to this party; the small hereditary influence, which can be retained over the industrious inhabitants of towns; the natural independence of citizens; and the force of popular currents over those generated associations of mankind; all the causes gave, there, authority to the new principles propagated throughout the nation. Many families too, which had lately been enriched by commerce, saw with indignation the officials and gentry of their counties, they could not raise themselves to a level with the ancient gentry; they therefore adhered to a power, by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and considerations. And the new splendid glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty so happily supported industry, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in England.

Some men also there were of liberal education, who, being either careless or ignorant of those disputes banded about by the clergy of both sides, aspired to nothing but the preservation of life; and the spirit of public spirit and social intercourse of their companions. All these flocked to the king's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity, which reigned among the parliamentary party.

Never was a quarrel more unequal than seemed at first that between the contending parties; almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The king's revenue had been seized, from the beginning, by the parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his present subsistence; and as soon as he withdrew to York, they totally stopped all payments. London and all the ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, all the customs yielded them a certain and considerable supply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised from the cities which possessed the nation, than from those which were merely tenant to the king, and could be levied by the king in those open countries, which after some time declared for him.

The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports to which they belonged: and the Earl of Northumberland, in his capacity of admiral, having embraced the party of the parliament, had appointed, at their desire, the Earl of Warwick to be his lieutenant, who at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the seas that assembled.

All the magazines of arms and ammunition were from the first seized by the parliament; and their fleet intercept- ed the greater part of those which were sent by the queen from Holland. The king was obliged, in order to arm his followers, to borrow the weapons of the train-bands, under the pretense of restoring them as soon as peace should be settled in the kingdom.

The veneration for parliaments was at this time extreme throughout the nation. The custom of reviling those who were suspected of being in opposition, became unknown, during all former ages. Few or no instances of their encroaching ambition or selfish claims had hitherto been observed. Men considered the House of Commons in no other light than as the representatives of the nation, whose interest was the same with that of the public, who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive, but the necessary defence of the people, could ever engage in an opposition to the crown. The torrent, therefore, of general affection ran to the parliament. What is the great advantage of popularity, the privilege of affixing epithets, fell of course to that party. The king's adherents were the Worked and the Malignant; their adversaries were the Godly and Well-affected. And as the forces of the cities were more united than that of the country, and at once gave shelter and protection to the parliamentary party, who could easily suppress the royalists in their neighbour- ing districts, although they were less considerable, and in the war, seemed to be in the hands of the parliament.

What alone gave the king some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries, was the nature of his post. In quality and sprite, their conduct was not impeded for, from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the base disposition of the multitude. And as the men of estates, at their own expense, levied and armed their tenants, besides an attachment to their masters, greater force and courage were to be expected in these rustic troops, than in the vicious and enervated populace of cities.

The neighbouring states of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little interested themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. France, from policy, had fomented the first disorders in Scotland; had sent over arms to the Irish rebels; and continued to give countenance to the English parliament: Spain, from bigotry, furnished the Irish with some supplies of money and arms. The Prince of Orange, closely allied to the crown, encouraged English officers, who served in the Low Countries, to enlist in the king's army: the Scottish officers, who had been formed in Germany, and in the late accommodating spirit of the continent, were inured to arms.

The contempt entertained by the parliament for the king's party was so great, that it was the chief cause of pushing matters to such extremities against him; and men believed that he never would attempt resistance, but must soon yield to the pretensions, however enormous, of the two Houses. Even after his standard was erected, men could not, he brought to apprehend the danger of a civil war; nor was it imagined that he would have the impudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was so much superior. The low condition in which he appeared at Nottingham confirmed all these hopes. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been and armed for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not gotten together above three hundred infantry. The naval force was certainly not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days' march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops been joined to the train-bands, the royalists would have beset the small force which he had assembled. By pursu- ing him in his retreat, they had so discredited his cause, and discouraged his adherents, as to have for ever prevented his enlisting any army that could support them. But the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general,
had not yet received any orders from his masters. What rendered them so backward, after such precipitate steps as they had formerly taken, is not easily explained. It is probable, that in the extreme distress of his party consisted the present safety of the king. The council meant, that the royalists, sensible of their feeble condition, and convinced of their slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a victory, so much more easily supplied and maintained without the appearance of force, and without bloodshed. Perhaps too, when it became necessary to make the concluding step, and offer base alliance to their sovereign, their scruples and apprehensions, though not sufficient to obstruct their resolution, yet checked the execution of it.

Sir Jacob Astley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his intended army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. All the king's attendants were full of well-grounded apprehensions. Some of the lords having desired that a message might be sent to the parliament with overtures to a treaty, Charles, who well knew that an accommodation, in his present condition, meant nothing but a total submission, hastily broke up the council, lest this proposal should be further insisted on. But next day, the Earl of Southampton and Sir Edward Montagu, having offered the same advice in council, it was hearkened to with more coolness and deliberation. He urged, that though such a step would probably increase the insolence of the parliament, this was so far from being an advantage to the commonwealth, as it would be to the advantage of the royal cause: that if they refused to treat, which was more probable, the very sound of peace was so popular, that nothing could more disgust the nation than such haughty severity: that if they admitted of a treaty, their proposals, considering their present situation, would be so exorbitant, as to open the eyes of their most partial adherents, and turn the general favour to the king's side. The case was, that a delay was expeditious, and a delay of the imminent danger with which the king was at present threatened.

Charles, on assembling the council, had declared against all advances towards an accommodation; and had said, that, having now nothing left him but his honour, this last possession he was resolved steadily to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any further to the pretensions of his enemies. But, by the unanimous desire of the council, he was prevailed on to send a message to the parliament, with the same advice. That nobleman, therefore, with Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Uvedale, was despatched to London, with offers of a treaty. The manner in which they were received was disgraceful to the interest of the commonwealth, not allowed by the Peers to take his seat; but was ordered to deliver his message to the skir, and immediately to depart the city; the Commons showed little better disposition towards Colepepper and Uvedale. Both Houses replied, that they could admit of no treaty with the king, till he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. The king, by a second message, denied any such intention against the two Houses; but offered to recall these proclamations, provided the parliament agreed to recall theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They desired him, in return, to dismiss his forces, to reside with his own family, and take up his residence on his estates; that is, abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies.

Both parties flattered themselves, that, by these messages and replies, they had gained the ends which they had designed, and believed that they had sufficiently sensible of the parliament's insolence and aversion to peace; the parliament intended, by this vigour in their resolutions, to support the vigour of their military operations. The courage of the parliament was increased, besides their great superiority of force, by two recent events, which had happened in their favour. Goring was governor of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, and, by its situation, of great importance. This man seemed to have rendered himself an immoveable enemy to the king, by betraying, probably magnifying, the secretcabals of the army; and the parliament thought that his fidelity to them might, on that account, be entirely depended on. But the same love of money, and the same desire of being regarded to engagements and professions. He took underhand his measures with the court, and declared against the parliament. But, though he had been sufficiently supplied with money, and long before he knew this danger, so small was his foresight, that he had left the place entirely destitute of provisions, and in a few days he was obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces. The Marquis of Winchester had gained the highest credit and character in the kingdom, and, equally with the king, descended, by a female, from Henry VII. During the reign of James, he had attempted, without having obtained the consent of that monarch, to marry Arundella Stuart, a lady nearly related to the crown; and, upon discovery of his intentions, had been obliged, for some time, to fly the kingdom. Ever after, he was looked on with an evil eye at court, from which, in a great measure, he withdrew; and living in an independent manner, he addicted himself entirely to literary occupations and amusements. In proportion as the king declined in popularity, and the parliament assumed greater and nobler airs, and treated the commons with great good humour and authority. By his sagacity, he soon perceived, that the Commons, not content with correcting the abuses of government, were carried, by the natural current of power and popularity, into the opposite extreme, and that they were commencing on themselves the work of constitution. Immediately he devoted himself to the support of the king's falling authority, and was prevailed with to be governor to the young prince, and reside at court, to which, in the eyes of all men, he gave, by his presence, a new lustre and authority. So high was his character for mildness and humanity, that he still preserved, by means of these popular virtues, the public's esteem and favour; and so respected by the parliament, that it was not possible his change of his change. Notwithstanding his habits of ease and study, he now exerted himself in raising an army for the king; and being named general of the western counties, where his interest chiefly lay, he began to assemble forces in Somersetshire. By the assistance of Lord Seymour, Lord Paulten, John Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, Sir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together some appearance of an army; when the parliament apprehensive of the danger, sent the Duke of Buckingham, with a body of troops, to apprehend him, and force against him. On his approach, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne castle; and, finding that place untenable, he himself passed over into Wales, leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, and Captain Berkeley, with their horse, consisting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that county better prepared for their reception.

All the dispersed bodies of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the Earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to 15,000 men. The king, though his camp had been gradually removed from all quarters, was sensible that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force; and he thought it prudent, by slow marches, to retire to Derby, thence to Shrewsbury, in order to counteract the levies which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellingham, and Barnet, a day's march before the beleaguered place, the king received an intelligence, that the rebels resolved on an attempt against him. He immediately marched to reenforce Brecon, with his army, and on the 16th of February, defeated the parliamentary forces in such a manner, as to produce a renunciation of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of every regiment. That he might bind himself by reciprocal ties, he solemnly made the following declaration before the army:—

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion, established in the church of England, and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die."

"I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my
own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the laws and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my oath, in this parliament, to observe in my absence, and the great necessity to which I am bound, beget any violation of law. I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom. 

When I willingly fall in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above; but in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of Heaven."

Meanwhile, the importance of the royal army, with both the approaches of the capital, had never done him any real service. The bulk of the generous train of nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distresses, breathed the spirit of liberty, as well as of loyalty: and in the hopes alone of his subduing to a legal and limited monarchy, like those who were in the same situation, in his favour, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes.

While the king's army lay at Shrewsbury, and he was employing himself in collecting money, which he received, though in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and the first part of the universality of the nation, the news arrived of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and where he was successful.

On the appearance of commotions in England, the Prince Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, had offered their service to the king; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards the city eastward. Rupert, as soon as he had the place arrived, entered his order cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay he briskly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane, and forming themselves. Colonel Sandys, who led them, and who fought with valour, being mortally wounded, fell from his horse. The whole party was routed, and was pursued above a mile. The prince, hearing of Essex's approach, returned to the main body. This encounter, though in itself of small importance, mightily raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired to Prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

In this army, the king found it amount to 10,000 men. The Earl of Lindsey, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low Countries, was general: Prince Rupert commanded the horse; Sir Jacob Astley, the foot; Sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons; Sir John Hveden, the artillery. Lord Berrington and Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards. The estates and revenue of this single troop, according to Lord Clarendon's computation, were at least equal to those of all the members, who, as the commencement of war, voted in both Houses. Their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their masters.

On Oct. 10th, with this army the king left Shrewsbury, resolving to give battle as soon as possible to the army of the parliament, which, he heard, was continually augmenting by supplies from London. In order to prevent the council, he diverted the money, which he knew the enemy would not abandon to him. Essex had now received his instructions. The import of them was, to present a most humble petition to the king, and to rescue him and the royal family from those dangers that were about them. Five days after the departure of the royalists from Shrewsbury, he left Worcester. Though it be commonly easy in civil wars to get intelligence, the armies were within six miles of each other, ere either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy. Shrewsbury and Worcester, the places from which they set out, are not above twenty miles distant; yet had the two armies marched ten days in this mutual ignorance. So much had military skill, during a long peace, decayed in England. The royal army lay near Banbury: that of the parliament at Northampton. On the 30th Oct., Prince Rupert sent intelligence of the enemy's approach. Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack: Essex drew up his men to receive him. Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Horse, had been ordered to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now posted on the left wing, commanded by Ramsay, a Scotchman. No sooner did the king's army approach, than Fortescue, ordering his troop to discharge their pistols in the ground, put himself under the command of Prince Rupert. Partly from this incident, partly from the furious shock made upon them by the prince, that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were pursued for two miles. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better success. Chased from their ground by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aston, they also took to flight. The king's body of reserve, commanded by Prince Rupert, had not yet understood that all was over, and impatient to have some share in the action, heedlessly followed the chase, which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, perceived the advantage: he wheeled about a troop which he sent forward; the news of an arrival of the first, which had happened in these wars, and where he was successful.

The prince, hearing of Essex's approach, returned to the main body. This encounter, though in itself of small importance, mightily raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired to Prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war. 

After the royal army was recruited and refreshed, as the weather still continued favourable, it was again put in motion. A party of horse approached to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the parliament. Both governors then marched towards Oxford, which was now the present of a civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event; were further alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance. They voted an address for a treaty.
The king's near approach to Colchester quickened their advances for peace. Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commissioners, presented the address of both Houses; in which they besought his majesty to appoint some convenient place where the might reside till the matter might be attended to with proposals. The king named Windsor, and desired that their garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle.

Meanwhile, the Essex, by the nasty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the presence of his army nor the precarious hope of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked, at Brentford, with the facility of treason, and after a sharp action beat them from that village, and took about 500 prisoners. The parliament had sent orders to forbear all hostilities, and had expected the same from the king; though no stipulations to that purpose had been mentioned by their commissioners. Loud complaints were raised against this attack, as if it had been the most apparent perjury, and breach of treaty.

Inflamed with resentment, as well as anxious for its own safety, the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Essex. The parliamentary army now amounted to above 24,000 men, and was much superior to that of the king. After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off and retired to Oxford.

While the principal armies on both sides were kept in inaction by the winter season, the king and parliament went on their respective march, each in search of the other, and in seeking advancing towards peace. By means of contributions or assessments, levied by the house, Charles maintained his cavalry; by loans and voluntary presents, sent from his friends abroad, he supported his infantry; but the supplies were still very unequal to the necessities under which he laboured. The parliament had more resources for money; and had, by consequence, every military preparation in much greater order and in a better state, than the government of Essex; but the army amounted to the five-and-twentieth part of every one's substance, they established on that city a weekly assessment of 10,000 pounds, and another of 23,518 on the rest of the kingdom. And as their army was not present established in most counties, they levied these taxes with regularity; though they amounted to sums much greater than the nation had formerly paid to the public.

A.D. 1643.

The king and parliament sent reciprocally their demands; and a treatly was made, but without any cessation of hostilities, as had at first been proposed. The Earl of Northumberland, and four other commissioners of the lower house, came to Oxford, as commissioners. In this treaty the king perpetually insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative; the parliament still required new concessions, and a further subversion of regal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealousies. Finding the king supported by more forces and a greater party than they had ever looked for, they seemed to be shocked at other extravagant conditions which they had formerly claimed; but their demands were still too high for an equal treaty. Besides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they made no secret of the terms which they expressed terms utterly to abridge the king's episcopacy; a demand which, before they had only insinuated: and they required, that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their assembly of divines; that is, in the manner the most repugnant to the inclinations of the king and all his partizans. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful adherents. And they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword. In answer to the king's proposal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ships, should be restored to him, the parliament required, that they should be put into such hands as they could confide in; whereupon the munitions, to which he formerly sent to the king, showed their inclination to abolish monarchy; they only asked, at present, the power of doing it. And having now, in the eye of the law, been broken up by the legal power, and landed gentleman in foreign; it is evident that their fears and jealousies must, on an account, have multiplied extremely; and have rendered their personal safety, which they interwove with the safety of the nation, still more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. Though the gentleness and lenity of the king's temper might have insured them against schemes of future vengeance; they preferred, as no doubt, natural, an independent security, accompanied too with exterior power, to the station of subjects, and that not entirely guarded from all apprehensions of danger.

The conferences went no further than the first demand on each side. The parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners. A military enterprise, which they had concerted early in the spring, was immediately undertaken. Reading, the principal market town in the county of Berkshire, which had been esteemed a place of considerable strength in that age, when the art of attacking towns was not well understood in Europe, and was totally unknown in England. The Earl of Essex sat down before it on the 12th April. He had the place invested by his army of 18,000 men; and carried on the siege by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being wounded, Colonel Fielding succeeded to the command. In a little time the town was found to be no longer in a condition for a defence; and it was approached, with an intention of obliging Essex to raise the siege, the disposition of the parliamentary army was so strong, as rendered the design impracticable. Fielding, therefore, was contented to sell the town and profits on condition that he should bring off all the garrison with the honours of war, and deliver up deserters. This last article was thought so ignominious and so prejudicial to the king's interests, that the governor tried by a council of war, and condemned to lose his life for consenting to it. His sentence was afterwards remitted by the king.

Essex's army had been fully supplied with all necessary names from London; even many superfluities and luxuries were sent them by the care of the zealous citizens: yet the hardships, which they suffered from the siege, during so early a season, had weakened them to such a degree, that they were no longer fit for any new enterprise. And the two armies, for some time, encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, without attempting, on either side, any action of moment.

Besides the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the centre of England; each county, each town, each family almost, was divided within itself; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Throughout the winter, continual efforts had every where been made by each party to surmount its antagonist; and the English, roused from the lethargy of peace, with eager though unfaltering hands, employed against their fellow-citizens their long-neglected weapons. The famous
zeal for liberty and presbyterian discipline, which had hitherto run uncontrolled throughout the nation; now at last exerted an equal ardour for monarchy and episcopacy; whose intention of abolishing these ancient modes of government was openly avowed by the parliament. Conventions for neutrality, though in several counties they had been entered into, and confirmed by the most solemn covenant, were accordingly disregarded by Houses, which, immediately broken; and the fire of discord was spread into every quarter. The altercation of discourse, the controversies of the pen, but, above all, the declamations of the pulpit, indisposed the minds of men towards each other. The former, however, and inflamed as were the dispositions of the English, by a war both civil and religious, that great destroy of humanity; all the events of this period are less distinguished by atrocious deeds, either of teachers or cruelty, than were ever any intestine discord which had so long a continuance: a circumstance which will be found to reflect great praise on the national character of that people, now so unhappily roused to arms.

In the north, Lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, the Earl of Newcastle for the king. The latter nobleman began those associations which were afterwards so destructive both to the parties, and to the country. He united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric, and engaged, some time after, other counties in the same association. Finding that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham and other captains of Hull, was advancing upon the southern part of Yorkshire; he advanced with a body of four thousand men, and took possession of York. At Tadcaster, he attacked the forces of the parliament, and defeated them, but his victory was not decisive. In other encounters he obtained some inconclusive advantages. But the chief benefit which resulted from his enterprises was, the establishing of the king's authority in the northern provinces.

In another part of the kingdom, Lord Broke was killed by a shot, while he was taking possession of Lichfield for the parliament. After a short combat, near Stafford, between the Earl of Newcastle and Sir John Gell, the former, who commanded the king's forces, was killed, while he fought with great valor; and his forces, discouraged by his death, though they had obtained the advantage in the action, retreated into the town of Stafford.

Sir William Waller began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterprising, he was fitted by his genius to the nature of the war; which, being managed by him and conducted by unforeseen counsels, afforded success to every bold and sudden undertaking. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he advanced towards Gloucester, which was in a mannerblockaded by Lord Herbert, who had large considerable forces in Wales for the royal party. While he attacked the Welsh on one side, a sally from Gloucester made impression on the other. Herbert was defeated; five hundred of his men killed on the spot; a thousand taken prisoners; and he himself escaped with some difficulty to Oxford. Hereford, esteemed a strong town, defended by a considerable garrison, was surrendered to Waller, from the cowardice of Colonel Perci, the governor. Tenby and Carnarvon underwent the same fate. Worcester refused him admittance; Waller, without placing any garrisons in his new conquests, retired to Gloucester, and he thence joined the army under the Earl of Essex.

Of all the most remarkable actions of valor, royalists in the winter season, were performed in the west. When Sir Ralph Hopton, with his small troops, retired into Cornwall before the Earl of Bedford, and had recovered a few of the townships, he abandoned the pursuit, and committed the care of suppressing the royal party to the sheriffs of the county. But the attentions of Cornwall were much inclined to the king's service. While Sir Richard Buller and Sir Alexander Carew lay at Launceston, and employed themselves in executing the parliament's ordinance for the militia, a meeting of the county was assembled at Truro; and after Hopton produced his commission from the Earl of Hertford, the king's general, it was agreed to execute the laws, and to expel these invaders of the county. The trans-borders of Cornwall reduced to peace and to obedience under the king.

It had been usual for the royal party, on the commencement of these disorders, to claim, on all occasions, the strict execution of the laws, which they knew were favourable to the parliamentary party. A promise to the pleas of necessity, and avow the transgression of any statute, had also been accustomed to war the laws, and by forced constructions to interpret them in their own favour. But through the king was not taken by such a method of conducting war, and it was by favour of law that the trans-bands were raised in Cornwall; it appeared that those maxims were now prejudicial to the royal party. These troops could not legally, without their own consent, be carried out of the county; and consequently, it was impossible to push into Devonshire the advantage which they had obtained. The Cornish royalists, therefore, had to be more serviceable. Sir Bevil Granville, the most beloved man of that country, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Sharning, Arundel, and Trevannon, undertook, at their own charge, to raise an army for the king; and their great interest and zeal naturally obtained that the parliament should be more serviceable. The parliament, alarmed at this appearance of the royalists, gave commission to Ruthven, a Scottishman, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, in order to recover Cornwall and obtain the honour of that victory which he looked for with assurance. The royalists, in like manner, were impatient to bring the affair to a decision before Ruthven's army should receive so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Bradac Down; and the king's forces, though inferior in number, gave a total defeat to their enemies. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, fled to Saltash; and when that town was taken, he escaped with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth and Exeter.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the extremest wants of both army and garrison under which the Cornish royalists laboured, obliged them to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire; and this neutrality held all the winter-season. In the spring, they recovered and established a considerable force in the country; and war recommenced with great appearance of disadvantage to the king's party. Stamford, having assembled a strong body of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, provisions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and were oppressed by every kind of necessity. Distrust, joined to the natural gallantry of these troops, commanded by the prime gentry of the country, which are ready, with the most miraculous efforts, to overcome all these disadvantages. Stamford being encompassed on the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four divisions, at five in the morning, having lain all night under arms. One division was commanded by Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Bevil Granville, and Sir John Berkley, a third by Sharning and Trevannon, a fourth by Esset and Godolphin. In this action, the authority of the king's army was pressing with vigour those four ways up the hill, and their enemies obstinately defending themselves. The fight continued with doubtful success, till word was brought the
chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder. This defect, which they concealed from the soldiers, they resolved to supply by their valour. They agreed to advance without firing a shot, and to adhere to their design of making a sudden assault and could be an equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists began on all sides to gain ground. Major-General Chaloner, who commanded the parliamentary army, (for Stow it is a matter of dispute,) failed not in his duty; and when he saw his men recoil, he himself advanced with a good stand of pikes, and pierced into the thickest of the enemy, was at last overpowered by numbers, and took refuge behind the thickest part of the ground; so much the four parties of the royalists, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended, at last met together upon the plain at the top; where they embraced with great joy, and signalled their victory with loud shouts and musical congratulations.

After this success, the attention both of king and parliament was turned towards the west, as to a very important scene of action. The king sent thither the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Rupert, and detached troops to prevent the arrival of any other unjudicious attempts of the royal army; whereas he had marched out of Somerset, to reduce that county to obedience. The next scene was the battle of Lansdown near Bath, in which the king had had an advantage by the arrival of the royalists; but, when they had been dispersed, he had entirely given the advantage to the parliament; the king's troops were brought off; and a great body, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was, the expectation that some disaster had happened to Hambden, their capital and main strength. 

Colonel Urrey, a Scotchman, who served in the parliamentary army, having received some despatches, came to Oxford, and offered his services to the king. In order to prevent the removal of the main body of the royalists from the field, he was to form an attempt upon them. The prince, who was entirely fitted for that kind of service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his navages within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horseback, in order to pursue the prince, to recover the scattered forces, and to redress the disaster which had sustained. Among the rest, Hambden, who had a regiment of infantry that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer; and overtaking the royalists on Cholgrave field, entered into the thickest of the battle. By the bravest and activity of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off; and a great body, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was, the expectation that some disaster had happened to Hambden, their capital and main strength.

The gallant Grenville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some granado, was dangerously hurt. The royalists next attempted to march onwards, and to join their forces to the king at Oxford; but Waller hung on their rear, and mistested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters, he so much surprised the royalists in number, that they durst not continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was resolved, that Hertford and Prince Maurice should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, should hasten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was so confident of taking this body of infantry, now abandoned by the horse, that he wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that by the next post he would inform them of the number and quality of the army he had defeated. The king, having received hearing of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had prepared a considerable body of cavalry, which he immediately dispatched to their succour and support. Waller, the next day, 12th July, resolved to join the head of the army, on Roundway-down, about two miles from war-less. He had the two armies met at the Devizes; and advancing with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, and prevent his conjunction with the Cornish infinjns, was received with equal valour by the royalists. After a sharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot, seeing the enemy's cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with reloaded courage, dispersed them off the field, and routed and dispersed the whole army.

This important victory following so quick after other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their principal army commanded by Essex. Waller exclaimed loudly against that general for allowing Wilmot to pass him, and proceed without any interruption to the succour of the distressed army at the Devizes. But Essex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the siege of Reading, was resolved to recover the loss there; and the weakness of the king, and his want of all military head, restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish, which of itself was of no great consequence, and was rendered remarkable by the presence of the Prince Rupert in the battle of Reading.

The battle of Round-down, or the relief of the Devizes, and the advanced in consequence, of Rupert, to the king's assistance, drove Waller from the field, and dispersed the whole army.
At this period of Waller, was further informed, that the queen, who landed in Burlington-bay, had arrived at Oxford, and had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Dislodging from Thame and Newbury, where he had hitherto proper to retreat nearer to London; and he showed to his friends his broken and disheartened forces, which a few months before he had led into the field to so flourishing a conclusion, in the midst of twenty thousand arms, sent his affection westward under Prince Rupert, and, by their conjunction with the Cornish troops, a formidable force, for numbers as well as reputation and valour, was composed. That an enterprise, correspondent to men's expectations, might be undertaken with the prince, and that which the prince died so to the defence of the garrison, that in the end the assailants were repulsed with a considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. On the prince's side, the assault was conducted with so much dispatch, and almost with equal loss, that the better success. One party, led by Lord Grandison, was indeed beaten off, and the commander himself mortally wounded. Another, conducted by Colonel Belkiss, met with a like fate: but Washington, with a less party finding a place in the curtain weaker than the rest, broke in, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. By this interruption, however, nothing but the suburbs was yet gained: the entrance into the town was still more difficult: and by the lost approach was regained, as well as the prospect of further danger, every one was extremely discouraged: when, Bristol taken, to the great joy of the army, the city beat a parley. The garrison was allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. For this instance of cowardice, Fiennes was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to lose his head; but the sentence was remitted by the general.

Great complaints were made of violations exercised on the garrison, contrary to the capitulation. An apology was made by the royalists, as if these were a retaliation for some grievances committed on their friends at the surrender of Rochester, or presented in the court of King Charles; but really from the extreme anarchy of the parties, were such irregularities continued during the whole course of the war.

The loss sustained by the royalists, in the assault of Bristol, was considerable. Five hundred excellent soldiers perished. Among those of condition, were Grandison, Slanning, Trencham, and Morley; Bellasis, Ashley, and Sir John Owen, were wounded: yet was the success, upon the whole, so considerable, as might have made the courage of the one party, and depressed that of the other. The king, to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor aspired to a total victory over the parliament, published a manifesto, in which he renewed the proposition, formerly taken, with great solemnity, at the head of his army, and expressed his firm intention of making peace upon the re-establishment of the constitution. Having joined the camp at Bristol, and sent Prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire, he deliberated how to employ the remaining forces in an enterprise of moment. Some proposed, and seemingly with reason, to march directly to London; where every thing was in confusion, where the army of the parliament was baffled, weakened, and dismayed, and where, it was hoped, either by an insurrection of the citizens, by victory, or by treaty, a speedy end to the war might be brought about. But by the undertaking, by reason of the great number and force of the London militia, was thought by many to be attended with considerable difficulties. Gloucester, lying within twenty miles of the capital, was never to be captured by assault. It was the only remaining garrison possessed by the parliament in those parts. Could that city be reduced, the king held the whole course of the Severn under his command; the rich and malcontent counties of the West were subdued, and Posterity might be forced to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication could be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and half of the kingdom, being entirely freed from the enemy, and thus united into one firm body, might be employed in re-establishing the king's authority throughout the remainder. These were the reasons for embracing that resolution; fatal, as it was ever esteemed, to the royal party.

The governor of Gloucester was one Sir George Massey, a soldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the parliament, had offered his service to the king; and as he was free from the fumes of enthusiasm, and from the ties of personal interest, it was supposed that he would lend an ear, it was presumed, to proposals for accommodation: but Massey was resolute to preserve an entire fidelity to his masters; and though no one could kindle that enthusiastic spirit so prevalent in his city and garrison, the summons to surrender allowed ten days for an answer: but before that time expired, there appeared before the town two citizens, with lean, pale, sharp, and dismal visages: faces, so strange and uncouth, according to Lord Clarendon; figures, so habited and accoutered, as at once moved the most severe countenance to mirth, and the most cheerful heart to sadness: it seemed impossible that such messengers could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, that they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester: and extremely ready were they, according to the historians, to give insolent and sedition replies to any question; as if their business were chiefly, by provoking the king, to make him violate his own safe-conduct. Their answer from the city was in these words: "We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message, return this humble answer: that we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to the end for the security of the king and the whole kingdom, and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both Houses of parliament; and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly." After these preliminaries, the siege was resolutely undertaken by the army, and at last resolutely sustained by the citizens and garrison.

When intelligence of the siege of Gloucester arrived in London, the consternation among the inhabitants was as great as if the enemy were already at their gates. The rapid progress of the royalists threatened the parliament with immediate subjection: the factions and discontentments among themselves in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, augmented some dangerous division or insurrection. Those parliamentary leaders, it must be owned, who had introduced such mighty innovations in the English constitution, and who had projected so much greater, had not engaged in an enterprise of so little moment. The courage and capacity. Great vigour, from the beginning, as well as wisdom, they had displayed in all their counsels; and a furious, headstrong body, broken loose
from the restraint of laws, had hitherto been retained in subjection under their authority, and firmly united by zeal and passion, as by the most legal and established government. A small committee, on whom the two Houses devoted their power, had directed all their military operations, and they preserved their severest discipline, and a proper spirit in execution, beyond what the king, notwithstanding the advantages possessed by a single leader, had ever been able to attain. Sensible that no jealousy was by their partisans entertained against them, they had on all occasions and in every instance counteracted every design that any of the royalists, even during the pressing exigencies of war, could with patience endure in their sovereign. Whoever incurred their displeasure, or was exposed to their suspicion, was committed to prison, and prosecuted under the notion of delinquency: after all the old jails were full, many new ones were erected; and even the ships were crowded with the royalists, both gentry and clergy, who languished below decks, and penned in those unhealthy confinements: they imposed taxes, the heaviest, and of the most unusual nature, by an ordinance of the two Houses: they voted a commission for sequestrations; and they seized, wherever they had power, the revenues of all the king's parts:* and knowing that all these, and all their adherents, were, by resisting the prince, exposed to the penalties of law, they resolved, by a severe administration, to overcome these enemies, and to retain the people in obedience, by some means or other. In the beginning of this summer, a combination, formed against them in London, had obliged them to exert the plenitude of their authority.

Edmund Waller, the first refiner of English versification, was a member of the lower House; a man of considerable fortune, and not more distinguished by his poetic genius, than by his parliamentary talents, and by the politeness and elegance of his manners. His merit depended on his genius, and not on his eloquence, as of tenderness and patience in his poetry, he caught the attention of his hearers, and exerted the utmost boldness in blaming those violent counsels, by which the Commons were governed. Finding all opposition within doors to be fruitless, he endeavored to form a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. The charms of his conversation, joined to his character for courage and integrity, had procured him the entire confidence of No. thumberland, Conway, and every eminent person of either sex who resided in London. They opened their breasts to him without reserve, and exposed all the former measures of the Commons, and all the plans suggested by them, and their wishes that some expedient could be found for stopping so impetuous a career. Tomkms, Waller's brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkms, had entertained like sentiments: and, finding the same resolutions in the noblemen of the city, they informed Waller, that the same abhorrence of war prevailed there, among all men of reason and moderation. Upon reflection it seemed impracticable, that a combination might be formed between the Lords and citizens; and, by mutual concert, the illegal taxes be refused, which the parliament, without the royal assent, imposed on the people. While this affair was in agitation, and lists were making as such as they conceived to be well affected to their design, a servant of Tomkms, who had overheard their discourse, immediately carried intelligence to Pym, Waller, Tomkms, and Chaloner were seized, and after some trial, were convicted, and condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. A covenant, as a test, was taken by the Lords and Commons, and imposed on their army, and on all who lived within their quarters. Besides resolving to amend and reform their laws, the convention there vowed, that they will never lay down their arms so long as the papists, now in open war against the parliament, shall, by force of arms, be protected from justice; they express their abhorrence of the late conspiracy; and they promise to assist to the utmost the forces raised by both Houses, against the forces levied by the king.

Waller, as soon as imprisoned, sensible of the great danger into which he had fallen, was so seized with the dread of death, that all his former spirit deserted him; and, in a manner, he knew, without springing his most intimate friends, without regard to the circumference reposed in him, without distinguishing between the negligence of familiar conversation, and the schemes of a regular conspiracy. With the most profound dissimulation, before the relation was put off, out of mere Christian compulsion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy of all sects; and while he expressed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information than in his life he had ever before attained. Presents too, of which, as well as of flattery, these holy men were not insensible, were distributed among them; as a small retribution for their prayers and ghostly counsel. And by all these artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which, during that time of furious cont and faction, small account would be made, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, and a fine of ten thousand pounds accepted in lieu of it.

The severity exercised against the conspirators, or rather project, of Waller, induced the author of the convention, and seemed to insure them against like attempts for the future. But by the progress of the king's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the taking of Bristol, the sack of Gloucester, a cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Crowds of women, with a petition for that purpose, flocked about the House, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were given to disperse them; and some of them were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deserted the parliament, and had gone to Oxford; Clare and Lovelace had followed them. Northumberland had retired to his country-seat: Essex himself showed extreme dissatisfaction, and exhorted the parliament to make peace. The upper House sent down terms of accommodation more moderate than had hitherto been insisted on. It even passed, by a majority among the Commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. The resolute took the alarm. A petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented by Pennington, the factious mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed the cry for peace. The pulpits thundered, and rumours were spread of twenty thousand Irish, who had landed, and were to cut the throat of every protestant. The majority was again turned to the other side; and all thoughts of sacrifice being dropped, every man was desirous of seeing the king restored, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester, on which the parliament was sensible all their hopes of success in the war did so much depend.

Masses, resolute to make a vigorous defence, and having under his command a city and garrison ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, had hitherto maintained the siege with courage and abilities, and had much retarded the advances of the king's army. By continual sallies he infested them in their trenches, and gained sudden advantages over them: by disputing every inch of ground, he repressed the vigour and alacrity of their courage, elated by former successes. He had, however, been reduced to the last extremity; and he failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that, unless speedily relieved, he should be necessitated, from the extreme want of provisions and ammunition, to open his gates to the enemy.

The parliament, in order to repair their broken condition, and put themselves in a posture of defence, now exerted to the utmost their power and authority. They voted that an army should be levied under Sir William
Waller, whom, notwithstanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary careness. Having associated in their cause the counties of Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, they gave the Earl of Manchester a commission to be general of their association, and appointed an army to be moved under his command. But, above all, they were intent that Essex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, should be put in a condition of marching against the king. They expected fresh their preparations to furious declamations against the royal cause. They even employed the expedient of pressing, though abashed by a late law, for which they had strenuously contended. And they engaged the king's army and four regiments of militia to the relief of Gloucester. All shops, meanwhile, were ordered to be shut; and every man expected, with the utmost anxiety, the event of that important enterprise. Essex, carrying with him a well-appointed army of 14,000 men, took the road of Bedford and Leicester; and though inferior in cavalry, yet by the mere force of conduct and discipline, he passed over those open campaign countries, and defended himself from the enemy's horse, who had advanced to meet him; and who infested him during his whole march. As he approached to Gloucester, the king was obliged to raise the siege, and open the way for Essex to enter that city. The necessities of the extreme of powder and their whole stock of ammunition remaining; and their other provisions were in the same proportion. Essex had brought with him military stores; and the neighbouring commons were supplied for the wants of the army. The inhabitants had carefully conveyed all provisions from the king's army, and pretending to be quite exhausted, had reserved their stores for that cause which they so much favoured. The enemy actually remained. Essex dreaded a battle with the king's army, on account of its great superiority in cavalry; and he resolved to return, if possible, without running that hazard. He lay five days at Tewkesbury, which was the first stage after reaching Gloucester; and he signified, by some preparations, to point towards Worcester. By a forced march during the night, he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage of passing unmolested an open country, and of surprising a convoy of provisions which lay in that town. Without delay he proceeded towards London; but when he reached Newbury, he was surprised to find that the king, by hasty marches, had arrived before him, and was already posted to the north.

An action was now unavoidable; and Battle of Newbury. Essex prepared for it with presence of mind, and not without military conduct. On both sides, the battle was fought with great spirit and a steady bravery. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained themselves in firm array; and, besides giving a continued fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against the furious shock of Prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of genius, of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. The militia of London especially, though utterly unequalled with action, though drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, yet having learned all military exercises, and being animated with unconquerable zeal for the cause in which they were engaged, equalled, on this occasion, what could be expected from the most experienced and well-trained troops. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning, Essex proceeded on his march; and though his rear was once put in some disorder by an incursion of the king's horse, he reached London in safety, and received applause for his conduct and success in the whole enterprise. The king followed him on his march; and having taken possession of the town were several days after, he placed the royal standard, sent the garrison; and straitened, by that means, London, and the quarters of the enemy.

In the battle of Newbury, on the part of the king, besides the Earls of Sunderland and Carnewar, two noblemen of promising hopes, was unfortunately slain, to the regret of every lover of ingenuity and virtue throughout the kingdom, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, secretary of state, was not numbering amongst the victims committed by this man, devoted to the pursuits of learning, and to the society of all the polite and elegant, who, having enjoyed himself in every pleasure, which a fine genius, a generous disposition, and an opulent fortune could afford. Called into public life, he stood foremost in all attacks on the high pretensions of the crown; and displayed that masculine eloquence, and undaunted love of liberty, which, from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity, he had greatly admired. His preparations proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to choose his side; he tempered the ardour of his zeal, and embraced the defence of those limited powers which remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. Still anxious, however, for his country, he seems to have dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as of the enemy; and, among his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent nights, he would, with a sad accent, reiterate the word, Peace. In excuse for the too free exposing of his person, which seemed unsuitable in a secretary of state, he alleged, that it became him to be more active in the service of his prince, and less impatient for peace might bear the imputation of cowardice or pusillanimity. From the commencement of the war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and he was seen, some of the most distinguished of his friends, by his birth and station, gave way to a negligence which was easily observable. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had shown some care of adorning his person; and gave for a reason, that the enemy should not find his body the easier by any slowness; and "I am weary," subjoined he, "of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe, that I shall be out of it ere night." This excellent person was but thirty-four years of age, and having given up his life.

The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the north, during the summer, the great Acton in the interest and popularity of the Earl, now north. created Marquis, of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. There appeared New Castle, in opposition to him, two men, one, the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver, the Viscount Fairfax. The former advantage at Wakefield, after a detraction of royalists, and took General Goring prisoner; the latter obtained a victory at Garwood, after a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. But being these defeats of the royalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of Lord Fairfax at Thaston moor, and the dispersal of his army. After this victory, Newcastle, with an army of 15,000 men, sat down before Hull. Hotham was no longer governor of that place. That gentleman and his son, partly from a jealousy entertained of Lord Fairfax, partly repeating of their engagements against the king, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had expressed an interest in him. But being Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being detected, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell, both of them, victims to the severity of the punishment.

Newcastle, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was best off by a sally of the garrison, and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the lesson there, it is observable, that the eastern associated counties, having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horncastle; where the two officers last
mentioned gained renown by their conduct and gallantry. And though fortune had thus balanced her favours, the king's party still remained much superior in those parts of England; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which kept Yorkshire in awe, a conjunction of the northern counties might have declared for it. As it was, the south might have been made, and had probably enabled the king, instead of entering on the unfortunate, perhaps imprudent, enterprise of Gloucester, to march directly to London, and put an end to the war.

While the military enterprises were carried on with vigour in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eyes towards the neighbouring kingdoms, and afforded assistance to the issuing of royal proclamations in which their own forces were compared with such furious opposition. The parliament had recourse to Scotland; the King to Ireland.

When the Scottish covenanters obtained that end, for which they so earnestly contended, the establishment of presbyterian discipline in their own country, they were not satisfied, but indulged still an ardent passion for propagating, by all methods, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Has King Charles in the fervour of their zeal, that, by supernatural assistance, they should be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself, it behoved them first to render it prevalent in England, which already showed so great a disposition of heart in its north: But how, when the people perceived, they expressed a desire of uniformity in worship with England; and the king, employing general expressions, had approved of this inclination, as pious and laudable. No sooner was there an appearance of a rapture, than the English parliament, in order to allure that nation into a close confederacy, openly declared their wishes of ecclesiastical reformation, and of imitating the example of their northern brethren. When war was actually commenced, the same artifices were used; and the Scots beheld, with the utmost impatience, a scene of action, of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. Should the king, they said, be able, by force of arms, to prevail over the parliament of England, and re-establish his authority in that powerful kingdom, he will undoubtedly retract all those concessions, which, with so many circumstances of violence and indignity, the Scots have extorted from him. Besides a sense of his own interest, and a regard to royal power, which has been entirely annihilated in this country; his very passion for prelacy and for religious ceremonies must lead him to invade a church which he has ever been taught to regard as antichristian and corrupt. The commission that compose the factions now so furiously engaged in arms. Does not the parliament consist of those very men who have ever opposed all war with Scotland, who have particular causes to fear the conversion of which they have obtained the redress of every grievance, and who, with many honourable expressions, have conferred on us an ample reward for our brethren? And is not the court full of papists, prelates, malignants; all of them zealous enemies to our religious model, and resolute to sacrifice their lives for their idolatrous establishments? Not to mention our own necessary security; can we better express our gratitude to Heaven for that pure light with which we are, above all nations, so eminently distinguish ed, than by conveying the same divine knowledge to our unhappy neighbours, who are wading through a sea of blood in order to attain it? These were, in Scotland, the topics of every conversation; with these doctrines the pulpit echoed; and the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and reiterated against neutrality and moderation, resounded from all quarters.

The parliament of England had ever invited the Scots, from the commencement of the civil dissensions, to interfere their mediation, which, they knew, would be so little favourable to the king; and the king, for that very reason, had ever endeavoured, with the least offensive expressions, to make the English convinced of his sincerity, and his readiness to communicate with any of their demands. The commissioners, accordingly, were sent to London, to desire that court to afford to the king the same encouragements that are granted to the other sovereigns of Europe; and that it would take the same steps in the reformation of religion, as are employed with the most religious states in the formation of the same. Nor was this commission the least doubt with regard to his own principles, and who knew of a much better way to reduce opponents than by employing any theological topics, absolutely refused all dissertation or controversy. The English divines went away full of admiration at the blind assurance and boasted prejudices of the man; he, on his part, was moved with equal wonder at their obstinate attachment to such palpable errors and delusions. By the concessions which the king had granted to Scotland, it became necessary for him to summon a parliament once in three years; and in June of the subsequent year, was fixed the period for the meeting of that assembly. Before that time elapsed, Charles flattered himself that he should be able, by some decisive advantage, to reduce the English parliament to a reasonable submission, and might then expect, with security, the meeting of a Scottish parliament. Though earnestly solicited by London to summon that great council of the nation, he absolutely refused to give authority to men who had already excited such dangerous commotions, and who showed still the same disposition to resist and invade his authority. The commissioners were not being heard, either in any of their demands, desired the king's passport for London, where they proposed to confer with the English parliament; and being likewise denied this request, they returned with extreme disappointment to Edinburgh.

The office of conservators of the peace was newly erected in Scotland, in order to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms; and these, instigated by the clergy, were resolved, since they could not obtain the king's consent, to summon, in his name, by their own authority, a convention of states; and to conceive their sovereign of this article, the only one which remained of his prerogative. Under colour of procuring for national peace, endangered by the neighbourhood of English armies, was a convention called; an assembly which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a parliament, in raising money and levying forces. Hamilton, and his brother the Earl of Lauderdale, who had been sent into Scotland in order to oppose these measures, wanted either authority or sincerity; and passively yielded to the torrent. The general assembly of the church met at the same time with the commission that his attachment to episcopacy, though partly founded on religious principles, was also, in his situation, derived from the assumed views of the English policy. In such a crisis, it was easy for the king by his humble and earnest but by the inhabitants itself; because they came not in the help of the Lord, in the battle of the Lord's arm. Judges, chap. vi., v. 18.

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vention, and exercising an authority almost absolute over the whole civil power, made every political consideration yield to their theological zeal and prejudices.

The English parliament was, at that time, fallen into great distress, by the progress of the royal arms; and they gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. The persons employed were the Earl of Hamilton, the Earl of Argyll, young Thomas, Hatcher, and Henry Darley, attended by Marshal and Nye, two clergymen of signal ability. In this negotiation, the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, wits, or manner, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so famous for active talents. By his persuasion, whatever league and covenant, which effected all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and punish all unlawfulness and malpractices. 

The subscribers of the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the article of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that they would support the government, and the country, by whose means God had been preserved, and the people expect to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as the accession of the Scottish nation, was received without opposition. The parliament, therefore, having first subscribed it themselves, they all long imagined it would be received by all who lived under their authority.

Great were the rejoicings among the Scots, that they should be the happy instruments of extending their mode of religion, and dissatisfying that profound darkness in which the neighbouring nations were involved. The general assembly applauded this glorious imitation of the pravity displayed by their ancestors, who, they said, in three different applications, during the reign of Elizabeth, had endeavoured to engage the English, by persuasion, to lay aside the use of the surplus, tippet, and corncape. The convention too, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to swear to this covenant, under the penalty of confiscation, besides what further punishment it should please the ensuing parliament to inflict on the refusers, as enemies to God, to the king, and to the kingdom. And being determined that the sword should carry conviction to all re- 

fectory minds, they prepared themselves, with great deliberation of the weight and activity, for their military enter- 
prises. By means of a hundred thousand pounds, which they received from England; by the hopes of alliance with all parties; not to mention their favourble disposition towards the cause; they soon completed their levies. And, having added to their other forces the troops which they had recurred from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general, the Earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men. After the commencement of the Irish insurrection, the English parliament, though they undertook the suppression of it, had ever been too much engrossed with other affairs to be able to finish the enterprise, to take any effectual step towards finishing that enterprise. They had entered, indeed, into a contract with the Scots, for sending over an army of ten thousand men into Ireland; and, in order to engage that nation in this undertaking, besides giving a present of pay, they agreed to put Carieferges into their hands, and to invest their general with an authority quite independent of the Eng- lish government. These troops, so long as they were allowed to remain, were useful, by diverting the force of the Irish rebels, and protecting in the north the small remnants of the British planters. But, except this contract with the Scottish nation, all the other measures of the parliament were devoted rather to the prejudice of the Protestant cause in Ireland. By continuing their violent persecution, and still more violent menaces against priests and papists, they confirmed the Irish catholics in their rebellion, and cut off all hopes of a reconciliation to the end, and thereby, beforehand all the Irish forswore to subscribers or adventurers, they rendered all men of property desperate, and seemed to threaten a total extirpation of the natives. And while they, thus infused zeal and animosity into the enemy, no measure was pursued which could tend to support or encourage the protestants, now reduced to the last extremities.

So great a descendant which, from a long course of successes, the English has acquired over the Irish nation, that though the latter, when they receive military discipline among foreigners, are not surprised by any troops, they had never, in their own country, been able to make a vigorous effort for the defence or recovery of their liberties. In many encounters, the English under Lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had, though under great disadvantages of situation and numbers, being able to regain or recover the dominion of Dublin. The rebels raised the siege of Tredagh, after an inestimable defence made by the garrison. Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilarus and Ross; and his army had hitherto been placed, or relieved or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom of England, and the fourth part of one small vessel's lodging. Dublin, to 'save itself from starving, had been obliged to send the greater part of its inhabitants to England. The army had been little ammunition, scarcely exceeding forty barrels of gunpowder; and the Irish to recompense the English, and the soldiers had been obliged to eat their own horses. And though the distress of the Irish was not much inferior to that of their neighbours, it was but a melancholy reflection, that the soldiers should make desolate that fertile island, which might serve to the subsistence and happiness of both.

The justice and council of Ireland, and for the most part employed chiefly by the interest and authority of Ormond, to fall into an entire dependence on the king. Parsons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who favoured the opposite party,
had been removed; and Charles had supplied their place by others better affected to his service. A committee of the English House of Commons, which had been sent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council, in obedience to the orders from the King. These were reasons sufficient, besides the great difficulties under which they themselves laboured, why the parliament was unwilling to send supplies to an army, which, though engaged in a cause much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies. They even interdicted some small succours sent thither by the king.

The king, as he had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor provisions, to spare from his own urgent wants, resolved to supply them with as much as their means, and the necessities of the Irish Protestants, contributed to the advancement of his affairs in England. A truce with the rebels, he thought, would enable his subjects in Ireland to provide for their own support, and would procure him the assistance of the army against the English parliament. But as a treaty with a people, so odious for their barbarities, and still more for their religion, must be repugnant to the refined susceptibilities of those calamities with which he had been loaded; it was necessary to proceed with great caution in conducting that measure. A remonstrance from the army was made to the Irish council, representing their necessity, and the king’s permission to leave the kingdom: and if that were refused, we must have recourse, they said, to that first and primary law, with which God had endowed all men; we mean the law of nature, which teaches every creature to preserve itself. Memorials both to the king and parliament were transmitted by the justices and council, in which their wants and dangers are strongly set forth; and though the general expressions in these memorials might perhaps be suspected of exaggeration, yet from the particular facts mentioned, from the confession of the English parliament itself, and from the very nature of things, it is apparent that the Irish provincials were reduced to the last exigency, and the monarch, if not absolutely necessary, to embrace some expedient, which might secure them, for a time, from the ruin and misery with which they were threatened.

Accordingly, the king gave orders to Ormond and the justices to conclude, for a year, a cessation of arms with the council of Kilkenny, by which the Irish were governed, and to leave both sides in possession of their present advantages. The parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the opposite party, and who would not lose so fair an opportunity of reproaching the king with his favour to the Irish papists, exclaimed loudly against this cessation. Among others, it was said, the king by it had left the Irish, which England might justly dread, for tolerating antichristian idolatry, on pretence of civil contracts and political agreements. Religion, though every day employed as the engine of their own ambitious purposes, was supposed too sacred to be yielded up to the temporal interests or safety of kingdoms.

After the cessation, there was little necessity, as well as no means, of subduing the army in Ireland. The king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to send over considerable bodies of it to England. Most of them continued in his service; but a small part, having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the catholics, and hearing the king’s party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the parliament.

Some Irish catholics came over with these troops, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same conduct, and discourse, which they had been accustomed to. The parliament voted that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given them: but Prince Rupert, by making some reprisals, soon repressed this insubordination.

\[ c \] Tennant, vol. ii. p. 56.
\[ d \] See further, Cary’s Ormonde, vol. iii. No. 113. 167. 178. 151. 156. 161. 164. 166. 169. 170. All these papers put it past doubt, that the necessity

**CHAP. LVII.**—A. D. 1644.

**CHARLES I.**

The king had hitherto, during the course of the war, obtained many advantages over his enemies, and raised himself from that low condition into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were reduced by the Marquis of Newcastle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was master of no garrison in that quarter. The west of the Plym alone, having been in vain besieged by Prince Maurice, resisted the king’s authority: and had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprise of Gloucester, the royal garrisons had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and had occupied a greater extent of ground than those of the parliament. Many of the royalists flattered themselves that the same vigorous spirit which had elevated them to the momentous height of power, would still favour their progress, and obtain them a final victory over their enemies: but those who judged more soundly observed, that besides the accession of the whole Scotch nation to the same of the parliament, the very principle on which the royal supremacy had been founded was every day acquired, more and more, by the opposite party. The king’s troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exerted a valour superior to their enemies, and had hitherto been successful in almost every encounter: but, in proportion as the whole nation came within the circle of civil discord, the advantage was more equally shared; and superior numbers, it was expected, must at length obtain the victory. The king’s troops also, ill paid, and destitute of every necessary, could not possibly be retained in equal discipline with the parliamentary forces, to whom all supplies were furnished from unusual sources, and to whom the box revenue, from the number of men, and the nature of their service, would enable them to endure the most extreme privations, and the severest calamities. The king’s officers indulged themselves even in greater licences than those to which, during times of peace, they had been accustomed, they were apt, both to neglect their military duty, and to set a pernicious example of disorder to the soldiers under their command.

At the commencement of the civil war all Englishmen, who served abroad, had been ordered to be treated with extraordinary respect: and most of them, being descended of good families, and, by reason of their absence, unacquainted with the new principles which depressed the dignity of the crown, had enlisted under the royal standard. But it is observable that, though the military profession requires great genius and long experience in the principal commanders, all its subordinate duties may be discharged by ordinary talents, and from superficial practice. Citizens and country gentlemen soon became excellent officers, and the generals of greatest fame and capacity happened, all of them, to spring up on the side of the parliament. The courtiers and great nobility, in the other party, checked the growth of an extraordinary genius among the subordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular established government, was confined to the station in which his birth had placed him.

The king, that he might make preparations, during winter, for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either House, who adhered to his interests; and endeavoured to avail himself of the name of parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation. The House of Peers was pretty full; and besides
the nobility employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as commonly voted at Westminster. The House of Commons consisted of about 140; which amounted not to above half of the other House of Commons. So extremely light had government bitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of excise was unknown to them; and among other evils arising from these domestic wars, was the introduction of that impost into England. The parliament at Westminster having voted an excise of 10,000 pounds, wine, and other commodities; those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And, in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him another sum of 10,000 pounds, by way of loan upon the subject. The king circuited penny seals, countersigned by the speakers of both Houses, requiring the loan of particular sums from such persons as lived within his quarters. Neither party had as yet got above the perplexity of reproaching their antagonists with these illegal measures.

The Westminster parliament passed a whimisical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhooe to reënch a meal a week; and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. It is easily imagined, that provided the money were paid, they troubled themselves but little about the execution of their ordinance, or the support of the state.

Such was the king's situation, that, in order to restore peace to the nation, he had no occasion to demand any other terms than the restorine of the laws and constitution; these he more than once, and ever hereafter, enjoyed by his predecessors; and the re-establishing, on its ancient basis, the whole frame of government, civil as well as ecclesiastical. And, that he might facilitate an end seemingly so desirable, he offered to employ means equivalent to an universal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to tender consciences. Nothing, therefore, could contribute more to his interests than every discourse of peace, and every discussion of the conditions upon which that blessing could be obtained. For this reason, he solicited a treaty on all occasions, and desired a conference and mutual examination of pretensions, even when he entertained no hopes that any conclusion could possibly result from it.

For like reasons, the parliament prudently avoided, as much as possible, all advances towards negotiation, and were cautious not to expose too easily to encroach those high terms which their apprehensions or their ambition made them previously demand of the king. Though their partisans were blinded with the thickest veil of religious prejudices, they dreaded to bring their pretensions to the test, or lay them open before the whole nation. In opposition to the policy of the king, the venerable precedents of many ages, the popular leaders were ashamed to plead nothing but fears and jealousies, which were not avowed by the constitution, and for which neither the personal character of Charles, so full of virtue, nor his situation, so deprived of all independent authority, seemed to afford any reasonable foundation. Grievances which had been fully redressed; powers, either legal or illegal, which had been entirely renounced; it seemed onopular, and invidious, and ungrateful, any further to insist on.

The king, that he might abate the universal vexation paid to the name of parliament, had issued a declaration, in which an act was set for, to call all the members which had been in both Houses had been driven from London; and he thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and till its liberties were restored, was entitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, some contravance seems requisite, in order to elude it.

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unwarrantable enterprises. Manchester, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity; and the parliamentary generals, Herbert and Talfourd, who had raised a considerable number of troops in the country, determined that all their labours would at last be crowned by this important conquest. On a sudden, they were alarmed by the approach of Prince Rupert. This gallant commander, having vigorously suppressed a mutiny in the army of the king, had raised a considerable body of troops, and marched into Leicestershire, had hastened to the relief of York, with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. The Scotts and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston-moor, purposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and, enjoining the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The Marquis endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be content with the present advantages, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to deliberate mutual dissensions which had begun to take place among them. The prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, nor softened by complaisance, precipitated positive orders from the king, without designating the place, and raising up the slender resources of which he was possessed. In the eastern association, they levied fourteen thousand men, under the Earl of Manchester, seconded by Cromwell. An army of ten thousand men, under Essex, another of nearly the same force under Waller, were assembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was destined to oppose the king; the latter was appointed to march into west, where, if Maurice, with a small army which went continually to decay, was spending his time to vain before Lyme, an incommoding town upon the sea-coast. The utmost efforts of the king could not raise above ten thousand men at Oxford; and on their sword chiefly, during the campaign, were these to depend for subsistence. The queen, terrified with the dangers which every way environed her, and afraid of being enclosed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where she hoped to be delivered unmolested of the child with which she was now pregnant, and whence she had the means of an easy escape into France, if pressed by the forces of the enemy. She knew not a feasible means of contriving her escape but that of mortifying her religion and her credit with the king, had all along borne her. Last summer the Commons had sent up to the Peers an impeachment of high treason against her; because, in his utmost distresses, she had insulted the nation's laws, and opposed the airy of the court, so that she had bought in Holland. Had she fallen into their hands, neither her sex, she knew, nor high station, could protect her against insults, at least, if not danger, from those haughty republicans, who so little affected to conduct themselves by the maxims of gallantry and politeness.

From the beginning of these dispositions, the parliament, it is remarkable, had, in all things, assumed an extreme ascendancy over their sovereign, and had displayed a violence, and arrogated an authority, which, on his side, would not have been compatible either with his temper or his situation. While he spoke perpetually of pardoning all rebels; they talked of nothing but the punishment of delinquents and malignants: while he offered a toleration and indulgence to tender consciences: they threatened the utter extirpation of prelacy; to his professions of loyalty, they opposed declensions of treason: and the more the ancient tenor of the laws inculcated a respectfull subordination to the crown, the more careful were they, by their lofty pretensions, to cover that defect under which they laboured. The great advantages in the north seemed to second their ambition, and finally to promise them success in their
fugitives were oppressive to his natural indulgence. Magnificent and generous in his expense; polite and elegant in his taste; courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the party which he embraced. But amidst all the hurry of action, he never was known to close with the arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, often stole from him to the rougher occupancies. He chose Sir William Daventry, an ingenious poet, for his lieutenant-general; for persons, in whose place, he placed confidence, were more the instruments of his refined pleasures, than qualified for the business which they undertook: and the severity and application, requisite to the support of discipline, were qualities which he was entirely wanting in.

When Prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, resolved on this battle, and issued all orders, without communicating his intentions to him, he took the field, but, he said, merely as a volunteer, and, except by his personal courage, which shone out with lustre, he had no share in the action. Enraged to find that all his successful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, trivialized with the prospect of renewing his name, and falling again into hands he had so long toiled to save from ruin; few resources remained to a desperate cause, and thought that the same regard to honour, which had at first called him to arms, now required him to abandon a party, where he met with such disastrous defeat. Nor did he scruple to utter the word to the prince that he was instantly to leave the kingdom; and, without delay, he went to Scarborough, where he found a vessel, which carried him beyond sea. During the ensuing years, till the Restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and, with indifference, his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the government of England. He disdained, by submission or composition, to show obedience to these usurpers; and the least favourable censures of his character allowed, that the fidelity and services of a whole life had sufficiently atoned for one rash action into which his passion had betrayed him.

Prince Rupert, with equal precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. Glenham, in a few days, was obliged to surrender York; and he marched out his garrison with all the honours of war. Lord Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county, and sent a thousand horse into Lancashire, to join with the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and attend the motions of Prince Rupert: the English army marched north, to take the Earl of Carlisle, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces; and to reduce the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm; the Earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, to whom the fame of unhasting victory was chiefly ascribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Rotherham, a Scotchman, who had been created Earl of Brentford, acted under the king, as general.

The parliament soon completed their two armies commanded by Essex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many speeches were made to the citizens by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to spare, on this important occasion, either their purses, their persons, or their prayers; and, in general, it must be confessed, they were sufficiently liberal in all these contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the king retired into that city, to lay siege to it, and by one enterprise put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, passed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon, and had enclosed him on both sides. He marched towards Worcester; and Waller received orders from Essex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himself marched into the west in quest of Prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only separated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence that the king was advanced to Bewdley, and had directed his course to the north. Waller presently dislodged, and hastened by quick marches to that town; while the king suddenly returned upon his own footsteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from the garrison, marched out in quest of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge near Banbury; but the Carwell ran between them. Next day the king decamped, and marched towards Daventry. Waller offered to pass his whole retinue to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss. Stunned and disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having obliged Prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, having taken Wermouth and Taunton, was with his forces, and met, with no equal opposition. The king followed them, and having reinforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army superior to the enemy. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the parliament of his danger, and begged early help. The king would fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lesthill, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed them on one side; Prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Roberts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with a few; the king's out-posts, in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrisons of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed. By this advantage, which was much boasted of, the king, besides the honour of the enterprise, obtained what he stood extremely to need of; the parliament, having preserved the men, lost what they could easily repair.

No sooner did this intelligence reach London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Essex for his fidelity, courage, and conduct; and this method of proceeding was universally approved. It was observed by the parliament throughout the whole course of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with success, these two powerful engines of order and punishment, to confirmation of their authority.

That the king might have less reason to exult in the advantages which he had obtained in the west, the parliament opposed to him very numerous forces. He arrived near Essex's subdivided but not disheartened troops; they ordered Manchester and Cromwell to march with their recruited forces from the eastern association; and, joining their armies to those of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Essex's other battle to the king. Charles chose his post at Newbury, where the parliamentary armies, under the Earl of Manchester, attacked him with great vigour; and that town was a second time the scene of the bloody anniversaries of the English. Essex's soldiers, exhausting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace of Lesthield, made no impetuous assault on the royalists; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Though the king's troops defended themselves with valour, they were overpowered by numbers; and the night came very seasonable to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. Charles, leaving his
luggage and cannon in Dennington-castle, near Newbury, forthwith retreated to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. There Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton joined hands with considerable forces of cavalry. Strengthened by this reinforcesment, he ventured to advance towards Oxford, where his army was superior to that of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwell's advice, which earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of finishing the contest. Even by leaving London from Dennington-castle, in the face of the enemy, seemed to have sufficiently repaired the honour which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles, having the satisfaction to execute, between Manchester and Cromwell, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller, distributed his army into winter-quarters.

Those contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter season; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city. The king, and the leaders of each party, in that secret, a distinct section, which, though the dread of the king's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer and more immediate, began to discover itself with high colours and open assertions; and which, had it, at first, taken shelter and concealed itself under the wings of the Presbyterians, soon, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. We must here endeavour to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the scene of action.

During those times, when the enthusiastic spirit of the Independents was so much on the increase and encouragement, and was the immediate means of distinguishing and preferment, it was impossible to set bounds to these holy fervours, or confine, within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection, in proportion to its degree of sanctity, and the sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the Independents went a note higher than the presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of order. From this point of connection, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.

The independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed, within itself, a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinctions were denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands, was, as in all other churches, supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to reject the authority of priests, to throw off the restraints of liturgies, to contumely ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: the fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained every system, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illusions of the Spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with heaven.

The catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice contrary to persecution: the method of clear and certain tenets as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto restrained to the full, their boasted zeal, and the mildness of their system, was the only produce of the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits, in which an enthusiastic indulgence, being he was, was not, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all christian sects this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and it is remarkable that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.

Pepoy and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend towards superstition, were treated by the independents with regard. The doctrines too of fate or destiny were deemed by them essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all their other differences, unanimously pretended to these. The political system of the independents kept pace with their religious. Not content with confining to very narrow limits the power of the crown, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate, which was the project of the presbyterians, they, too, more, and even the nobles, aspiring to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy, and projected an entire equality of rank and order in a republic, quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared Jenies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as they knew it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever opposed his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the offended prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the opposition against peace, than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the great success which had already attended the arms of the parliament, and the greater, which was soon expected, confirmed them still further in this obstinacy.

Sir John Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. The Earl of Essex, disgraced with a war, of which he began to foresee the pernicious consequences, was aden, and has recommended every reasonable plan of accommodation. The Earl of Northumberland, lord of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a scheme which, if it took place, would confound himself and his family with the lowest in the kingdom. The Earls of Warwic and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Massey, Winlocke, Maynard, Glyn, had embraced the same sentiments. In the parliament, a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by military violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of success.

The Earl of Manchester provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, had long forward the war with alacrity: but being a man of humanity and good principles, the view of public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote only on any safe or honourable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, not to have pushed to the utmost against the king the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell, without the public dictate and without the accusation, that this nobleman had wilfully neglected, at Dennington-castle, a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. "I showed him evidently," said Cromwell, "how this success might
be obtained; and only desired leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat; leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain induct with the rest of his forces: but, notwithstanding his praise, his consent; which gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions; we should, all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law. "

The plan of recovering the parliament, that at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme, to which it seemed improbable the parliament would agree, he meditated and said, My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of a body of true men, and shall give law to king and parliament. "This discourse," continued Manchester, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep design; and he has even ventured to tell me, that he never would be well with England, till I were Mr. Montague, and there were never a lord or peer in the kingdom." So full was Cromwell of these republican projects, that notwithstanding his habits of profound dissimulation, he could not so carefully guard his expressions, but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him.

These violent dissertations brought matters to extremity, and pushed the independents to the execution of their design. In generals, there were serious of protracting than finishing the war; and having entertained a scheme for preserving still some balance in the constitution, they were afraid of entirely subduing the king, and authorizing him to a power, which he should not be entitled to ask any concessions. A new model shone of the army could bring complete victory to the parliament, and free the nation from those calamities under which it laboured. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as interests, of Essex, was very great with the parliament. Not only he had served them all along with the most exact and scrupulous honour: it was, in some measure, owing to his popularity, that they had ever been enabled to levy an army, or make head against the royal cause. Manchester, Warwick, and the other commanders, had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. The Scots and Scottish commissioners, jealous of the progress of the independents, were a new obstacle; which, without the utmost art and subtlety, it would be difficult to subdue. The methods by which the intrigue was conducted are so singular, and show so fully the genius of the age, that we shall give a detail of them, as they are delivered by Lord Clarendon.  

Wednesday of every month, had been ordered by the parliament, at the beginning of these combinations; and their preachers on that day were careful to keep alive, by their vehement declarations, the popular prejudices entertained against the king, against prelate, and against popery. The king, that he might combat the parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewise a monthly fast, when the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and of submission to the higher powers; and he chose the second Friday of every month for the devotion of the royalists.  

It was now proposed and carried in parliament, by the independents, that a new and more solemn fast should be voted, when they should implore the Divine assistance for extricating them from these perplexities in which they were at present involved. On that day the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning divisions in the parliament, and ascribed them entirely to the selfish ends pursued by the members. In the hands of those members, they said, are lodged all the considerable commands of the army, all the lucrative offices in the civil administration: and while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and granaries unwarranted, those who are theable lords to retain possession on possession, and will, in a little time, he masters of all the wealth of the kingdom. That such persons, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or insuring final success to the war, cannot reasonably be expected. Lingering expedients alone will be pursued: and operations in the field concurring in the present state of things, the station of the nation, and commotions will for ever be perpetuated in the nation. After exaggerating these disorders, the ministers returned to their prayers; and besought the Lord, that he would make him one step forward in the development of the instruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring to a conclusion so glorious a design, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and, by establishing true religion, put a speedy period to that public calamity, which had continued long enough, and was to continue longer than we could wish.  

On the day subsequent to these devout animadversions, when the parliament met, a new spirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the Commons, that if ever God appeared to them, it was in the ordinances of yesterday: that as he was credibly informed by many, who had been present in different congregations, the same lamentations and discourses, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: that so remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: that he therefore entreated them, in vindication of their own honour, in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to entertain no schemes of a different nature, nor tamper with any project, that was not extended with profit or advantage: that the absence of so many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered the House extremely thin, and diminished the force of its numbers; and that it would be for the public interest, for his own part, assuming himself as one who enjoyed a gainful office, that of treasurer of the navy; and though he was possessed of it before the civil commotions, yet it was ready to resign it, and to sacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every consideration of private interest and advantage.  

Cromwell next acted his part, and commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them of their errors, of which they were so unwilling to be informed. Though they dwelt on many things, he said, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon reflecting them, he could not but confess, that, till there were a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper. The parliament, no doubt, continued he, had dwelt wisely on the commencement of the war, in engaging several of the nobility in the project, and thereby satisfying the nation, that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progress of military operations, we have arisen in such numbers, many excellent officers who are qualified for higher commands than they are now possessed of. And though it becomes not men engaged in such a cause to put trust in the arm of flesh, yet he could assure them, that their troops continued generals fit to command in any enterprise in Christendom. The army, indeed, he was sorry to say it, did not correspond, by its discipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevail among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking.  

In opposition to this reasoning of the independents, many of the presbyters showed the inconvenience and danger of the projected alteration. Whitley, in particular, a man of honour, who loved his country, though in every change of government, he always attended the ruling power, said, that besides the ingratitude of discharging, and that by fraud and artifice, so many noble persons, to whom the parliament had hitherto owed its chief support; they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of these men; without the exercise of command and authority: that the rank alone, possessed by such as were members of either House, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to
military orders: that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those which were embraced by the persons who employed them: that no maxim of policy was more important than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connection between the civil and military powers, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former: that the greatest honor was due to the plain and most passionate lovers of liberty, ever intrusted to their seniors the command of armies, and had maintained an un conquerable jealousy of all mercenary forces: and that such men alone, whose interests were involved in those of the public, and whose patriotism was so elevated, would sufficiently respect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them. Self-denying ordinance. Notwithstanding these reasons, a com-

metic was chosen to frame what was called the Self-denying ordinance, by which the members of both Houses were excluded from all civil and military em-

ployment, except a few offices which were specified. This ordinance was the subject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the parliament and city into factions. But at last, by the prevalence of envy with some; with others, a sense of fear of a great decay of the publican and independent views; it prevailed. The House of Commons, and was sent to the upper House. The Peers, though the scheme was, in part, levelled against their order; though all of them, at bottom, extremely averse to what had appeared, removed none to objects of so little authority, that they durst not per- severe in opposing the resolution of the Commons; and they thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to avoid the head of that which was its main object. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both Houses, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Bereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of the nation. At the pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex. A.D. 1643. It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. It is remarkable, that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone: and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. So much had animosities increased between the parties, that though the house of Lords renewed their charges of the lesser House, it should have been discarded with the others; but this impor-
tiability would have disappointed all the views of those who had introduced the self-denying ordinance. He was saved from any such suspicion, by an atonement, and was preserved from all danger, in which he was so eminent. At the time when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken that he should be sent with a body of horse, to relieve Taunton, besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were despatched for his immediate attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ some other officer in that service. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which it was averred, he would take his place in the House. But Fairfax, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and desired leave to return, for some days, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he said, would be very necessary. A member of the lower House, who had resigned, shortly after, he begged with much earnestness that they would allow Cromwell to serve that campaign. And thus the independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning for the weak hystiers, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality, upon Cromwell. Fairfax was a person equally eminent for conduct of arms, and for humanity; and strongly infected with prejudices, or principles derived

from religious and party zeal, he seems never, in the course of his public conduct, to have been diverted, by private interest or ambition, from adhering strictly to these principles. Sincere in his professions; disinterested in his motives; open in his conduct; he had formed those of the most shining characters of the age; had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarrasment and confused elocution on every occasion, but when time and place limited their use, he had merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate. Cromwell, by whose sagacity and invincible spirit Fairfax, who entirely governed, is one of the most eminent and most singular personages that occurs in history. The strokes of his character are as open and strongly marked, as the schemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His ex-
tensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects; his enterprises genius was not dismayed with the boldest and most dangerous. Carried by his natural temerity to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an impertinent and domineering policy; he yet knew, when necessary, to employ the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, the semblance of the greatest moderation, and the greatest firmness, and simplicity. From his conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to re-
ligion, though he peremptorily employed it as the instru-
ment of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the prospect of sovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irresistible to human nature. He was of that authority which he had attained by fraud and vio-
lence, he has hesitated, if not overpowered, our deter-
tion of his amenities, by our admiration of his success and of his genius.

During this important transaction of the Treaty of Un-
self-denying ordinance, the negotiations for bridge,

peace were likewise carried on, though with small hopes of success. The representatives met two messages, one from Evesham, another from Tavistock; desiring a treaty, the parliament despatched commissioners to Oxford, with proposals as high as if they had obtained a complete victory. The advantages during the campaign, and the great distresses of the royalists, had much elevated their hopes; and they were resolved to repose no trust in men inflamed with the highest animosity against them, and who, were they possessed of power, were fully authorized by law, to punish all their opponents as rebels and traitors. The king, when he considered the proposals and the disposition of the parliament, could not expect any ac-
accommodation, and had no prospect but of war, or of total defeat by a land army. He now employed his own party, who were impatient for peace, he agreed to send the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Southampton, with an answer to the proposals of the parliament, and at the same time to desire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretensions. It now became necessary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two Houses at Westminster were not a free parliament; and accordingly he was induced, though with great reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of the parliament of England. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter which he wrote to the queen, and of which a copy was taken at Naseby, that he secretly entered an explanatory pro-
test in his complaint, that the commissioners who had called him the parliament, he had not thereby acknowledged them for such. This subtilty, which has been frequently objected to Charles, is the most noted of those very few which are charged against him; for every princi-
ple has endeavoured to load him with the imputation of insincerity; and have inferred, that the parliament could repose no confidence in his professions and declarations, not even in his latest state of justice, if, when such a breach must be confessed, a difference universally arroled between

I shall refer thee to Fliby for particular satisfaction; this in general: If there had been but two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the arguments I make use of with mine, have been such as all the world must acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon who" revolution and construction I this. The corresponding book, and the one in the counsel books, with the counsellor's most respectful approbation. The Army's Cabinet opened. Rush. vol. iv. p. 912.
simply giving to me the appellation which they assume, and the formal acknowledgment of their title to it; nor is any thing more common and familiar in all public transactions.

The time and place of treaty being settled, sixteen commissioners from the king met at Uxbridge, with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended by the Scottish commissioners, and, as is well known, it was agreed that the Scottish and parliamentary commissioners should give to their demands, with regard to three important articles, religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be distinctly discussed and determined on in conference with the king's commissioners. It was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of these articles.

In the summer of 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had summoned an assembly at Westminster, consisting of 121 divines and 30 laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphysical doctrines of the church; and what was of greater importance, the liturgy was entirely abolished, and in its stead, a new directory for worship was established, by which, substantially to the spirit of the puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the solemn league and covenant, episcopacy was abjured, as destructive of all true piety; and a national engagement, attended with very serious consequences, could have no promise sacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scots, never to suffer its readmission. All these measures showed little spirit of accommodation in the parliament; and it is not surprising to find, in the establishment of presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the covenant, both by the king and kingdom.

In the beginning of a disposition to neglect all theological controversies, he yet had been, in good policy, to adhere to episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were passionately devoted to it; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as so important an article, was for ever to relinquish their friendship and assistance. But Charles had never attained such enlarged principles. He deemed bishops essential to the very being of a Christian church; and he thought himself bound by more sacred ties than those of policy, or even of honour, to the support of that order. His concessions, therefore, on this head, he judged sufficient, when he agreed that an indulgence should be given to the presbyteries, with regard to cerimonies, that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent and counsel of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that the same, in all church courts, should be heard constantly in the name of the bishop, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed; and that a hundred thousand pounds be levied on the bishops' estates and the chapter funds, for payment of debts contracted by the parliament. These concessions, though considerable, gave no satisfaction to the parliamentary commissioners; and without abating any thing of their rigour on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia.

The king's partisans had all along maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the securities so early and easily given to public liberty, were either

fringed or groundless; and that no human institution could be better poised and adjusted, than was now the government of England. By the absolutions of the chamber and court of high commission, the prelates, they said, has lost all that coercive power by which it had formerly suppressed or endangered liberty: by the establishment of triennial parliaments, it can have no issue to new and oppressive taxes; and from the inspection of that vigilant assembly: by the slender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain such influence as to procure a repeal of those salutary statutes; and with the breach of the peace, they deemed the real power in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, so clearly defined by means of late disputes, and so passionately cherished by all his subjects. In this situation, surely, it was a mark, for the present, remain in tranquillity, and try whether it be not possible, by peaceful arts, to elude that danger with which, it is pretended, its liberties are still threatened.

But though the royalists insisted on these plausible topics before the commencement of war, they were obliged to own, that the progress of civil commotions had somewhat altered the state of these matters, and that the power of the militia, said the opposite party, be intrusted to the king, it would not now be difficult for him to abuse that authority. By the rage of intestine discord, his partisans are inflamed to an extreme hatred against their countrymen, and are not afraid to commit the greatest injustices against popular privileges, which, in their apprehension, have been the source of so much disorder. Were the arms of the state, therefore, put entirely into such hands, the nation would be surprised to find that the arms of the state should be intrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by one and the other. In the opinion of that term, he insisted that his constitutional authority over the militia should again return to him. The parliamentary commissioners at first demanded, that the power of the sword should for ever be intrusted to such persons as the parliament alone should appoint; but afterwards, they relaxed so far as to require that authority only for seven years; after which it was not to return to the king, but to be settled by bill, or by common consent of the two parties. But the king's commissioners asked, whether jealousies and fears were all on one side; and whether the prince, from such violent attempts and pretensions as he had experienced, had not, as a reason to fear, that the arms of the state should be intrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by one and the other. In the opinion of that term, he insisted that his constitutional authority over the militia should again return to him. The truth is, after the commencement of war, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find security for both parties, especially for that of the parliament. Amidst such violent
annomities, power alone could insure safety; and the power of one side was necessarily attended with danger to the other. Few or no instances occur in history of an equal, peaceable, and durable accommodation, that has been brought about between two factions which had been inflamed into civil war.

With regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The parliament demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the findings of the two commissions should be given to the parliament; and that, after the conquest of Ireland, the nomination of the lord-deputy and of the judges, or in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, should likewise be submitted to it.

What rendered an accommodation more desperate was, that the demands on these three heads, however exorbitant, were acknowledged, by the parliamentary commissioners, to be nothing but preliminaries. After all these were granted, it would be necessary to proceed to the discussion of those other demands, still more exorbitant, which a little before had been transmitted to the king at Oxford. Such exorbitant terms were then insisted on, that worse could scarcely be demanded, were Charles actually vanquished, a prisoner, and in chains. The king was required to attaint, and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of the peers. A parliament was to be summoned in both kingdoms who had borne arms for him. It was insisted, that forty-eight more, with all the members who had sat in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines whatever, any corporation or any ecclesiastic, or of any office, if he forbade the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or, if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public delays. As if royal authority were not sufficiently augmented by such terms, it was demanded that the court of wards should be abolished, and that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly. The presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed only in words from the independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose during several days, among the conventionists they separated and returned; those of the king, to Oxford, those of the parliament, to London.

A little before the commencement of this fruitless transaction, the king having approved the execution of the death of his favourite minister of the king, was brought to the scaffold; and in this instance the public might see, that popular assemblies, as, by their very number, they are in a great measure exempt from the restraint of shame, so, when they also overleap the bounds of law, naturally break out into acts of the greatest tyranny and injustice.

From the time that Laud had been committed, the House of Commons, engaged in enterprises of greater moment, had not spared him. He had been in the jail a long time, had patiently endured so long an imprisonment without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the bugled prejudices of that nation revived the like spirit. The House, on one occasion, gave their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate, who had so long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealot spirit under confinement. He was accused of high treason in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of having raised up such high crimes and tumults within the realm. The same illegality of an accumulative crime and a constructive evidence, which appeared in the case of Strafford; the same violence and incongruity in conduct, that was conspicuous in the whole course of this prosecution. The groundless charge of popery, though beheld by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged against the prisoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was supposed to injure him in the sight of all enemie.

"This man, my lords," said sergeant Wilde, concluding his long speech against him, "is like Naaman the Syran; a great man, but a leper."

We shall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at present, seems to admit of little controversy. It suffices to say, that after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the Commons found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against Laud, that they were entirely resolved to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithstanding the low condition into which the House of Peers was fallen, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper House.

Seven peers alone voted in this important question. The rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves.

Laud, who had behaved during his trial with spirit and vigour of genius, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but though he had usually professed himself apprehensive of a violent death, he yet did all in his power to shew that he was insensible before that superior courage by which he was animated. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go. Even upon the scaffold, and during the intervals of his imprisonment, he was harassed and molested by Sir John Clotworthy, a zealot of the reigns sect, and a great leader in the lower House: this was the time he chose for examining the principles of the dying prelate, and triumphantly, in a confession, that he trusted for his salvation to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redcemeer. Having extricated himself from these theological toils, the archbishop laid his head on the block; and it was severed from the body at one blow. Those religious opinions, for which he suffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and constancy of his end. Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however misguided, actuated by pious motives in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprises with so much warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of society.

The great and important advantage which the party gained by Strafford's death may, in some degree, palliate the injustice of the sentence pronounced against him. But the greater value can be attached to the execution of his death, when we consider that only a few of the beakers, who had been an inoffensive prisoner, can be ascribed to nothing but vengeance and bigotry in those severe religionists, by whom the parliament was entirely governed. That he deserved a better fate was not questioned by any reasonable man: the degree of his merit, in other respects, was disputed. Some accused him of recommending slavish doctrines, of promoting persecution, and of encouraging superstition; while others thought that his conduct, in these three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation.

That the letter of the law, as much as the most flattering court-sermon, inoculates passive obedience, is apparent. And though the revolution required, in extraordinary cases, some mitigation of so rigorous a doctrine; it must be confessed, that the preceding genius of the English constitution had rendered a sacrifice not to this particular of natural and existing laws, but to that of the state. To inflict death, at least on those who depart from the exact line of truth in these nice questions, so far from being favourable to national liberty, savours strongly of the spirit of tyranny and persecution.

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justify themselves, as from the highest imputation, from any intendment to relax the golden reins of discipline, as they called them, or to grant any toleration: and the enemies of the church were so far from the beginning, as not to lay claim to liberty of conscience, which they called a toleration for soul-murder. They openly challenged the supremacy, and even menaced the established church with that persecution which they alleged was exercised against her with such severity. And if the question be considered in the view of policy; though a sect, already formed and advanced, may, with good reason, demand a toleration; when these nations, who, on the just point of separation from the church, and whom, it might be hoped, some wholesome and legal severities would still retain in obedience.

Whatever refusals, to a philosophical mind, may be thrown on pious ceremonious, it must be confessed, that during a very religious age, no institutions can be more advantageous to the rude multitude, and tend more to mollify that fierce and gloomy spirit of devotion, to which they are subject. Even the English church, though it had retained a share of popish ceremonious, may justly be thought too naked and unadorned, and still to approach too near the abstract and spiritual religion of the puritans. Laud and his associates, by reviving a few primitive usages, and substituting of this nature, corrected the error of the first reformers, and presented to the affrighted and astonished mind, some sensible, exterior observations, which might occasion a more due estimation of its religious ceremonies, and abate the violence of its disordered efforts. The thoughts of no longer best on that divine and mysterious essence, so superior to the narrow capacities of mankind, was able, by means of the new model of devotion, to relax itself in the contemplation of pictures, postures, vestments, buildings; and all the fine arts, which minister to religion, thereby received additional encouragement. The prince, it is true, conducted this scheme, not with the enlarged sentiments and cool reflection of a legislator, but with the intemperate zeal of a sectary; and by overlooking the circumstances of the times, served rather to inflame that religious fury which he meant to repress. But this blemish is more to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud's; and it is sufficient for his vindication to observe, that his errors were the most excusable of all those which prevailed during that zealous period.

CHAPTER LVIII

Montrose's victories—The new model of the army—Battle of Naseby—Montrose's capture—The West commanded by Drumlanrig—Defeat of Montrose—Ecclesiastical affairs—King goes to the South—End of the war—King delivered up by the Scots.

While the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland, which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel.

Montrose's

Before the commencement of these civil disorders, the Earl of Montrose, a young nobleman of a distinguished family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made an offer of his services; but by the impositions of the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Hamilton, who possessed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that distinction to which he thought himself justly entitled. Disgusted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and, agreeably to the natural humour of his genius, he led employed himself during the first Scottish insurrection, with great zeal as well as success, in levyng and conducting their armies. Being commissioned by the Tables to wait upon the king, while he was marching against Montrose, he was charged with the civilities and caresses of that monarch, that he henceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service, and entered into a close correspondence with him.

In this correspondence, a great military command was intrusted to him by the covenanters, and was the first that passed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England. He found means however, soon after, to convey a letter to the king: and by the imbecility of some of his ministers, (Hume, he was,) a copy of this letter was sent to Leven, the Scottish general. Being accused of treachery, and a correspondence with the enemy; Montrose openly avowed the letter, and asked the general, if they dared to call their sovereign an enemy: and by this bold and magnanimous behaviour, he escaped the danger of an immediate prosecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles, and he entered more openly into a correspondence with the king, that he had entertained like sentiments, into a bond of association for his master's service. Though thrown into prison for this enterprise, and detained some time, he was not discouraged; he still continued; and by the countenance and protection of the king, disputed spirit to dispute spirit. Among other persons of distinction, who united themselves to him, was Lord Napier of Merchiston, son of the famous inventor of the logarithms, the person to whom the title of GREAT MAN is more justly due, than to any other whom his country ever produced.

There was in Scotland another party, who, professing equal attachment to the king's service, pretended only to differ in a subordinate matter; and he entered into a correspondence with the king. This nobleman had cause to be extremely devoted to the king, not only by reason of the connection of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favour with which he had ever been honoured by his master. Being accused by Lord Hume, without any appearance of probability, of a conspiracy against the king, Charles was so far from having suspicion against him, that, the very first time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and passed alone the night with him. But such was the duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he escaped not the interest of his deceptions by his success; for he found both an enemy, and though he at last sacrificed his life in the king's service, his integrity and sincerity have not been thought by historians entirely free from blemish. Perhaps (and this is the most probable opinion) the intemperance of his conduct, and his tempering maxims, though accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cause of a suspicion, which has never yet been either fully proved or refuted. As much as the bold and virile spirit of Montrose prompted him to enterprising measures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to such as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold that the Scottish covenanters were secretely forming union with the English parliament, and inculcated the necessity of preventing them by some vigorous undertaking; the latter still insisted, that every such attempt would precipitate them into measures, to which, otherwise,
also not unaccompanied with military skill; he put the enemy to flight, and in the pursuit did great execution upon them.3

But by this second advantage he obtained not the end which he expected. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montrose’s glory, rendered him averse to join an army, where he himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, reinforced by the Earl of Lindsay, and the Earl of Lovat, broke through the militia of the northern counties, Murray, Ross, Caithness, to the number of 5,000 men, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to divert these latter, and induce them to concur with the general presupposition, and supported by the unfortunate event of his counsels, were entertained with universal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, more than his own suspicions, Charles, as soon as Hamilton appeared, sent him prisoner to Penthentic castle, in Cornwall. His brother, Lanerc, who was also put under confinement, found means to make his escape, and to fly into Scotland.

The King’s ears were now opened to Montrose’s counsels, who proposed none but the boldest and most daring, agreeably to the desperate state of the royal cause in Scotland. Though the whole nation was subjected by the command of Argyle, as a prey of spoliation, but not of freedom, foot by foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends who remained to the king, to raise such confirmations, as would soon oblige the malcontents to recall those forces. The multitude of them were for the farthest part concurring with the general presupposition, and supported by the unfortunate event of his counsels, were entertained with universal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, more than his own suspicions, Charles, as soon as Hamilton appeared, sent him prisoner to Penthentic castle, in Cornwall. His brother, Lanerc, who was also put under confinement, found means to make his escape, and to fly into Scotland.

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of mind, in this emergence, appeared conspicuous. Instantly he called off his soldiers from plunder, put them in order, secured his retreat by the most skilful measures; and when a printed sermon was rebuked six miles north of the face of an enemy, much superior, without stopping, or allowing his soldiers the least sleep or refreshment, lie at last secured himself to the mountains.

Bullie and Urney now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war against an enemy, who surprised them, as much by the rapidity of his marchs, as by the boldness of his enterprises. Urney, at the head of 4000 me, met him at Aldermere, near Inverness; and, encouraged by the number of his enemy, (for the eccentrics were double the royalties,) attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Monroe, having placed his right wing in strong ground, drew the best of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by showing a few men through the trees and bushes, with which that ground was covered. That Urney might have no leisure to receive the stratagem, he instantly led his left wing to the charge; and making a furious impression upon the covenanter, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory.1 In this battle, the valour of young Napier, son to the lord of that name, shone out with signal lustre.

But it is necessary, in order to revenge Urney’s discomfiture; but at Alford, he met, himself, with a like fate. Monroe, weak in cavalry, here lined his troops of horse with infantry; and after putting the enemy’s horse to rout, felt his own force upon them for want of cavalry cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant Lord Gordon on the part of the royalties.2 And having thus prevailed in so many battles, which his vigour everrendered as decisive as they were successful, he summoned together all his friends and partisans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanter, and dissipate the parliament, which with great pomp and solemnity they had brought to meet at St. Cuthbert’s.

While the fire was thus kindled to the north of the island, it blazed out with no less fury to the south: the parliamentary and royal armies, as soon as the season would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick decision. The passing of the self-denying ordinance had been protracted by so many debates and intrigues, that the spring was far advanced before it received the sanction of both Houses; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, so near the time of action, such great innovations into the army. Had not the punctuious principles of Essex engaged almost all the disguised men, who, as he received, took part in the explicit obedience to the parliament, this alteration had not been effected without some fatal accident; since, notwithstanding his prompt resignation of the command, a mutiny was generally apprehended.3 Fairfax, or, more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced, at last, the new model into the army, and threw the troops into a different shape. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands, as the independents could rely on. Besides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions; and nowaday facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction.

Though the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorously executed, by these new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffused over the one party as well as the other during this period: discipline also was attained by the forces of the parliament: but the perfection of the military art in concerted the general plan and execution, and the operations on both sides, to have been, in a great measure, wanting. Historians at least, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valour and fortune chiefly determined the success. The great ornament of history during these reigns, are the civil, not the military, transactions.

Never was a more singular army new model of the army, assemblcd, than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments, chaplains were oôf appointed. The officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with every military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, exhortations; and the same emulation there attended them, which, in the field, is so necessary to support the honour of that profession. Hence the eccentrics, for the sake of ambition and reflection; while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they mistook that eloquence, which, to their own surprise, as well as that of others, flowed upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illusions of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervour. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, in ghostly conferences, from which they compared the number of the independents, in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to further advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field resounded, as well with the psalms as with the common prayers, and even with the instruments of military music; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger, in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious; deaths, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, instead of banishing their pious visions, rather served to impress their minds more strongly with them.

The royalists were desirous of throwing ridicule on this fanciful and the parliament army, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number, to their adversaries; but actuated by a very different spirit. That licence, which had been introduced by want of pay, had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, neglecting of the people, fond of the soldiery, had indulged the troops in onwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and the heart of a king, George, of the house of Stuart, Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of enormity. In the west especially, where Goring commanded, universal spoil and havoc were committed; and the whole country was laid waste by the rapine of the army. All distinction of parties was lost in the general confusion and the same usage. Churches, mansions, and other places, were pillaged and burnt, and no respect paid to the persons or property of the inhabitants.

The disposition of the forces on both sides was as follows: part of the parliamentary army was posted in the west, the others in Yorkshire: part of it besieged Carlisle, valiantly defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Biron commanded, had long been defended by the government; and the army had moved to great difficulties. The king, being joined by the Princesses Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a considerable army, about 15,000 men. Fairfax and Cromwell were posted at Windsor, with the new-modelled army, about

CHAP. LVIII.—A. D. 1645.]

CHARLES I.

22,000 men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, suffered a long siege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about 8000 men; and, though the defence had been obstinate, the garrison was now reduced to famine. Granville, instead of laying siege, entered, in the west, an army of nearly the same number. *

On opening the campaign, the king formed the project of relieving Chester; Fairfax that of relieving Taunton. The latter was first advanced. The garrison was ordered to Drarton to Shropshire, Brion met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army had withdrawn. Fairfax, having received Sir Salisbury's despatch, had made the least of the sorry supply from the command of both armies, and he hurried his force forward for the management of the war, to return and lay siege to Oxford, now exposed by the king's absence. He obeyed, after sending Colonel Weldon to the west, with a detachment of 4000 men. On Weldon's approach, Grenville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raised the siege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: but the royalists, being reinforced with 3000 horse under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in such a posture. *

The king, having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, returned southwards; and, in his way, sat down before London. Shrewsbury made a breach to the wall, he stormed the town on all sides; and after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders to which no line, whose infantry was completely driven before him, could resist, so much was he excited. A great booty was taken and distributed among them: fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the king's hands. This success, which struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and he marched towards the king, with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was about to be lifted. He put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the king, and give him an insuperable superiority over the enemy. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, whose boiling ardour still pressed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the officers. He urged their object, and often threatened them; and he urged the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: the resolution was taken to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

On Thursday the 26th, and last day of this instant, June 1643, I went to

Whitehall purposely to see the queen, which I did fully all the time she was there, and I observed several things that I never saw before. I was much surprised to see how much she improved by the relations, as well by her radiant and sparkling black eyes, handsome countenance, and her new suit of clothes and jewels, which she wore and looked so well, as by her speech and looks. I declare, and have observed from others that she is much improved in these last days, which I hope are the last of the true serious. See preceding dialogue.
future enterprises. A letter was brought him written by Goring to the king, and unfortunately intrusted to a spy of Fairfax's. Goring there informed the king, that in three weeks he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would pursue the enemy with all the force in the west; and entreated him, in the meanwhile, to avoid coming to any general action.

This letter, which, had it been safely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naseby, served only to direct the operations of Fairfax. After leaving a body of 3000 men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the king's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force which now remained to the royalists.

In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, bad sent the Prince of Wales, then fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

20th July. On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised; and the royalists retired to Lamport, an ancient town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, beat them from it, killed about 300 men, and took 1400 prisoners. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong, and of great consequence in that county. When he left it, the outer town was blockaded by the king's governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of 2600 men, were taken with their arms.

Fairfax, having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to lay siege to Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprise, which, from the garrison, and the reputation of Prince Rupert as the general of the west, was deemed of the last importance. But so precarious, in most men, is this quality of military courage a poorer defence was not made by any town during the whole war: and the general expectations were here extremely disappointed. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax. A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no military obliged them to surrender it. Charles, who was

Surrender of Bristol.

11th Sept. had the choice of forming schemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected and severe a defeat, and could bear less fatal to his cause than the defeat at Naseby. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all Prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go bygood sea.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots having made themselves masters of Carlisle, after an obstinate siege, marched southwards, and laid siege to Hereford; but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach: and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces under Colonel Jones; Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. While the fight was going on, Grant entered Chester, with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists; Jones fell upon them from the other side, and put them to rout with the loss of 600 slain, and 1000 prisoners. The king, with the rest of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he remained up the winter.

The news which he received from every quarter, was no less fatal than those events which passed where he himself was present. Fairfax and Cromwell, after the surrender of Bristol, having divided their forces, the former marched westwards, in order to complete the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall; the latter attacked the king's garrisons which lay to the east of Bristol. The Defeas were surrendered to Cromwell; Berkley castle was taken by storm; Wincmose, captured. York was entered into, and all these middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament.

The same rapid and uninterrupted success attended the parliament. The parliamentary forces, having been elated by past victories, governed by the most rigid discipline, met with no equal opposition from troops, dismayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by the licentious manners of soldiers, gathering up the quarters of the royalists at Howe-Tracey, Fairfax sat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by storm. Poulton-castle, being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on all sides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to the relief of that town, with an army of 6000 men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington, where he was defeated, all his foot dispersed, and he himself, with his horse, obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorously pursued the victory. Having enclosed the royalists at True, he forced the whole army, consisting of 4000 men, chiefly commanded by a man named Tenser, delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and received twenty shillings each, to carry them to their respective abodes. Such of the officers, as desired it, had passes to return as far as they chose, but having presented no new device to bear arms, paid compositions to the parliament, and procured their pardon. And thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed the conquest of the west, marched with his victorious army to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The Prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's order, retired to Scilly, thence to Jersey; whence he went to Paris; where he joined the queen, who had fled there from Exeter. The earl of Exeter conducted the parliamentary army to the west.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by surprise: Chester surrendered: Lord Derby, who had attempted with 1200 horse to break into Scotland, and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by Colonel Copley; his whole force was dispersed; and himself was obliged to fly, first to the Isle of Man, then to Ireland. News too arrived that Montrose himself, and his army, made prisoners of war.

When Montrose descended into the southern counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a force sufficient to last him success, at Kilisly. This was the most complete victory that Montrose ever obtained. The royalists put to the sword six thousand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remnants of any army in Scotland. The heir of the king was shaken with these repeated successes of Montrose; and many noblemen, who secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. The Marquis of Douglash, the Earls of Annandale and Haddington, the Lords Flemming, Seton, Maderty, Carney, with many others, flocked to the standard of the royalists. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the prisoners there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest was Lord Argyll, whose family had contributed extremely to the victory gained at Kilisly.}

David Leslie was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still further to the south, allured by vain hopes, both of rousing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquair, and Roxborough, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England some succor. By the negligence of his scouts, Leslie, at Philp-haugh in the Forest, surprised his army, much diminished in numbers, from the descent of the people; but by a vote of the House they could not be under two years of the delinquents estate. Journ. 16th of Oct., 1645. 16th of Feb., 1645, p. 161.


4. Hist. vol. i. p. 188. These compositions were different according to the deserts of the
of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted great valour, his forces were defeated on Montrose Hill, 5th Sept. 1645. and he retired to Montrose, where he was joined by a large force of his adherents, who had been driven from the mountains; where he again prepared himself for new battles and new enterprises.*

The covenanters used the victory with rigour. Their purpose for the present was to seize the penal laws and to substitute the national law, and to send an army to the late prince, Sir Philip Nisbet, Sir William Rollo, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son of the Bishop of Murray, William Murray, son of the Earl of Tulibardine, were condemned and executed. The sole crime of these captives was to deliver to Montrose the king's commission, to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken prisoner, would have undergone the same fate, had not his sister found means to procure his escape, by changing clothes with him. For this instance of courage and dexterity, she met with harsh usage. The clergy solicited the parliament, that more royalists might be executed; but could not obtain their request.†

After all these repeated disasters, which every where befell the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Ashley, with a small army, that had deserted the crown, chiefly composed of drunken soldiers, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Sowe by Colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated; himself being taken prisoner. *You have done your work,* said Ashley to the parliamentary officers; *it is for you to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves.*

The condition of the king, during this whole winter, was to the last degree disastrous and melancholy. As the dread of all is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigour of mind, which, though it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him, was his greatest treasure; and he was determined, as he wrote to Lord Digby, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends, he said, ever have reason to blush for the prince whom they had so unfortunately served. The murmur of discontented officers, on the one hand, harassed their unhappy sovereign; while they over­ rated those services and sufferings which, they now saw, must for ever go unrewarded.‡ The affectionate duty, on the other hand, which the king perceived in them, was from him, who represented his misfortunes and his virtues, as much as his dignity, wrung his heart with a new sorrow; when he reflected, that such disinterested attachment would so soon be ex­ pressed in such a manner of dissent, if not in actual attempts, which he made for a peaceful and equitable acco­ mmodation with the parliament, served to no purpose but to convince them, that the victory was entirely in their hands. They designed not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for com­ missioners. § At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing bills for him; and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace; in other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe-conduct for himself and his attendants; they absolutely refused to treat in that manner: in which he saw, that is, the seizing of his person in case he should attempt to visit them. A new incident which happened in Ire­ land served to inflame the minds of men, and to increase those calamities with which his enemies had so much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the most grievous part of his misfortunes.

After the cessation of this business, the king was desirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their assistance in England; and he gave authority to Ormond, lord-lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of the Oath of Allegiance, which had been enforced by the suspension of Pompian's statute, with regard to particular bills, which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, (though his patent had not yet passed the seals,) having occasion for his private affairs to be attended to in Ireland, the king considered, that this nobleman, being a catholic, and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: he also foresaw, that further concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the haggard Irish; and that, as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character, by giving private orders to Glamorgan to con­ clude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all these measures to Ormond; and though the final conclusion of the treaty must be executed only in the name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the lord-lieutenant. Glamorgan, hing­ ged to his religion, and passionate for the king's service, but guided in these enterprises by no motives of gratitude or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenney, and, agreed, in the king's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the king in Eng­ land with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was discovered by the king's agents, and the Irish team of spies, who, at the time of the meeting, were in the city of Derry. Being informed of this, the king told them, "That the Earl of Glamorgan having made an offer to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only, and that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privity and direction of the lord­ lieutenan t, much less to capitate any thing concerning religion, or any property belonging either to church or laity. Though this declaration seems agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the parliament; and some his­ torians, even at present, when the ancient bigotry is somewhat abated, are devout in representing this very innocent transaction as an act by which the king was engrossed by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate prince. A

* A 9th of Sept. 1645. p Rush. vol. vi. p. 231. q Burns's Memoirs. Rush. vol. vii. p. 279. r Rush. vol. viii. p. 297. s Rush. vol. iv. p. 110. It was the same Ashley, who, before he charged at the battle of Naseby, made this short prayer. 'Lord Jesus Christ, raise me up to save Scotland. I am but a poor creature; but I forget thee, do not then forget me. And with that, rose up, and fought. March. vi. infra.*

Warwick, p. 279. There were executed, 5th August, 1644, 1500, within the parliamentary army, but one of them had so good a voice. *Calder's Annals. p. 119.*


Dr. Birch has written a treatise on this subject. It is not my business here to state the arguments urged by his lordship in this treatise, which are well known. I will therefore only produce arguments which prove that Glamorgan, when he received the commission, was not the means of procuring it, but the consent of the king, which was given with the most solemn assurance of his being entirely at the king's disposal. A)

B) It seems to be implied in the very words of the commission. Glamorgan is empowered and authorized to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman catholics in Ireland. 'It upon necessity.(any articles) the said Glamorgan, unto whom the last commission cannot so well be seen, as not fit for any such purpose to be seen. In this or any other articles it is provided, that the king, at any time, may and shall be present, and may at any time give cause to proceed, without any question or objection.' These words are from the commission, and are a clear evidence, that the king had the greatest weight in all these transactions. The words are from the commission. *I refer the reader to the original commission.*


Having lost all hope of prevailing over the rigour of the parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only resource which remained to the king was derived from the intestine dissensions which raged among his enemies.

Presbyterians and independents, even before their victory was fully completed, fell into contests about the division of the spoil, and their religion as well as civil disputes agitated the whole kingdom.

The parliament, though they had early abolished episcopal authority, had not, during so long a time, substituted any other spiritual government in its place; and their committee of religion had hitherto assumed the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but they now established, by an ordinance, the presbyterian model in all its forms of Ecclesiastical congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies. All the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and choose elders, on whom, together with the minister, was bestowed the entire direction of all spiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court, which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed of clerics and national assembly; it was constituted in the same manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. It is probable that the tyranny exercised by the Scottish clergy had given way to a more lavish display in the provinces; but the rulers, for the present, had paid no regard to the civil interests of the church. They allowed them nothing but the liberty of convening, and would not intrust them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his substitute, or of selecting a vestry of their own members.

While these disputes were raging between the theologians, who engaged in their spiritual contests every order of the state; the king, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from those divisions, was much at a loss what side it should be most for his own power and interest. The presbyterians were, by their principles, the least averse to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: the independents were resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, it might be hoped, that if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy. So great an advantage did the king to the episcopal jurisdiction, that he was ever inclined to put in balance even with his own power and kingly office.

But whatever advantage he might hope to reap from the divisions in the parliamentary party, he was apprehensive lest it should involve him in an engagement with which he was instantly threatened. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which was so far disadvantageous to the king, that he was taken captive and led in triumph by his insenile enemies.
was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult, if not a violation, was to be dreaded from that enthusiastic soldier, who hated his person and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure which, in any other situation, might have been adopted by the legislature, and led to the imputation of imprudence and indiscipline.

Montroseville, the French minister, interested for the king, more by the natural sentiments of humanity than any instruction from his tutor, observed, that as soon as the Scottish parliament had solicited the Scotch generals and commissioners to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted the same, perhaps, with some prudence, to his master. From his sagacity, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no further concessions to exact from him. In all disputes which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and laid endeavoured to soften the rigour of the English parliament. Great disgusts also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scotch found that the assurance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The return of a divine right to the government of ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence: and the king hoped, that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince flying to them in this extremity of distress, would rouse every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favour and protection.

That he might better conceal his intentions, orders were given to the Scotch generals at Oxford, to send for three persons to pass; and in the night the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudon and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a post-paneteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through Henley, St. Albans, and came so near to London as Harrow-on-the-Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing Woburn, with great caution, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark. The parliament hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death whoever should entice him to their camp.

The Scottish general and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king; and though they paid him all the external respect, due to his dignity, they instantly set a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king. They applied to him for orders to Bellasis, to surrender his arms, and to the Scotch camp, to surrender that town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were instantly obeyed. And hearing that the parliament had clamour to the entire disposal of the king's person, and that the English generals, making some motions towards them; they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newark.

This measure was very grateful to the king; and he thought the battle of Newbury was not the last. The Scot of course was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole Scripture was ransacked by the clergy for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister who preached before the king, chose these words for his text; and blessed all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto him, Why have our brethren, the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and have brought the king and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel. Behold, our brethren came from Jordan, men and cattle, to ye, and said, Why do ye anger the inhabitants of Israel? for whereas then be ye angry for this matter? Have we eaten at all of the king's cost; or hath he given us any gift? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had, in bringing back our king, and the words of the men of Judah were more than the words of the men of Israel. But the king found, that the happiness chiefly of the allusion had tempted the preacher to employ this text, and that the coramnating zealots were nowise pacified towards him. Another preacher, after reproaching him to his face with his magisterial orders, ordered this psalm to be sung:

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself? Thy wicked deeds to praise?

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words.

Hence mercy, Lord, on me, I pray: For men would me devour:

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majesty, showed for once greater deference to the king than to the minister, and sung the psalm which the former had called for.

Charles had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. He not only found himself a prisoner very strictly guarded; all his friends were kept at a distance; and no intercourse, either by letters or conversation, was allowed him, with any one whom he could depend, or who was suspected of any attachment towards him. The Scotch generals would enter into no confidence with him; and still treated him with distant ceremony and faguage respect. They only proposed what they made him, tended further to his absevement and to his ruin.

They required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the parliament; and the king, sensible that there resistance was to very little purpose, willingly complied. The terms given to most of them were honourable; and Fairfax, as far as lay in his power, was very exact in observing them. Far from allowing violence, he would not even permit insults or triumph over the unfortunate royalists; and by his generous humanity, so cruel a civil war was ended, in appearance very calmly, between the parties.

Osmund, having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the enemy. The Scots also, after having experienced still more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms and retired out of the kingdom.

The Marquis of Worcester, a man past eighty-four, was the last in England that submitted to the authority of the parliament. He defended Raglan castle to extremity; and opened not its gates till the middle of August. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapsed, since the king first erected his standard at Nottingham. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their native country.

The parliament offered the Scots their proposals before the king. They were such as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the most mercorable party; yet were they little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Newbury. The Scotch parliament, of ten, which the king now offered, was demanded for twelve years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king.

Charles said, that proposals which introduced such important innovations in the constitution, demanded time.
for deliberation: the commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days. He desired to reason about the meaning and import of some terms: they informed him, that he had no power of debate; and peremptorily required his consent or refusal. He requested a personal treaty with the parliament: they threatened, that if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation.

This was the most intent upon, was, not, their treaty with the king, to whom they paid little regard, but that with the Scots. Two important points remained to be settled with that nation; their delivery of the king, and the estimation of their arrests. The Scots might pretend, that, as Charles was King of Scotland as well as of England, they were entitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person: and that, in such a case, where the titles are equal, and the subject indivisible, the preference was due to the present possessor. The English maintained, that the king, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. A delicate question this, and what surely could not be decided by precedent, since such a situation is not, any where, to be found in history.

As the Scots concurred with the English, in imposing such conditions on the king, that, notwithstanding his unfortunate situation, he still refused to accept of them; it is certain that they did not desire his freedom: nor could they ever intend to join lenity and regar together to effect a measure. Before the settlement of terms, the administration must be possessed entirely by the parliaments of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that scheme with the liberty of the king, is easily imagined. To carry him a prisoner into England, were few fortuity could be supported to guard him, was a measure so full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the English had consented to it, must have appeared to the Scots themselves altogether undesirable: and how such a plan, if attempted in baseness of such numerous and victorious armies, which were, at that time, at least seemed to be, in entire union with the parliament! The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scots could embrace, if they consulted wholly to abandon the king, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance; and, uniting themselves with the royals in both kingdoms, endeavour, by force of arms, to render the English a menace to more momentous importance: but, besides that this measure was full of extreme hazard; what was it but instantly to combine with their old enemies against their old friends? and, in a fit of romantic generosity, overturn what, with so much expense and labour, and trouble, was paid, during the course of so many years, been so carefully erecting?

But, though all these reflections occurred to the Scottish commissioners, they resolved to prolong the dispute, and keep the king as a pledge for those arrests which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to near two millions: for they had received little regular pay since they had entered England. And though the contributions which they had levied, as well as the prize of their living at free quarters, must be deducted; yet still the sum which they insisted on was very considerable, for many disguised. After all, it was not long agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000 pounds, one half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments.

Great pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrests appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the king's person. So common were these complaints of debate; and peremptorily regarded as one and the same. The English, it is evident, had they not been previously assured of receiving the king, would never have parted with so considerable a sum; and, while they weakened themselves by the same measure, have strengthened a people with whom they must afterwards have so material an interest to discuss.

Thus the Scottish nation underwent, and still undergo, (for such they do, without an end, to rally and dry up, the reproach of selling their king, and betraying their prince for money. In vain did they maintain, that this money was, on account of former services, undoubtedly due; that in their present situation, no other measure, without the utmost disregard or even contempt, could be embraced; and that, though they delivered their king into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much an open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him. They did as long united the two parties in strict alliance with each other. They were still answered, that they made use of this scandalous expedient for obtaining their wages; and that after taking arms, without any prohibition, against their sovereign, who had ever loved and cherished them, they had deservedly fallen into a situation, from which they could not extricate themselves, without either inancy or improvidence.

The infamy of this bargain had such an influence on the Scottish parliament, that they once voted, that the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that, if the Scots could be prevailed on, or forced on them, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract their vote.

Intelligence of the formering the final resolution of the Scottish nation to surrender him, was brought to the king; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at chess. Such command of temper did he possess, that he continued his game without interruption, and none of the by-standers could perceive the letter, which he answered, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hand. The high-est, and, in the same grave and cheerfulness, as if they had travelled on o other errand than to pay court to him. The old Earl of Pembroke, in particular, who was one of them, congratulated him on his strength and vigor, that he was still able, during such a season, to perform so long a journey in company with so many young people.

The king, being delivered over by the A.D. 1645.

Scots to the English commissioners, was conducted under a guard to Holdencly, in by the the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. If any still retained any trace of the violence and terror, during his imprisonment in silence; while his well-wishers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his safety. That ancient superstition likewise of desiring the king's touch in seculous distempers, seemed to acquire fresh credit among the people, from the general tenderness which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch.

The commissioners rendered his confinement at Holdencly very rigorous; dismissing his ancient servants, debarring him from visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow him spokesmen. After all, it was at last agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000 pounds, one half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments.
to be apprehended, he had resolved to conclude a peace, and to remedy, as far as possible, all those ills to which, from mistake rather than any bad intentions, he had himself given occasion. The minister and the other moderate party among the Commons, found themselves considerably weakened by his death: and the small remains of authority which still adhered to the House of Peers, were in a manner wholly extinguished

Chap. LIX.—A. D. 1647.

CHAP. LIX.

Molly of the army.—The king seized by joyce.—The army march against the parliament.—The army subdue the parliament.—The king flees to the Isle of Wight.—Second civil war.—Invasion from Scotland.—The battle of Newbury.—The civil wars and increases revenues.—The king seized again by the army.—The house purged.—The king's trial—and execution.—And for ever.

A. D. 1647.

The duration of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner had they subdued their sovereign, than their own servants rose against them, and tumbled them from their slippery throne. The sacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to prevent the greatest excesses, were any such fancies admitted. And every successive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it.

In proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the division between independent and presbyterian became every day more evident. The armes were forced on it at last requisite to seek shelter in one or the other faction. Many new writs were issued for elections, in the room of members who had died, or were disqualified by adhering to the king; yet still the presbyterians retained the suprinity among the Commons; and all the Peers, except Lord Say, were esteemed of that party. The independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army: and the troops of the new model were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. To their assistance did the independent party among the Commons chiefly trust, in their projects for acquiring the ascendancy over their antagonists.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminishing the army: and, on pretence of ease the public burthen, they levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They purpose to embark a strong detachment, under Skippon and Massey, for the service of Ireland: they openly declare their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder. It was even imagined, that another new model of the army was projected, under pretence to regain to the presbyterians that suprinity which they had so imprudently lost by the former.

The army had small melimation to the service of Ireland; a condition must be attiduated, and laid waste by massacres and civil commotions; they had less inclination to disbanded, and to renounce that pay, which, having earned it through fatigues and dangers, they now pursued to enjoy in ease and tranquility. And most of the officers having risen from the drags of the people, had no other prospect, it depriving of their commission, than that of returning to languish in their native poverty and obscurity.

These motives of interest acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious spirit by which the army was universally actuated.

Among the generality of men, educated in regular civilized societies, the sentiments of shame, duty, honour, have considerable authority, and serve to counterbalance and direct the motives derived from private advantage: but, by the predominancy of enthusiasm among the parliamentaries, these salutary principles lost their credit, and were regularly impugned by men, yeo, moral philosophers; fitter for heathens than for Christians. The saint, resided over to superior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, disguised under the appearance of pious zeal. And, besides the strange corruptions engendered by this spirit, it stilled and lessened all the ties of morality, and gave entire scope, and even sanction, to the selfishness and ambition which naturally adhere to the human mind.

The military commotions were further encouraged in disobedience to superiors, by that spiritual pride to which a mistaken piety is so subject. They were not, they said, mere janissaries; mercenary troops enlisted for hire, and to be disposed of at the will of their paymasters. Rigo and liberty were the motives which had excited them to arms; and they had a superior right to see those blessings, which they had purchased with their blood, inured to future generations. By the same token the presbyterians, in contradiction to the royalists, had appropriated to themselves the epithet of godly, or the well-affected: the independents did now, in contradiction to the presbyterians, assume this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the ascendant, which naturally belongs to it.

Hearing of parties in the House of Commons, and being informed that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally interested themselves in that dangerous distinction, and were eager to give the superiority to their partisans. Whatever hardships they underwent, though perhaps derived from inevitable necessity, were ascribed to the enemies, oppressing them, and resented as an effect of the animosity and malice of their adversaries.

Notwithstanding the great revenue which accrued from taxes, assessments, requisitions, and compositions, conscripted to the army, to the men in arms, to the soldiers, to the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay still owing them. The army suspected, that this deficiency was purposely contrived, in order to oblige them to live at free quarters; and by rendering them odious to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them.

When they saw such members as were employed in committees and civil offices accumulate fortunes, they accused them of rapine and public plunder. And this was pointed out by the Commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded, that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two Houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with imparity.

On this ground or pretence did the first Molly of the commotions begin in the army. A petition, army, addressed to Fairfax, the general, was handed about; crying an indemnity, and that ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows and parents, and general indemnity. The Commons, aware of what combustible materials the army was composed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its first appearance, was of the most dangerous consequences, and must soon exalt the military above the civil authority.

Besides surmounting some officers to answer for this attempt, they immediately voted that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state and disturbers of public peace. This declaration, which may be deemed violent, especially as the army had some ground for complaint, produced fatal effects. The soldiers lamented that they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not allowed so much as to represent their grievances; that, while petitions from Essex and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous servitude.

In this disposition was the army found by Warwick, Essex, Massey, and other commissioners, who were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland. Instead of enlisting, the generality objected to the terms; demanded an indemnity; were clamorous for

c Ibid. vol. vi. p. 124.
d Ibid. vol. vii. p. 500.
e Ibid. p. 472.
g Ibid. p. 341.
their armies; and, though they expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippin, who was appointed commander, they discovered much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwell. Some officers were zealous of the prelates, having entered into engagements for this service, could prevail on very few of the soldiers to enlist under them. And, as these officers lay all under the grievous reproach of deserting the army, and betraying the interests of the commonwealth, the rest were further terrified in that confederacy, which they had secretly formed.  

To petition and remonstrate being the most cautious method of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was signed by near 2000 officers; in which they made their apology with a very imperious air, asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imposition thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower House. The privy men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippin; in which, together with insisting on the same topics, they lamented that designs were formed against them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and had their just desires granted. The army, in a word, felt their power, and resolved to be masters.

The parliament too resolved, if possible, to preserve their dominion and to protect their designs; they endeavored, and not retaining any much authority, it was not easy for them to employ any expedient which could contribute to their purpose. The expedient which they now made use of, was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippin, Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden in Essex; and empowered them to make offers in the army, by very gentle means, at least the three last, were secretly the authors of all these contents; and failed not to foment those disorders, which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a measure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and reduced the army to disorder.  

In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the House of Peers, a more free representative of the army was composed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company. By this means, both the general humours, the various interests, was gratified, intent on plans of imaginary republics; and an easy method for conducting underhand, and propagating the sedition of the army.  

This terrible court, when assembled, having first declared that they found no dissatisfaction in the army, but many grievances which it was necessary to relieve and offer of the parliament unsatisfactory. Eight weeks’ pay alone, they said, was promised; a small part of fifty-six weeks, which they claimed as their due; no visible security was given for the remainder; and having been declared public enemies by the Commons, they might hereafter be prosecuted as such, unless the declaration were recalled. Before matters came to this height, Cromwell had posted up to London, on pretence of laying before the parliament the rising discontent of the army.  

The parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority; they voted that all the troops which did not engage for Ireland should instantly be dismissed in their quarters. The council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And while they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

A party of five hundred horse appeared at the king’s house, Holdenby, conducted by one Joyce, by whom they were not particularly distinguished by profession; but was advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being opposed by the guard, whose affections were all on their side, Joyce came into the king’s presence armed with pistols, and told him, that he must immediately go along with him. Whether  

said the king, To the army, replied Joyce. By what warrant? asked the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers whom he had at his command, and added, give me the warrant, and I will follow. Your warrant, said Charles, smiling, is written in fair characters, legible without spelling. The parliamentary commissioners came into the room; they asked Joyce whether he had any orders from the parliament! He said yes, that he was a member of that body, and that he had been sent to the king. He came! He made the same reply as to the king. They would write, said they, to the parliament, to know their pleasure. You may do so, replied Joyce; but in the mean time the king must come with me. But write we, was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Troop-Heath, near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commissioners, were thrown into the utmost consternation.  

Fairfax himself was no less surprised at the king’s arrival. That bold measure, executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were entirely verbal; and nobody owned them. And while every one affected astonishment at the enterprise, Cromwell, by whose counsel it had been directed, arrived from London, and published the fact, as he had conceived the affair to be of importance.

This artful and audacious conductor had conducted himself in the parliament with such profound dissimulation, with such refined hypocrisy, that he had long deceived those men of business, who, in the same arts, should naturally have entertained the more suspicion against others. At every intelligence of disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misconduct of his companions; he caused violent measures for suppressing the mutiny; and by these precipitate counsels, at once seemed to evince his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontentments, of which he intended to make advantage. He obtained hence a very hardened attachment to the parliament, which had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger; and he had very narrowly escaped a conspiracy formed to assassinate him. But information being brought that the most active officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders secretly resolved, that next day, when he should come to the house, an accusation should be entered against him, and it should be seconded to death. Congress, said he, was the conduct of his desperate enterprises frequently approached to the very brink of destruction, knew how to make the requisite run with proper dexterity and boldness. Being informed of this, this determined and immediate vote was received with acclamation, and was instantly invested with the supreme command, both of general and army.  

Fairfax, having neither talents himself for cabinet nor penetration to discover the cabals of others, had given his entire confidence to Cromwell, who, by the best coloured pretexts, and by the appearance of an open sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwell’s direction, and conveyed his will in the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now attained a station, where he could cover his enterprises from the view; At one time, the courtiers of his superior officer, or yield to the movements of the soldiers, could secretly pave the way for his future greatness. While the disordors of the army were yet in their infancy, he was kept at a distance, lest his counterfeit might throw a dam upon them, or his secret encouragement begot suspicion in the parliament. As soon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the troops; and in the critical moment to discover the cabals of others, he gave his king’s person, and depriving the parliament of any resource of an accommodation with him. Though one word fell off, another still remained to cover his natural consternation. Where delay was requisite, he would employ the most
The indefatigable patience which the necessity was, he flew to a determination. And by thus uniting in his person the most opposite qualities, he laid the foundation of that spirit of concord which was necessary to a suberviency to his secret purposes.

The parliament, though at present defenceless, was possessed of many resources; and the prospect of alliance with a foreign power, of being attached to the most dangerous cause, of being in danger of violence with which they were threatened. Without further deliberation, therefore, Cromwell advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

No compliance was made, for the simple reason that the army commenced against the parliament. As much as that assembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it now become the object of general hatred and aversion.

The self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had resigned their commission; immediately after it was laid aside by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in exercising acts of oppression on the helpless nation. Though the necessity of their situation might serve as an apology for many of their measures, the people, not accustomed to such a species of government, were not disposed to make the requisite allowances.

A small supply of 100,000 pounds a year could never be obtained by former kings from the jealous humour of parliament, and the English, of old nations in Europe, were the least accustomed to taxes: but this parliament, from the commencement of the war, according to some computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions; but were loaded with debts and encumbrances, which, during that age, were regarded as prodigious. If these computations should be thought much exaggerated, as they probably are, the taxes and impositions were certainly far higher than in any former state of the English government. All the former exactions and exaggerations are, at least, a proof of popular discontent.

But the disposal of this money was no less the object of general complaint against the parliament than the levying of it. The sum of 300,000 pounds they openly, it is affirmed, and divided among their own members. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of revenue was intrusted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of secreting whatever sums they pleased from the public treasury. These branches were needlessly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more intricate, to share the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds of which they were subject to no control.

The method of keeping accounts practised in the exchequer was confessedly the exactest, the most ancient, the best known, and the least liable to fraud. The exchequer of parliament consisted, from the beginning, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were subject to no controls.

The excuse was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over provinces, and the common necessaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at least one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered. To great numbers of royalty, all redress from these sequestrations was refused; to the rest, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compositions and subscribing the covenant, which they abhorred. Besides pitting the ruin and desolation of so many ancient and honourable families, indigent spectators could not but blame the hardship of punishing, with such severity, actions which the law, in its usual and most undisputed interpretation, strictly required of every subject.

The severity, too, exceeded against the episcopal clergy, naturally affected the royalty, and even all men of courage, in a sensible manner. By the most moderate computation, it appears that the whole clergy had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than that adhering to the civil and religious principles in which they had been educated, and for their attachment to those laws under whose countenance they had at first embraced that profession. To renounce episcopacy and the liturgy, and to subscribe the covenant, were only the terms which could save them from so rigorous a fate; and if the least mark of malignity, as it was called, or affection to the former, who so long had ever escaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted. The sacred character, which gives the priesthood such authority over mankind, becoming more venerable from the sufferings endured for the sake of principle by these distrest royals, aggrandized the general indignation against their persecutors.

But what excited the most universal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country committees. During the war, the discretionary power of these courts was excused from the plea of necessity: but the nation was reduced to despair, when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These could sequester, imprison, and execute, without law or remedy. They interposed in questions of private property. Under colour of malgrancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and sometimes to the innocent, they applied the death penalty.

Could any thing have increased the indignation against that slavery, into which the nation, from the too eager pursuit of liberty, had fallen, it must have been the reflection on the pretences by which the people had so long been deluded. The sanctified hypocrites, who called their oppressions the spoiling of the Egyptians, and their rigid severity the demum of the elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and frequent prayers, saved themselves from blushing by their pious groans, and, excused, in the name of the Lord, all their cruelty on men. An undisguised violence could be forgiven: but such a mockery of the understanding, such an abuse of religion, were, with men of penetration, objects of peculiar resentence.

The parliament, conscious of their decay in popularity, seeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to despair, and found all their resources much inferior to the pressing necessity. Leaving their seats, they resolved to place their strength of attachment to presbyterianism; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in wars, had by a late ordinance been put into hands in whom the people could confide. The assembly was now called out, and ordered to guard the lines which had been drawn round the city, in order to secure it against the king. A body of horse was ordered to instantly levies. Many officers, who had been cashier'd by the new model of the army, offered their service to the parliament. An army of 5000 men lay in the north under the command of General Poole, who was of the presbyterian faction; but these were too distant to be employed in so urgent a necessity. The forces destined for Ireland were quartered in the west; and though deemed faithful to the parliament, they also lay at a distance. Many inland garrisons were commanded by officers of the same party; but their troops, being so much dispersed, could at present be of no manner of service. The Scots were faithful friends, and zealous for presbytery and the covenant; but a long time was required ere they could collect their forces, and march to the assistance of the parliament.

Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy. The parliament pretended to have the sequestered clergymen employed on useful public business. Their authority is very considerable, not only in the matter of discipline, but in matters of finance. The sequestrations, however, seem much too large, especially as the sequestration, during the time of war, could not be accounted an otherwise an unnecessary and unmerited. But yet the same sum presently is assigned in another book, called Royal Treasures of the Church. See Trial, vol. iv. 417, ed. p. 361.

P. H. Clement walk's's History of Independency, p. 3. Holins gives the number of representations at Walker's, 535, of the presbyterian, and 345 of the papists; of the representatives of the former, there are 1298 in the House of Commons, and 201 in the Upper House of Lords; and, of the representatives of the latter, 621 in the Commons, and 261 in the Lords. Clement Walker's's History of Independency, p. 166. In the year 1647, there were 120,000 clergymen in England; and of these, 11,300 were sequestered. See Bishop, ed. vi. p. 306, and Part. Hist. vol. iv. p. 120.
In this situation, it was thought more prudent to submit, and by compliance to stop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled on the 8th June, and erased from the journal-book. This was the first symptom which the parliament gave of submission; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect all its ends, stopped at St. Albans, and entered into negotiation with their masters.

Here commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their communications on the subject, conveyed exactly what they deemed the parliament itself had set them, in their recent usurpations on the crown.

Every day they rose in their demands. If one claim was refused, they asked for still more; if they were rejected, they demanded what the army must have on certain other points. They appeared, in fact, more numerous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be satisfied. At first they pretended only to petition for what concerned themselves as soldiers; next, they must have a vindication of their character; then it was necessary that their enemies be punished: at last they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

They preserved, in words, all deference and respect to the parliament; but, in reality, insulted them and tyrannized over them. That assembly they pretended not to accuse: it was only evil counsellors, who seduced and betrayed it.

They proceeded so far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the parliament. Their names were Holli^, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotevorth, Sir William Johnston, Sir John Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nicholas. These were the very leaders of the presbyterian party.

They insisted, that these members should immediately be expelled from the parliament, and be cast into prison. The Commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed so far. The army observed to them, that the cases of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpose; that had eleven men among themselves not been given occasion for discourse, begged leave to retire from the House; and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission.

Preceding that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confusion, they required that all new levies should be stopped. The parliament complied with this demand.

There being no signs of resistance, the army, in order to save its own reputation, was removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches.

The whole situation appeared to him as a better situation than at Holdenby, and had attained some greater degree of freedom, as well as of consideration, with both parties.

All his friends had access to his presence: his correspondence with the queen was not interrupted: his chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the library: his children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham, where he then resided. He had not seen the Duke of Gloucester, his youngest son, and the Princess Elizabeth, since he left London, at the commencement of the civil disorders; nor the Duke of York, since he went to the Scottish army. He was gratified with the pleasures of a court and the tumult of a camp, more passionately loved his family, than did this good prince; and such an instance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwell, who was always ready to the tune of the army, very unwillingly, confessed that he had never been present at so tender a scene; and he extremely applauded the benignity which displayed itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of Charles.

That artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, e Rush. vol. v. p. 505. 547. Clarendon. vol. r. p. 45.
\footnote{a} Dunthorne. vol. ii. p. 80. b Ibid. vol. v. p. 704. c Ibid. p. 704. d Ibid. p. 592. 7, 9. e Ibid. p. 592. 594. 9. f Ibid. p. 704. 524. paid court to the king; and fortune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed again to smile upon him. The parliament, afraid of continuing any connection with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than formerly; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation. The chief officers were treated with regard, and spoke in all occasions of restoring him to his lawful situation, of removing all obstructions and refractories. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority were insisted on. The royalists every where entertained hopes of the restoration of more ancient authority; and some of them, who had been some hours in arms for the cause, and who had contributed very much to discourage the parliament, and to forward their submission.

The king began to feel of what consequence he was, that the nation thought he should be restored; and he was confident that all parties would, at length, have recourse to his lawful authority as the only remedy for the public disorders. You cannot be without me, said he, on several occasions; You cannot settle the nation but by my existence. A people without government and without liberty, a parliament without authority, an army without a legal master: distractions every where, terrors, oppressions, confusions; from himself in this condition, whether long or short, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquility.

Though Charles kept his ears open to all proposals, and expected to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the parliament, and that the irruptions of the people had still continued, he was never more desirous of being the representative of the nation, than that he would have the possession of the throne; he wished neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists; the two points to which the king had the most extreme reluctance. And they demanded that he should form some accommodation with the army; the event for which he most ardently longed.

His conjunction too seemed more natural with the generals, than with that usurping assembly, who had so long assumed the entire sovereignty of the state, and who had declared their resolution still to continue masters. By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an instance like this, at the scene of civil war. If they would offer the lieutenant of the Tower to Cromwell, the garter, the title of Earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpose were secretly conducted. Cromwell pretended to hearken to them; and was very ready to keep the door open for reconnoitration, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the king, who had no suspicion that one born a private gentleman could entertain the daring ambition of seizing a sceptre transmitted through a long line of monarchs, indulged hopes that he would, at last, embrace a measure which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him.

While Cromwell allowed the king by these expectations, he still continued his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and depriving them of all means of resistance. To gratify the army, the parliament invested Fairfax with the title of Duke of Cambridge, in England and Ireland; and intrusted the whole military authority to a person who, though well inclined to their service, was no longer at his own disposal. The parliament, afraid of this forming some accommodation, had censured it for Ireland, and desired the rebellious army should be disbanded, or, in other words, punished for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Ponte, had already mutinied against their general, and had entered into an association with that body of the army which was so

\footnote{a} Clarendon, vol. i. p. 51. 52. 57. \footnote{b} The time to have his children, the parliament also told him, that they could take such care of London, both of their hour and conduct, as the nation at Oxford. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 127. \footnote{c} Rush. vol. v. p. 500. \footnote{d} Warton. p. 265. Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 40. Clarendon. vol. r. p. 9.
successfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority.  They accused as authors of the tumult, were expelled; and most of them retired beyond sea: seven peers were impeached; the mass of the rest, together with the Speaker, submitted to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison: every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the eleventh so violent, that the city levies not only surrendered to the independents: regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Mews: and the parliament The army being reduced to a regular formed servitude, was the parliament at once, was appointed solemn thanksgiving for the restoration of their liberty.

The independent party among the Commons exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was now lodged in their hands; and they had a clear prospect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic which had long been the object of their wishes. They had secretly concurred in all encroachments of the military upon the civil power; and they expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the parliament, the prelates, had been guilty of errors since the commencement of these disorders: but it must be confessed, that this delusion of the independents was, of all others, the most contrary to common sense and the established maxims of policy. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Wilmot, St. John, Martyn, the men in England the most celebrated for prudence and humanity, and by their coloured pretences and professions, they had overreached the whole nation. To deceive such men, would argue a supererogative capacity in Cromwell; were it not that, besides the great difference there is between dark, crooked councils and true wisdom, an exorbitant passion for rule and authority will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of such measures as seem to tend, in any degree, to their own advantage.

The leaders of the army having established their dominion over the parliament and cut, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-court, and he lived, for some time, in that palace with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such equality of temper did he possess, that, during all the variety of fortune which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and though a prisoner, in the bands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported, towards all who approached him, the majesty of a monarch; and that neither with less nor greater state than he had been accustomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itself popular or gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekness and equity.

The parliament was informed of the application to him, and presented him with the same conditions which they had offered at Newcastle. The king declared accepting them, and desired the parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and make the necessary orders for settling the public estate. He still entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success; though every thing, in that particular, daily bore a worse aspect.

Most historians have thought that Cromwell never was sincere in his professions; and that, having by force rendered himself master of the king's person, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royalists, he had employed these advantages to the clearing of the parliament and afterwards thought of nothing but the establishment of his own unlimited authority, with which he esteemed the restoration, and even life of the king, altogether incompatible. This opinion, so much warranted by the boundless ambition and profound dis-

simulation of his character, meets with ready belief; though it is more agreeable to the narrowness of human views, and the darkness of futurity, to suppose that this daring usurper was guided by events, and did not yet foresee, with any assurance, that unparalleled greatness which he afterwards attained.

Many writers of that age have asserted, that he really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a measure which carried the most plausible
Intelligence being daily brought to the king, of menaces thrown out by the agitators, he began to think of retiring from Hampton-court, and of putting himself in some place of safety. The guards were trusted to the promiscuous concourse of people restrained; a more jealous care exercised in attending his person; all under colour of protecting him from danger; but really with a view of preventing him from escaping in his present situation. These artifices soon produced the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be swayed by counsel, and who had not then access to any good counsel, took suddenly a resolution of withdrawing himself, though without any concert, at least without any constitutional, leave for the future possession of his person.

11th Nov. Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-court; and his escape was not discovered till the following day when one of those who ensured his safety, his chamber found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. All night he travelled through the forest, and arrived next day at Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton's, where the countess dowager resided, a woman of honour, to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. Before he arrived at this place, he had come to the sea coast; and expressed great anxiety, that a ship which he seemed to look for had not arrived; and thence, Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the secret, conjectured that his intention was to transport himself beyond sea.

The king could not hope to remain concealed at Titchfield; what measure should next be embraced was the question. In the

neighbourhood lay the Isle of Wight, of which Lord Clarendon was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwell, was the son and ward of that renowned daughter of the famous Hambden, who, during his lifetime, had been an intimate friend of Cromwell, and whose memory was ever respected by him. These circumstances were very acceptable; yet, because the king had great dread of Dr. Hammond, he thought proper to have recourse to him in the present exigency, when no other rational expectation of safety could be entertained by him. The king and Berckley were despatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place where the king was concealed, till they had first obtained a promise from him not to deliver up his majesty, though the parliament and the army should require him; but to restore him to liberty, if he could oot protect him. This promise, it is evident, would have been a very slender security; yet, as was thought, Leg, Ashburnham, imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield; and the king was obliged to put himself into his hands, and to attend him to Carisbrooke-castle, in the Isle of Wigt, where, though received with great demonstrations of respect and affection, he was still under a suspicion.
Cromwell, being now entirely master of the parliament, and free from all anxiety with regard to the custody of the king's person, applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army, which he himself had so unfruitfully raised, and to restore the necessary instruments of government, both in the state, and by various measures against both king and parliament. In order to engage the troops into a rebellion against their masters, he had encouraged an arrogant spirit among the inferior officers and private men, and by the threat of misfortune against the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics, for the settlement of the state, were even forcefully employed against both king and parliament. In order to engage the troops into a rebellion against their masters, he had encouraged an arrogant spirit among the inferior officers and private men, and by the threat of misfortune against the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics, for the settlement of the state, were even forcefully employed against both king and parliament.

Treasurier and Assessor would, by the general voice of mankind, be indisputably ascribed to the actors in such a villany. Some unexpected procedure must be attempted, which would astonish the world by its novelty, would bear the semblance of justice, and would cover its barbarity by the audaciousness of the enterprise. Striking in with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, it would ensure the devoted obedience of the army, and serve as a general engagement against the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would so herculeanly affront and injure.

This measure, therefore, being secretly resolved on, it was requisite, by the king, to the state, and to conduct them from violence to violence, till this last act of atrocious iniquity should seem in a manner wholly inevitable. The king, in order to remove those fears and probabilities, which were perfectly pleaded as reasons for every invasion of the constitution, had offered, by a message sent from Carisbrooke-castle, to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices; provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown. But the parliament acted entirely as victors and enemies; and, in all their transactions with him, paid no longer any regard to equity or reason. At the instigation of the independents and army, they neglected his office and powers, and being now fully reduced to subjection, he proposed to make, for the future, the instruments of his authority. But the tenders, for so that party in the army was called, had no longer any effect in the court, and were not de facto made, and he was not divided of it. They secretly continued their meetings; they asserted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, needed reformation; several arguments gained in solemn remonstrances and petitions. Separate rendezvous were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confusion. But this distemper was soon cured by the rough but dexterous hand of Cromwell. He chose the opportunity of a return to the city, and spread the terror of the war. He seized the ringleaders before their companions: held in the field a council of war; shot one mutineer instantly; and struck such dread into the rest, that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition, which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wanted discipline and obedience.

Cromwell had great deference for the counsels of Ireton; a man who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the samt, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they served no end, and the most unshodded license in human society. Fierce in his nature, though probably sincere in his intentions, he proposed by arbitrary power to establish liberty, and in prosecution of his imagined religious purposes, he thought himself dispensed from all the ordinary rules of morality by which inferior mortals must allow themselves to be governed. From his suggestion, Cromwell secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himself, and other inspired persons, (for the officers of this army received instruction with thePRESSION of the Parliament,) was first opened the daring and unheard-of counsel, of bringing the king to justice, and of punishing, by judicial sentence, their sovereign, for his pretended tyranny and mal-administration. With these lives lived in prison, conspiracies, they knew, and insurrections, would never be wanting in favour of a prince, who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and esteem. Cromwell thought it unbecoming the person in any case to be deprived of his property, imprisonment, conspiracies, they knew, and insurrections, would never be wanting in favour of a prince, who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and esteem. The proclamation, which the House of Commons, on the 27th of November, had published against the king, was received by the army with the utmost approbation, and the highest gratitude. Cromwell, in a council of war, very justice his name was not publicly mentioned. Cromwell, in a council of war, very justice his name was not publicly mentioned.

The king regarded the pretension as unexampled, and exorbitant, that he should make such concessions to the army for settlement; and should boldly try his enemies for the conditions which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a personal treaty with the parliament, and desired, that all the terms on both sides should be adjusted, before any concession on either side should be mustered on. The republican party in the House pretended to take fire at this answer; and openly inveighed, in violent terms, against the person and government of the king; whose name, at the same time, renounced for the future the power of making peers within the power of parliament, without consent of parliament. Only the fourth, he gave the two Houses power to adjourn as they thought proper: a demand seemingly of no great importance, but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places where it should remain in perpetual subjection to the army.

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nate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those who, at the expense of their blood, had hitherto defended the parliament from so many dangers, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition in this vigorous measure. "Teach them not," added he, "by your neglecting your own safety and that of the kingdom, (in which theirs too is involved,) to imagine themselves abandoned, and their interests abandoned to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom, for your sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware, (and at these words he laid his hand on his sword,) beware of doing that which may cause the security by some other means than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety." Such arguments prevailed, though ninety-one members had still the courage to oppose. It was voted that no more addresses be made to the king, nor any letters or messages be received from him; and that it be treason for any one, without leave of the two Houses, to have any intercourse with him. The Lords concurred in the same ordinance.

By this vote of non-addresses, (so it was called,) the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. So violent a measure was supported by the demand of the Commons for less violent measures. The blackest calamities were then thrown upon the king; such as, even in their famous remonstrance, they thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: the poisoning of John Doe, the burning of Hoche, and the converting Irish massacre. By blazing his fame, laid that injury in their power, they formed a very proper prelude to the executing of violence on his person. No sooner had the king refused his assent to the four bills, than Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and shut him up in close confinement. The king afterwards showed to Sir Philip Warwick a decrepit old man, who, he said, was not capable of fire, and was the best company he enjoyed, during several months that this rigorous confinement lasted. No amusement was allowed him, nor society, which might relieve his anxious thoughts: to be speedily poisoned or assassinated was the only prospect which he had every moment before his eyes: for he entertained no apprehension of a judicial sentence and execution; an event of which no history hitherto furnished an example. Meanwhile, the parliament was very industrious in publishing, from time to time, the intelligence which they received from Hammond; how cheerful the king was, how pleased with every one that approached him, how satisfied in his present condition as if the view of their present slavery and captivity neither made him proper to infirmity, than alacrity, the general compassion of the people. The great source whence the king derived consolation amidst all his calamities, was undoubtedly religious; in which, he seems to have had nothing fierce or gloomy, nothing which enraged him against his adversaries, or terrified him with the dismal prospect of futurity. While every thing around him bore a hostile aspect; while friends, family, relations, whom he passionately loved, were placed at a distance, and unable to serve him; he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose seventy, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of unexhausted favour.

The parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which they had obtained, with so much violence and injustice. Combinations and conspiracies, they were sensible, were everywhere forming around them; and Scotland, whence the king’s cause had received the first fatal disaster, seemed now to support and advance it. Before the surrender of the king’s person at Newcastle, and much more since that event, the subjects of discontent had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all measures for opposing the parliament, and the presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scottish commissioners, who, joined to a committee of English Lords and Commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was proposed in parliament to give them thanks for their services and good offices. The independents insisted, that the words good offices should be struck out; and thus the whole brotherly and friendly intercourse between the two states of Scotland was turned itself into an acknowledgment of their being well-bred gentlemen.

The advance of the army to London, the submission of the parliament to the seige of the king at Holdenhuy, his confinement in Carisbrooke castle, were so many blows sensibly felt by that nation, as threatening the final overthrow of presbytery, to which they were so passionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called in the House of Commons an almanack out of date; and Scots priests, though complained of, had passed unencestred. Instead of being able to determine and establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, they saw the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with the utmost abhorrence. All the violations put on the king, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, and to the institution of the crown. And those very actions of which they themselves had been guilty, they denounced as treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party.

The First Lords, Holles, Lauderdale, and Lanerc, who were sent to London, protested against the four bills; as containing too great a diminution of the king’s civil power, and providing no security for religion. They complained, that notwithstanding this protestation, the bills were still persisted in; and contrary to the solemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the English commissioners to the isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king, for arming Scotland.

Three parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland: the Royalists, who insisted upon the restoration of the king’s authority, without any regard to religious sect or tenet of church government; the Presbyterians, though complaining of, had passed unencestred. Instead of being able to determine and establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, they saw the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with the utmost abhorrence. All the violations put on the king, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, and to the institution of the crown. And those very actions of which they themselves had been guilty, they denounced as treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party.

When Pendennis castle was surrendered to the parliamentarians, the king, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generously determined to remember ancient favours, more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and success, the protection of the royal cause. He obtained a vote from the Scottish parliament to arm 40,000 men in support of the king’s authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster. And though he openly protested, that the covenant was the foundation of all national security, he had entered into correspondence with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England.

The general assembly who sat at the same time, and was guided by Argyle, dreaded the consequence of these measures, and foresaw that the opposite party, if successful, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of presbytery. The king, before he had subscibed the covenant was, in their eyes, to restore him to his honour before Christ had obtained his ; and they thundered out anathemas against every one who paid obedience to the parliament. Two supreme independent judicaries were erected in the kingdoms;
one threatening the people with damnation and eternal torments; the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were distracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton’s party, though seconded by all the civil power, went on but slowly. The royalists he would not as yet allow to join him, lest he might give offence to the ecclesiastical party; though he secretly promised them trust and preference as soon as his victory should be complete. While the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, and disorders. It is said that the people gave, from their prejudices in government; because the new settlement, jealous and insecure, must commonly be supported with more expense and severity than the old: but on no occasion was the truth of this maxim more sensibly felt, than in the present situation of England. Complaints against the oppression of ship-money, against the tyranny of the star-chamber, had roused the people to arms; and having gained a complete victory over the crown, they found themselves loaded with a multitude of taxes, formerly known: and scarcely an appearance of law and liberty remained in the administration. The presbyterians, who had chiefly supported the war, were enraged to find the prize, just when it seemed within their reach, snatched from them by violence from the royalists. The royalty, disappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment which the king now received from the army, were strongly animsted to restore him to liberty, and their efforts were unavailing. All the eleven impeachments were revoked, and the king himself, by which they were expelled, was reversed. The vote too of non-addresses was repealed; and commissioners, five Peers and ten Commons, were sent to Newport in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king. He was allowed to summon, but not to choose, his Parliament; his bill against the trading and shipping of the people, that he might have their advice in this important transaction. The theologians on both sides, armed with their syllogisms and quotations, attended as auxiliaries. By them the idea of the superiority of the crown was maintained, and the assurance was but a bad prognostic of its extinction. Any other instruments seemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

When the king presented himself to this company, a great and sensible alteration was remarked in his aspect, from what it appeared the year before, when he resided at Hampton-court. The moment his servants had been removed, he laid aside all care of his person, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely grey; either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows, under which he laboured, and which, it is said, inwardly and tenderly, made him prey upwardly on his sensible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compassion, and perhaps even his enemies, that grey and discrowned head, as he himself terms it, in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic. Having in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adversaries, it now behoved him, by reasoning and persuasion, to save some fragments of it from these peaceable, and no less implacable, negociators.

The vigour of the king’s mind, notwithstanding the seeming decline of his body, here appeared unchanged and decayed. The parliamentary commissioners would allow none of his counsel to be present, and refused to enter into reasoning with any but himself. He alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both Houses; and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was the scene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated understanding, a clear and luminous imagination, by these accomplishments he triumphed in all discussions of cold and temperate reasoning. The king is much changed, said the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: He is extremely trifling; and of the same opinion, Sir Philip; he was always so: but you are now at last sensible

The establishment of the army was at this time 26,000 men; but by enlarging supernumeraries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly consisted of more than double stating, and thus increased the cord of Hennamer’s regiment, 2500 men, and sent them to Pembroke, and were there closely besieged, and soon after taken by Cromwell. Lambert was opposed to Langrave and Musgrave in the north, and gained their adherents. Sir Michael Livesey defeated the Earl of Holland at Kingston, and, pursuing his victory, took him prisoner at St. Neots. Fairfax, having routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, followed the broken army; and when they joined the royalists of Essex, and threw themselves into Colchester, he had siege to that place, which defended itself to the last extremity. A new fleet was manned and set out under the command of Warwick, to oppose the revolting ships of which the prince had taken the command.

While the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its renewed courage and spirit. The victorious army, which had withdrawn, from terror of the army, returned; and infusing boldness into their companions, restored to the presbyterian party the ascendant which it had formerly lost. The collection of the money which had been raised by proclamation, and for which the king had been rejected, was a triumph, by which they were expelled, was reversed. The vote too of non-addresses was repealed; and commissioners, five Peers and ten Commons, were sent to Newport in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king. He was allowed to summon, but not to choose, his Parliament; his bill against the trading and shipping of the people, that he might have their advice in this important transaction. The theologians on both sides, armed with their syllogisms and quotations, attended as auxiliaries. By them the idea of the superiority of the crown was maintained, and the assurance was but a bad prognostic of its extinction. Any other instruments seemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

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him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation induced him to go as far in both these particulars, as he thought anywise consistent with the exigencies of reason.

The estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost entirely under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented that they should pay such compositions as the law required. He prevented the king only begged that they might be made as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent, that a certain number of their friends should be allowed to serve in the army, militia, and other employments. But when the parliament demanded a bill of atonement and punishment against seven persons, the Marquess of Newcastle, Lord Digby, Lord Biron, Sir Marwood Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Dodg- 

Donnington, and Judge Jenkyns, the king absolutely refused compliance: their demand for a limited time he was willing to agree to.

Religion was the final point about which the differences had arisen; and of all others, it was the least susceptible of composition or moderation between the contending parties. The parliament insisted on the establishment of presbyteries, the sale of the church lands, the abolition of all forms of government in the church; and the king offered to refer every thing which he did not esteem of apostolical institution: he was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebends, causes: he offered, that the church lands, and all other offices made by parliament, should be valid, unless the whole treaty of pacification were concluded. He agreed that the parliament should retain, during the term of twenty years, the power over the militia and army, and that of levying what money they pleased for their support. He even yielded to them the right of remunerating, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they should find good reason for it, and that no contract made by consent should be valid, unless the whole treaty of pacification were concluded.

He agreed, that all the great offices, during twenty years, should be held by both houses of parliament. He also compromised with them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of 100,000 pounds a year in lieu of it. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal, and agreed to give them over his own, as a sort of accommodation. He abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament: and he agreed that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

The king was accordingly confirmed in the English constitution by this treaty, that the king said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any thing in his life.

Of all the demands of the parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would not give up his friends to punishment, nor deers what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe renunciation, which he had undergone, for abandoning Strafford, had no doubt, confirmed him in his resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions had contributed to rivet
pect them and himself from so dangerous an enemy. But the terms on which they insisted were so rigorous, that the king, fearing no worse from the most implacable enemies, was not so readily exclaimed to a conciliator. And so great, was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests, rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From them having used up the artifices of the independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were everywhere subdued; and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purposes.

Civil war and attempts to recover those great views

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous, though undisciplined, army, pressed not unite his forces with those of Langdale; because the English royals had refused to take the covenant; and the Scottish presbyterians, though engaged for the king, refused to join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, though at some distance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army, under Cromwell, oblige the covenanters to consult their own safety, by a close union with the royals. When principles are so absurd and so destructive of human society, it may safely be averred, that the more sincere and the more disinterested they are, they only become the more ruinous and the more odious.

Cromwell feared not to oppose 8000 men, to the numerous armies of 20,000, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by surprise, near Preston in Lancashire, and was driven by the covenanters in a heavy action, yet, not being succoured in time by their federates, they were almost entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Uttoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner. Cromwell followed his advantage; and, marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed Lamere, Montrose, and other moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of his own party. The execration of the ecclesiastical authority, exalted above the civil, exerted the severest vengeance on all who had a share in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called; nor could any of that party recover trust, or even live in safety, but by doing solemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of parliament, in defence of their lawful sovereign.

The Chancellor London, who had, at first, countenanced Hamilton's enterprise, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had, some time before, gone over to the other party; and he now openly in the church, though invested with the highest civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he then refused to recognize. He also had, with many tears, and such pathetical addresses to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that a universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience.

The loan of great sums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted from all such as by any suspicion of favouring the king's party; though their conduct had been ever so inoffensive. This was a device, fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they said, to reach Heart Malignants. Never, in this island, was known a more severe and arbitrary government, than was generally exercised by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

The siege of Colchester terminated in a manner so less unfortunate than Hamilton's engagement for the royal cause. After suffering the utmost extremities of famine, after feeding on the vilest algums, the garrison desired, at last, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to surrender at discretion; and he gave such an explanation of these terms, as to reserve to himself power, if he pleased, to put them in the place of his soldiers. The officers endeavoured, though in vain, to persuade the soldiers, by making a vigorous sally, in break through, at least to sell their lives as dear as possible. They were obliged to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, instigated by Ireton, to whom Cromwell, in his absence, committed over the

government of the passive general, seized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, and resolved to make them instant sacrifices to military justice. This unusual severity was approved by all the leading generals; Col. Capel, fearful of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on both of them. Sir John Hotham was at first shot, and he himself gave orders to fire, with the same alacrity as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Lisle instantly ran and kissed the dead body, then cheerfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the sirdens, destined for this execution, stood them the greater a comfort to them to come nearer: one of them replied, I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you: he answered, smiling, Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me. Thus perished this generous spirit, not less beloved for his modesty and humanity, than esteemed for his courage and military conduct.

Soon after, a gentleman appearing in the king's presence, clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas; that humane prince, suddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him; he dissolved into a flood of tears.

By these multiplied successes of the army, they had subdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpless king and parliament, to oppose their violent measures. From Cromwell's suggestion, a remonstrance was drawn by the council of state, and presented to the parliament. They there complained of the treaty with the king; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war; require a dissolution of the present parliament, and assert, that though servants, they are entitled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the same time, they advanced with the army to Windsor, and sent Colonel Eure to seize the king and his person at Hurst-castle in the neighbourhood, where he was detained in strict confinement.

This measure being foreseen some time before, the king was exhorted to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: but having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after, he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating that promise. In vain was it urged, that a promise given in the parliament could no longer be binding; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound in no tie or engagement. The kind and humane refections of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects; and was resolved, that what depredateions soever fortune should commit upon him, she never should forgive him of his honour.

The parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger with which they were so nearly menaced. Though without any plan for resisting military usurpations, they resolved to withstand them to the uttermost; and rather to bring on a violent and visible subversion of government, than lend their authority to those illegal and sanguinary measures which they proposed. They set aside the remonstrance of the army, without design to answer it; they voted the sitting of the king's person to be without their consent, and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprise had been executed; and they issued orders, that the army should advance no nearer to London.

Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party seconded his magnificent spirit. It was professed by them all, and this party everywhere; that they should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament.

But the parliament was dealing with men who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any enemical delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax,
for he still allowed them to employ his name,) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Mews, St. James’s, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their hostile armaments.

The parliament, destitute of all hopes of prevailing, returned, however, courage to resist. They attempted, in the name of the nation, to detain the army with the king’s name, and though they had formerly voted his concessions with regard to the church and delineants to be unsatisfactory, they now took into consideration the final resolution with regard to their persons. After a sitting of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, in the House of Commons, that the king’s concessions were a foundation for the Houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. When the Commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had enclosed the House with two regiments; and, directed by Lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage forty-one members of the House of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a judget room, which passed by the appellation of hell; whence they were afterwards carried to several mans. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and the most determined of the independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This invasion of the parliament commonly passed under the name of Colonel Pride’s march, which opposed was a motion to make a war with the disaffection of those members, who had violently arrested the whole authority of government; and deprived the king of his legal prerogatives.

This same degree of the extremity, if this diminutive assembly desire that honourable name, retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king’s concern for the people, and for the safety and well-being of the nation, and the necessity of the measure agreed upon; and, in short, they determined that no member, absent at this last vote, should be received, till he subscribed it as agreeable to his judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-addresses. And they ordered the person of Mr. William Waller, Sir John Covel, the general Massey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a purged volun. 

The seceding members having published a paper, containing an account of the violence which had been exercised upon them, and a protestation, that all acts were void, which from that time had been transacted in the House of Commons, the remaining members encountered it with a decree to the effect, that they pronounced it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom. These sudden and violent revolutions filled the whole nation in terror and astonishment. Every man dreaded to be tampered with, in the contention between those mighty powers which disputed for the sovereignty of the state. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond sea; foreigners scrambled to give any credit to a people, so torn by domestic faction, and oppressed by military usurpation; even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to stagnate. And in order to remedy these growing evils, the generals, in the name of the army, published a declaration, in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice.

The more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into consideration a scheme, called The agreement for the peace; being the plan of a treaty to be substiuted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this scheme, for correcting the inequalities of the representative, are plausible; and the nation been disposed to receive it, or had the army intended to impose it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and savour strongly of that fanciful spirit so prevalent throughout the kingdom.

The height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this period was every measure precipitated by the zealots and tenders. The parliament, by the leaders of that party had intended that the army, themselves, should execute that daring enterprise; and they deemed so irregular and lawless a deed best fitted to such irregular and lawless measures. The people, however, renewed their address, and proposed the king’s taking into consideration the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition. In the House of Commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king. On the report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a High Court of Justice, to try Charles for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the House of Peers.

The House of Peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of small account; but it had lately, since the king’s fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. It happened this time that besides the number of fifteen, of which there were assembled, to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower House, and adjourned themselves to the next day, for the purpose of being able to retard the furious career of the Commons.

The Commons were not to be stopped by this so small an obstacle. Having first established a general council, which is noble in its spirit and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, That the people are the origin of all just power; they next declared, that the Commons of England, assembled in parliament, and no other than such chosen by the people, are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the Commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of king or House of Lords. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, as too, they called him, was again read, and unanimously assented to.

In proportion to the enormity of the violations and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity as those regarded. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell in the House, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; and whatever he have done afterwards, I would have punished it. I will pray to God for a blessing on your councils; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even myself, I had no such passions. When there was treachery, I was open to the supervision of the king, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, has sent to my supplications." A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the king’s presence; and falling on his knees, the king, in a passionate appeal, declared that the blood I have indeed seen to you, replied Charles, embracing him. No further intercourse was allowed between them. The king was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and prognosticated, that in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

Charles himself was assured, that the period of his life...
was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the prepa-

rations which were making, and the intelligence which he received, he could not, even yet, believe that his enemies really meant to conclude their violations by a public trial and execution. A private assassination he every moment looked for, and, though Harrison assured him, that his apprehensions were entirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as in his character, the scene was painful. All the external symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. At first, he was shocked with instances of rudeness and familiarity, to which he had been used in his own person, and which were at first intended in the number: but as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the king for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some Peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England. Darnal, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

It is remarkable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and said: 'He lays not what he is to be hanged. When the change was read against the king, In the name of the people of England; the same voice exclaimed, not a tenth part of them. Acted the officer, who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came; it was discovered that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them. She was a person of noble extraction, daughter of Horace, Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced, by the false promises of love, her husband's band's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequence of all his boasted victories.

The king's trial, as this transaction corresponded to the greatest conception that is suggested in the annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the Commons, represented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and intrusted with a limited power; yet nevertheless from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The king, though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two Houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and ere this time, to have been restored to his liberty; that he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper House, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned, that even the Commons, whose authority was pretended, were subdues by lawless force, and were bereaved of their liberty: that he himself was their native hereditary king; nor was the whole authority of the military, which he was committed to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of heaven; that, admitting those extravagant principles which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power derived from the people; unless the appearance of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained: that he acknowledged, without scruple, that he had a trust committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable; he was intrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognising a power founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights for which, though in vain, he had so long contended: that those who arrogated a title to sit as his judges, were born his subjects, and born subjects to those laws, which determined, that the king can do no wrong: that he was not reduced to the necessity of sheltering himself under the protection of any thing but the English monarch, even the least deserving; but was able, by the most satisfactory reasons, to justify those measures, in which he had been engaged: that to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was desirous, if called upon in a manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse; but that, in order to preserve a uniformity of conduct, he must at present forego the only source of his innocence; lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the constitution.

The president, in order to support the majesty of the people, and maintain the supremacy of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated, that he must not decline the authority of his judges; that they overruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of every lawful power; and that kings themselves acted but in trust from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction. Even according to those principles, in which the king was placed he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behaviour in general will appear not a little harsh and barbarous; but when we consider him as a subject, and one too of no high character, his address, addressed to his unfortunate nation, in a style will be esteemed, to the last degree, audacious and insolent.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament; they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two Houses; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son: but the court refused compliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice.

It is confessed, that the king's behaviour, during this last scene of his life, does honour to his memory; and that in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince, or as a man. He maintained, in each reply, the utmost perspicuity and justice both of thought and expression; mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affection, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and injustice. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice. "Why, fools! said the king, to one of his attendants; for a little money they would do as much
against their commanders. Some of them were permitted to go the utmost length of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face, as he was conducted along the passage to the court. To exact a sentiment of party was the only effect which this inhuman insult was able to produce upon him.

The people, though under the rod of lawless unlimited power, could not forbear, with the most ardent prayers, pouring forth their wishes for his preservation; and, in his presence, to commend him, to their generous clamours for their monarch, whom, in their misguided fury, they had before so violently rejected.

The king was softened at this moving scene, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful attention. One soldier, too, sustained by constant hours sympathy, demanded from Heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty: his officer, overhearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the king's presence. The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence: this was the reflection which Charles formed on that occasion. As soon as the intention of trying the king was known in foreign countries, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of undisguised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French, especially, by orders from the court, interposed in the king's behalf: the Dutch employed their good offices: the Scots exclaimed and protested against the violence: the queen, the prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless, with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richard, Herbert, Southampton, Lindsey, applied to the king, and procured that authority represented they were the king's best councillors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: that in the eye of the law, and according to the rules of common justice, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blamable action of the prince: and that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honour; but contributed nothing towards the king's safety.

The people remained in that silence and astonishment which with all great passions, when they have not an opportunity of exerting themselves, naturally produce in the human mind. The soldiers being incessantly plagued with prayers, sermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a determination to hasten their own ruin, to such acts of the most extreme disloyalty towards their prince, consisted their greatest merit in the eye of Heaven.

Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution. The interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester; for the Duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant: the princess, notwithstanding her tender years, showed an advanced judgment; and the calumnies of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many pious consolations and advices, the king gave her in charge to tell the queen, that, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal goodness and his life should have an equal duration. To the young duke, too, he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was about to perform his sovereign duty. Holding him on his knees, he was about to say, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words the child looked very steadfastly upon him. "Mark, child! what I say: they will cut off my head, and execute a sentence of pest: yet I say, though I am a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at last! Therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them!" The duke, sighing, replied, "I will be born in pieces first." So determined an answer, from one of such tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

Every night, during this interval, the king slept sound as usual; though the noise of crowds, the noise of framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually resounded in his ears. The morning of the fatal day he rose early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him so as to make him look as great and solemn as possible. Bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues by which the king himself was so much distinguished, assisted him in his devotions, and paid the last melancholy duties to his friend and sovereign.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution: for it was intended, by choosing that very place, in sight of his own palace, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty. When the king came upon the scaffold, he was found so surrounded with soldiers, that be could not but be heard by the crowd. They addressed therefore his discourse to the few persons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had wrought an intense compassion. He justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had enlisted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preserve the constitution of the kingdom. He deputed his power towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorting them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor, and of advising the people who were preparing for the block, Bishop Juxon called him, "Thou art, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from your present room to the place of your body; and then you will have the greatest joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory."

"I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can have place." At one blow he was prepared for his fate. The workmen, in the full triumph of success and victory, were more dear to his people, than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy prince. In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himself, either with active dissoluteness towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppressed cause. On weaker minds, the effect of their example was insensible; and if they were said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb: others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their grave: now, some, unmindful of their own lives, were so confused by the loss of their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pullets were bedewed with unsuborned
tears; those pulps, which had formerly thundered out the voices of impiety and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical partizans, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long discredited those works of piety and piety of which they had torn an indefinable stain upon the nation.

A fresh instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the king's death. The generous Fairfax, not content with the epithet of a good prince, which he had given to the king, on which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed personation with his own regiment, though none else would follow him, to rescue the king from his disloyal murderers. Cromwell and Hopton, who had opposed him, were persuaded to recog- nize him that the Lord had rejected the king; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven on this important occasion; but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted, with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and provo- cant answer, which heaven had sent to their devout supplications.2

The character of this prince, as that of most men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly speaking, his imperfections: for scarce any of his faults rose to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To consider him in the most favourable light, it may be affirmed that his dignity was free from pride, his humanity from weakness, his bravery from rashness, his temperance from austerity, his sagacity from jealousy, his suitableness from prolixity, his judgment from excess, his memory from forgetfulness, his temper from impetuousness, his judgment from harshness, his life from intemperance, his government from blindness, his actions from excess, his virtue from insincerity, his knowledge from obscurity, his piety from ostentation, his virtue from uncouthness, his reputation from turbulence, his humanity from indifferency. If it be granted that he was not without imperfections, and that his judgment and practice sometimes did not correspond to his understanding, the defects were of such a nature as may be cured by experience, and such as are to be regretted, but not imputed to his character.

To speak the most harshly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with some latent frailty, which, though seemingly inconsiderable, was able, when seconded by the extreme inactivity of his fortune, to disappoint them of all their influence: his beneficient disposition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tempered with a disposition not free from hesitation, was disfigured by a deference to persons of a capacity inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him from hasty and precipitate resolutions. He deserved to be reproached with a too frequent breach of promise; and was more fitted to rule in a regular established government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular assembly, or finally to subdue their pretensions. He wanted suppleness and dexterity sufficient for the first measure; he was not equal to take the second, to curb the rising ferment of the people. But he had been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious; had the limitations on preroga- tive been in his time quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard as sacred the boundaries of the consti- tution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period when the precedents of many former reigns savoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so pernicious a situation, he may be excused; since even after the event, when it is commonly easy to discern, he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxton, with a very earnest accent, the single word Rem- ember, great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals vehemently im- persuaded him that he should not doubt the king's meaning. Juxton told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgive- ness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last hours of his life, to sign the commission of which they would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his grand- children.

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This prince was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy, aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned. In a word, being of a natural frame, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior, as well as many of the essential, qualities which form an accomplished prince.

The history of Charles I. is a question, whether the people, in any case, were entitled to judge and to punish their sovereign; and most men, regarding chiefly the atrocious usurpation of the pretended judges, and the manner in which the sentence was executed, were inclined to condemn the republican principle as highly sedulous and extravagant: but there still were a few who, abstracting from the particular circumstances of this case, were able to consider the question in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradictory, the prevailing sentiment. Such might have been their reasoning. If ever, on any occasion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace, it must be confessed, that the doctrine of resistance affords an example: if all speculative consideration ought to be observed, with regard to this principle, the same cautious silence, which the laws in every species of government have ever prescribed to themselves. Government is, in order to reconcile the fury and detestation of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to weaken, by these speculations, the reverence which the multitude owe to authority, and to instruct them beforehand, that the case can ever occur, that they may be prepared and ready for it. Or should it be found impossible to restrain the license of human disquisitions, it must be acknowledged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be inculcated, and that the exceptions, which are rare, ought seldom or never to be mentioned in popular reasonings and discourses. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reserve, should universally degenerate into licentiousness. For when the exception really occurs, even though it be not previously expected and descanted on, it must, from its very nature, be so obvious and undisputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the restraint, however great, imposed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But between resisting a prince and detesting him, there is a wide interval; and the abuses of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are greater and more enormous than those which will justify the former. History, however, supplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the supposition, though, for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, must, by all candid inquirers, be acknowledged in the past. But between detesting a prince and resisting him, there is a wide interval; and it was not strange, if even men of the most enlarged thought should question, whether human nature could ever in any monarch reach that height of depravity, as to warp, in uncontrolled hands, this last act of extraordinary jurisdiction. That illusion, if it be an illusion, which teaches us to pay a sacred regard to the persons of princes, is so salutary, that to dissipate it by the formal trial and punishment of a sovereign, will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than those which will justify the former. History, however, supplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the supposition, though, for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, must, by all candid inquirers, be acknowledged in the past. When between resisting a prince and detesting him, there is a wide interval; and the abuses of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are greater and more enormous than those which will justify the former. History, however, supplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the supposition, though, for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, must, by all candid inquirers, be acknowledged in the past. When
and on the pedestal these words were inscribed: Exuit
TYRANNUS, REGNUM ULTIMUS: The tyrant is gone, the last of
the kings.

Duke Hamilton was tried by a new high court of jus-
tice, which sat in an appeal, and for the first time in
England, in the twelfth, and indeed one of the great-
some for treason. This sentence, which was certainly hard, but
which ought to save his memory from all imputations of
treachery to his master, was executed on a scaffold erected
before Westminster-hall. Lord Capel underwent the
same fate. Both these men had escaped from prison,
but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the
solicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and
parliamentary leaders still replied, that it was certainly
the purpose of Providence they should suffer; since it
had permitted them to fall into the hands of their enemies,
after they had once recovered their liberty.

The Earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence.
Though of a polite and curious behaviour, he died im-
olated by no party. His ingratitude to the king, and his
frequent changing of sides, were regarded as great
stains on his memory. The Earl of Norwich, and Sir John
Owen, being condemned by the same court, were par-
doned by the Commons.
The king left six children; three males, Charles, born
in 1630, James, Duke of York, born in 1633, Henry,
Duke of Gloucester, born in 1641; and three females,
Mary, Princess of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born
1635, and Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, born
at Exeter, 1644.
The Archbishops of Canterbury in this reign were
Albemarle, Lord-Lieutenant; the Bishop of Lincoln,
Lord Coventry, Lord Finch, Lord Latimer, and
Sir Richard Lane; the high admirals, the Duke of Buck-
ingham, and the Earl of Northumberland; the treasurer,
The Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, Juson,
Bishop of London, and Lord Cottinon; the secretaries
of state, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir
Henry Vane, Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, and Sir Ed-
ward Nicholas.

It may be expected, that we should here mention the
Icon Boulivi', a work published in the king's name a few
days after his execution. It seems almost impossible, in
the controverted parts of history, to say any thing which
will satisfy the zealous of both parties: but with regard to
the genuineness of that production, it is not easy for an
historian to fix any opinion which will be entirely to his
own satisfaction. The proofs brought to enforce this
work is or is not the king's are so convincing, that if an
impartial reader were on one side apart, he would feel it
impossible that arguments could be produced, sufficient
to counterbalance so strong an evidence: and when he
compares both sides, he will be some time at a loss to fix
any thing as a standard. Should an absolute suspension of
judgment be found difficult or disagreeable in so interesting a
question, I must confess, that I much incline to give
the preference to the arguments of the royalists. The testi-
monies which prove that performance to be the king's, are
more numerous, certain, and direct, than those on the
other side. This is the case, even if we consider the ex-
ternal evidence: but when we weigh the internal, derived
from the style and composition, there is no manner of
comparison. These meditations resemble, in elegance,
purity, neatness, and simplicity, the genius of those per-
fomances which we know with certainty to have flowed
from the royal pen: but are so unlike the bombast, per-
mixed, rhetorical, and corrupt style of Dr. Gauden, to
whom they are ascribed, that no human testimony seems
sufficient to convince us that he was the author. Yet all
the evidences which would rob the king of that honour,
tend to prove that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing so
fine a performance, and the fitness of imposing it on the
world for the king's.

It is not easy to conceive the general compassion ex-
itiated towards the king, by the publishing, at so critical a
juncture, a work so much at variance with the present
state of the nation; and inhuman and human,

Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the
subsequent restoration of the royal family. Milton con-
} See, on the one hand, Trolond's Anatomy, and, on the other, Wa-
} ter, An Apology for the Life and Works of That Learned and Illustrious
} Man, Dr. William Bene, in a Memorial of a Church, of Christ's Kingship
} a brief answer to these objections. But we observe, that Lord Clarendon's
} It may be observed, that Lord Clarendon's History, with regard to this
} subject, is so full a history, composed in vindication of the king's measures and cha-
} part, forms a presumption on Trolond's side, and a presumption of which
} works, and the State of the Nation under him, being the most recent and
} last-mentioned work, is not only the first authority, but the only one who
} Bishop's testament was proved, the work of the noble historian not being
} the same time, since he was, in the year of the publication, in the hands of
} the same time, since the arrest of the royal family, the question was not
} Trolond's History, the Edition of 1660, the date of the dedication, the
} Trolond's History, the Edition of 1660, the date of the dedication, the
} at the time of the king's execution, and the imprudence of the edition the
} the same time, since the arrest of the royal family, the question was not
} the work of the noble historian not being then published. Bishop's testament was proved, the work of the noble historian not being then published. Bishop's testament was proved, the work of the noble historian not being then published.
but they had still many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealousies to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of restoring the family, which they had so long sought, and whose principles they regarded with such violent abhorrence.

The only solid support of the republican independent faction, which, though it formed so small a part of the nation, had violently usurped the government of the whole, was an army of near half-twousand men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit that rendered it dangerous to the assembly which had assumed the command over it. Acquainted to indulge every chimeras in politics, every frenzy in religion, the soldiers knew little of the subordination of citizens, and had only learned, from apparent necessity, some maxims of military obedience. And while they still maintained that all those enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were justified by the success with which Providence had blessed them; they were ready to break out into any new disorder, wherever they had the prospect of a sanction and authority.

What alone gave some stability to all these unsettled humours was, the great influence both civil and military acquired by Oliver Cromwell. This man, suited to the age in which he flourished, and to that absolute feeling to gain the affection and confidence of men, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character; as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and extraordinary. Familiar even to the Latitudinarians with the most respectable sentiments, he never lost his authority: transported to a degree of madness with religious ecstases, he never forgot the political purposes to which they might serve. Hating monarchy, while a subject; despising liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for a time all orders of men under a seeming obedience to the parliament, he was secretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament, for so we must henceforth call a small and inconsiderable part of the House of Commons, having murdered their sovereign with so many appearing circumstances of solemnity and justice, and so much real violence and ever fury, began to assume more the air of a civil, legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom upon which they stood. They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, such as were liable to least exception; but on condition that these members should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial: and some of them were willing to acquire a share of power on such terms: the greater part disclaimed to lend their authority to such absurd propositions. They issued writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have interest enough to bring in their own friends and dependents. They named a council of state, thirty-eight in number, to whom all addresses were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament. They pretended to employ themselves entirely in adjusting the laws, forms, and plan of a new representative; and as soon as they should have settled the nation, they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom they acknowledged they had entirely derived it.

The commonwealth found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leisure or inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself amidst his present distresses with the hopes of better fortunes. The citizenship of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inequitude to the new republic.

After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the min of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their power, however, against the dangerous innovations of Scotland and Ireland was but small: and the party of Ormond, which had in the settlement of presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims to their political conduct. Though invited by the English parliament to assume the government for the time being, they most resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. They considered besides, that as the prosperity of the kingdom lay in the support of this party, it could be done only by establishing a commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate, invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execution, therefore, of the king, against whom they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles II.; but upon condition of his good behaviour and strict observance of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him, but such as were godly men and faithful to that obligation. These unusual clauses, inserted in the very first acknowledgment of their prince, sufficiently showed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the commonwealth of England did not care, at this time, for the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots for the present to take their own measures in settling their government.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland was of such importance, and the dangers of their efforts for subduing that country, in order to convey a just notion of Irish affairs, it will be necessary to look backwards some years, and to relate briefly those transactions which had passed during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late king agreed to that cessation of arms with the popish rebels, which was become so requisite, as well for the security of the Irish protestants as for promoting his interests in England, the parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favouring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly against the terms of the cessation. They even went so far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, because finished without their consent; and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the Earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. By their means the war was still kept alive; but as the dangerous distractions in England hindered the parliament from sending any considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland, the Marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant, being a native of Ireland, and a person endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and maintaining the harmony of his engagement with the royal master. There were many circumstances which strongly invited the natives of Ireland to embrace the king's party. The maxims of that prince had always led him to give a reasonable indulgence to the catholics throughout all his dominions; and one principal ground of that clemency, which the puritans professed against him, was that tacit toleration. The parliament, on the contrary, even when unprovided, had ever massacred the papists with the most rigid restraint; and if not a total extermination; and immediately after the commencement of the Irish rebellion, they put to sale all the estates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adherents of the king, and already advanced in the same principles. The success, therefore, which the arms of the parliament met with at Naseby, struck a just terror into the Irish; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the Marquis of Ormond. They professed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in Ireland, and to prevent any sedition for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

Ormond, not doubting but a peace, so advantageous and even necessary to the Irish, would be strictly observed,
advanced with a small body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert measures for common defence with his new allies. The Pope had sent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rigg, who, with their other council, commanded him to empower him to direct the spiritual concerns of the Irish, was imbosed, by their ignorance and bigotry, to assume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreseeing that a general submission to the lord-lieutenant was not to be expected, he employed the priest, Owen O'Neal, who commanded the nature Irish, in Ulster, and who bore a great jealousy to Preston, the general chiefly trusted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, these two malcontents seduced the new forces, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in security, trusting to the pacification so lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with celerity and conduct, and sheltered his small army in Dublin and the other fortieth towns, which still remained in the hands of the insurgents.

The nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to it, and, to support this, a Catholic religion; and the deluded Irish, terrified with his spiritual menaces, ranged themselves everywhere on his side, and submitted to his authority. Without scruple, he carried in, the government, and threatened with a siege the protestant garrisons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate king was necessitated to take shelter in the Scottish army; and being there reduced to close confinement, and secluded from all commerce with his friends, despaired that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be restored to him. He sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to him than to invade Ireland. Accordingly, the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to Colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, was admitted into the king's presence, received a grateful acknowledgement for his past services, and during some time lived in tranquillity near London. Being banished, with the other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal master, and threaten him with a catastrophe still more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the queen and the Prince of Wales.

In Ireland, during these transactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the catholics; and that prejudice, by his insinuation and insolence, soon made them repent of the power with which they had intrusted him. Prudent men likewise were sensible of the total destruction which was hanging over the nation from the English parliament, and saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The Earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of an ancient family, a person too of merit, who had ever preserved his loyalty, was sensible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was resolved, if possible, to resist it. He formed a combination among the catholics, he entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the protestants in Munster; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord-lieutenant to return, and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret intrigue was1. He so far prevailed, that even the smallest of the English parliament was established in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himself had delivered into their hands. O'Neal maintained his credit in Ulster; and having entered into a secret intrigue with presbyterianism, there was more intent on schemes for his own personal safety, than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were adverse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their measures. The Scots in the north, enraged, as well against Ormond, as the new sect of catholics, emulated the example of the Irish, and formed a sect of their own, the presbyterians, professing their adherence to the king; but were still hindered, by many prejudices, from entering into a cordial union with his lieutenant. All these distracted councils and contrary humours checked the progress of the parliament, and enabled the young king to maintain their ground against him. The republican faction, meanwhile, in England, employed in subduing the revolted protestants, in reducing the parliament to subjection, and by the most forsooth he be attained to, it is much more likely that the parliament, totally neglected the supplying of Ireland, and allowed Jones, and the forces in Dublin, to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord-lieutenant, though surrounded with difficulties, neglected not the favourable opportunity of promoting the royal cause. Having at last assembled an army of 16,000 men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, New, and other forts, were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared to be so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming over into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the contest of the two churches, Ireland had become the object of intrigue; and the presbyterians endeavoured to obtain the allegiance for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself, being eminent for his conduct, retook the city; and, when his forces had taken it, marched out of it, to avenge his defeat, and to destroy his friends. The parliament, with his consent, distrusted the king of Scots, and ordered him to be brought to trial in London, where he was committed, on the 5th of March, to the Tower. The king was accused to be the cause of all the disorders among the Scotch, was charged with all the deeds of iniquity committed by his subjects, and was arraigned for the murder of the Duke of Buckingham. He denied all the charges, and declared his innocence. He was found guilty by the court, and sentenced to death. He was conveyed to the place of execution by word of command, and there suffered on the 17th of November, 1651, in the 5th year of his reign. He was then thirty years old; and, in that short space of time, had afforded a new and striking instance of the sudden transition from good to evil, which is so common in human affairs. The spirit of fanaticism, by which that assembly had at first been strongly supported, was now turned, in a great measure, against them. The pulpits being chiefly filled with presbyterian sermons, the newspapers for many years long been the scene of news and politics, could by no penalties be restrained from declarations unfavourable to the established government. Numberless were the extra-
vagances which broke out among the people. Everard, a disband-Ed soldier, having procured that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among Christians, led a band of followers to take possession of the land; and, having carried before the general, he refused to salute him; because he was but his fellow-creature. What seemed more dangerous, the army itself was infected with like humors. Though the levellers had for two years been suppressed, by the same spirit of the pamphlet of Cromwell, they still continued to propagata their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be consulted, as before, in the administration of justice. They were contented against the present officers the same lesson which they had been taught against the parliament. They framed a remonstrance, and sent five agitators to present it to the general and council of war; these were received with indignation by sentence of a court-martial. One Locker, having carried his sedition further, was sentenced to death; but this punishment was so far from quelling the mutinous spirit, that above a thousand of his companions showed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and scarlet ribbons, by way of favour. About four thousand assembled at Burford, under the command of Thompson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwell, fell upon them, while unprepared for defence, and seduced by the appearance of so many powerful armed men taken prisoners; some of them capitulated: the rest parted: and this tumultuous spirit, though it still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

Petitions, framed in the same spirit of opposition, were presented to the parliament by Lieutenant-colonel Lliburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious labels, had formerly been treated with such severity by the star-chamber. His petition was as attended with the same disturbance, and he was thrown into prison, as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release; but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters the parliament was harassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. For a time, which the city gave to the parliament and council of state, it was deemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

The parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high-treason beyond those narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal oaths, many inten- tions, though they had never appeared in any overt act against the state. To affirm the present government to be a usurration, to assert that the parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour subverting their authority, or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason. The power of imprisoning, of which the petition of right had been a king, it was now found necessary to restore to the council of state; and all the loose and fears of the ruling party had represented as dangerous. The taxes, continued by the new government, and which, being unusual, were esteemed heavy, increased the general ill-will among which it laboured. The king's crusade to the East, the expulsion of one month was levied on had for the subsistence of the army. The sequestrations and compositions of the royals, the sale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, though they yielded great sums, were not without some ill-effects, and, as was sus-pected, the great redeductions, of the parliament and of their creatures.

Amidst all these difficulties and disturbances, the strength of the Commons was behind the embarrassment, still pursued its purpose. While he was collecting an army of twelve thousand men in the west of England, he sent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thousand horse and foot, in order to strengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himself against the Marquis of Ormond, who lay at Finglass, and was making preparations for the attack of Dublin. Lechquane, who had now made a treaty with the king's lieutenant, having, with a separate body, taken Tredagh and Dundalk, gave a defeat to O'Farrell, who served under O'Neal, and to young Oot, who commanded some parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom he was now furnished for some time, he went up along the river Lidy, and took post at Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the siege of that city. In order to cut off all further supply from Jones, he had assaulted and taken the island of Inchicore, about four miles of Dublin; and being exhausted with continual fatigue for some days, he had retired to rest, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. He was sud- denly awakened with the noise of firing; and, starting from his bed, saw every thing already in tumult and confusion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had rallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and, attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he had succeeded the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. Thse: he soon threw into disorder; put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant, closed them off the field; saved all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Swezey. O'Farrell had not sailed out with his army, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings. He hastened to Tredagh. That town was well fortified: Ormond had thrown it into a good garrison of three thousand men, under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredagh, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would first be attacked by Cromwell, and he was desirous to employ the enemy some time in that place, while he himself should repair his broken forces. But Cromwell knew the importance of despatch. Having made a breack, he ordered a general assault. Sept.

Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed Tredagh stormed, the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, led on his men. All opposition was taken when the jerry troops. The town was taken sword in hand; and, orders with revellions and imprisonments. And here I should put out my third leg: & c. (1) Monasteries are abolished as useless, now that Christ him- self is in part among us, and hath erected the kingdom of truth upon earth. Besides, they are tyrants and oppressors of the liberty of the subject, and for their wars and expenditures, there is no reason why you should put out my fourth leg, & c. (2) Then putting his hand on the law of the land, for that he had a parliament to which he was not subject, and the commonwealth a parliament which he had created, and which had no power over him, he concluded it. (2) That these subjects are abolished as Jewish and sectarian. And that it is necessary to abolish the laws which have been created to serve the purposes of the persons in office. Here I should put out my fifth leg, & c. (3) That monas- teries are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my sixth leg, & c. (4) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (5) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my seventh leg, & c. (6) That the king's office is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (7) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my eighth leg, & c. (8) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (9) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my ninth leg, & c. (10) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (11) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my tenth leg, & c. (12) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (13) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my eleventh leg, & c. (14) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (15) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my twelfth leg, & c. (16) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (17) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my thirteenth leg, & c. (18) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (19) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my fourteenth leg, & c. (20) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (21) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my fifteenth leg, & c. (22) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (23) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my sixteenth leg, & c. (24) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (25) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my seventeenth leg, & c. (26) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (27) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my eighteenth leg, & c. (28) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (29) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my nineteenth leg, & c. (30) That the office of the bishop is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power. (31) That all these subjects are abolished as unecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here I should put out my twentieth leg, & c. (32) That the office of the sees is abolished as such, and so as to have no earthly power, and no spiritual power.
being issued to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved by the soldiers, saturated with blood, were next day massacrecl by the English. Had he well known, that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he advanced with a slight, formed defence, offered to capitulate; but, before they obtained a cessation, they imprudently neglected their guard; and the English army rushed upon them. The same severity was exercised at Tredagh.

Every town before which Cromwell presented himself, now opened its gates without resistance. Ross, though strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by Lord Talbot. Having taken Estmona, Cromwell threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carrig. The English had no further difficulties to encounter than what arose from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers commenced among the soldiery in great numbers. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwell had so far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to supply him with victual, or to retreat to his own garrisons. But while he was in these November, straits, Cork, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, deserted him, and opening their gates, resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

This desertion of the English put an end to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminished by the misfortunes of his garrisons, Tredagh, and Wexford. The Irish, actuated by national and religious prejudices, would no longer be kept in obedience by a protestant governor, who was so unsuccessful in all his enterprises. The clergy renewed their excommunications against him and his adherents, and added the terrors of superstition to those which arose from a victorious enemy. Cromwell, having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the spring. He made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. The whole frame of the Irish union being in a manner dissolved, Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Chauncerie, who held affiant promise out of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace this opportunity of commencing above 40,000 men passed into foreign service; and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

While Cromwell proceeded with such uninterrupted success in Ireland, which in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague when Sir Joseph Douglas brought him intelligence that he was proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament. At the same time, Douglas informed him of the harsh conditions annexed to the proclamation, and extremely departed that joy which might arise from his being recognised sovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too considered, that those who pretended to acknowledge his title were at that time in actual rebellion against his family, and would be sure to intrust very little authority in his hands, and scarcely would afford him personal liberty and security. As the prospect of affairs in Ireland was at that time not promising, he intended to take his most furious and bgatoted of that party, which, notwithstanding his gentle government, had first excited a rebellion against the late king; after the most unlimited concessions, had renewed their rebellion, and stopped the progress of his victories in England; and after he had intrusted his person to them in his utmost distress, had basely sold him, together with their own honour, to his enemy, they had as their term of repentance, and even in the terms which they now proposed, displayed the same antimonarchical principles, and the same jealousy of their sovereign, by which they had been actuated as when they had no other principle than that the king, in his first enterprise, should sacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father had died a martyr, and in
which he himself had been strictly educated; that by this hypocrisy he might lose the royalists, who alone were sincerely attached to him; but never would gain the Presbyterian, who were averse to his family and his cause, and would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity; that the Scots had refused to give him any assurances of their intending to restore him to the throne of Scotland, but would give him the next best; and had he made such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton’s engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprise: that on the first check which the opposers of Argyll gave him, his enemies would hold the quickest expedient for reconciling themselves to the English parliament, and would betray the king, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies; and that, however desirous the royal cause, it must still be regarded as highly imprudent to the king to make a sacrifice of his honour, where the sole purchase was to endanger his life or liberty.

The Earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were then with the king; and being desirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young Duke of Buckingham, and earnestly pressed him to submit to the conditions required of him. It was urged that nothing would more gratify the king’s enemies than to see him fall into the snare laid for him, and by so scrofulous a means of his dominions. The pope was also of the same opinion, but for a pretext of excluding him: that Argyll, not during so far to oppose the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his sovereign, had embraced this expedient, by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himself, and refuse a kingdom which was offered him: that it was not to be doubted but the same national spirit, assisted by Buckingham and his party, would rise still higher in favour of their prince after he had intrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigour of the conditions now imposed upon him; that whatever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the king’s friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power so much superior: that how much sooner a steady, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced age and strict engagements of the late king, no one would throw any blame on a young prince for complying with conditions which necessity had extorted from him: that even the rigour of those principles professed by his father, though with some it had cast his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his interests, and could any thing be more than the royal cause, than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: and that, where affairs were reduced to so desperate a situation, dangers ought little to be considered; and the king’s honour lay rather in showing some early symptoms of courage and activity, than in choosing strictly a party among theological controversies, with which, it might be supposed, he was as yet, very little acquainted.

These arguments, seconded by the advice of the queen-mother, and of the Prince of Orange, the king’s brother-in-law, who both of them thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to episcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply, was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zalous countrypeople. Though in this instance the king saw, more evidently, the furious spirit by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no further resource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

Montrose, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural disposition, had lived for some time inactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous Cardinal de Richelieu, and that great statesman celebrated him in his memoirs as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was caressed by the emperor, received the title of marquis, and proposed to levy a regiment for the imperial service. While employed for that purpose in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragic death of the king; and at the same time received from his young master a renewal of his commission from his family; the king sending his arms and daring spirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein sent him some small supply of money; the Queen of Sweden furnished him with arms; the Prince of Orange with ships; and Montrose, hastening his enterprise, lest the king’s agreement with the Scots should make him revoke his commissiou, set out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations which he could make against a kingdom, settled in domestic peace, supported by a disciplined army, fully apprised of his enterprise, and prepared against him. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophecy, that to him and him alone it was reserved to restore the king’s authority in all his dominions; he lent a willing ear to suggestions which, however wild or improbable, were so conformable to his own daring character.

He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to their friends, who deservedly rejoiced in the king’s service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the highlanders flock to his standard. But all men were now harassed and fatigued with wars and disorders: many of those who formerly adhered to him, had been severely punished by the covenanters; and no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was drawn together against him. But however weak Montrose’s army, the memory of past events struck a great terror into the committee of estates. They immediately ordered Lesley and Holbourne to march against him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was sent before, with a body of cavalry to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered in his hands by his enemies, by a friend to whom he had intrusted his person.

All the insolence, which success can produce in ungenious minds, was exercised by the covenanters against Montrose, whom they so much hated and so much dreaded. The king’s party were very desirous of avenging injuries towards a person, whom they regarded as impious, on account of the excommunication which had been pronounced against him. Lesley led him about for several days in the same low habitat under which he had disguised himself. The vulgar, wherever he passed, were instigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumstance of elaborate rage and insult was put in practice by order of the parliament. At the gate of the city he was met by the magistrates, and put into a new cart, purposely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was led with a cord, chains had his feet from under him, and his shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then took off the hat of the noble prisoner, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with the marquis, walking two and two before them.

The populace, more generous and humane, when they saw so mighty a chance of fortune in this great man, so lately their dread and terror, into whose hands the magistrates, for a few days before, had delivered on them the keys of the city, were struck with compassion, and viewed him with silent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed against this movement of rebel nature, as they had done against the late measures, his profane tenderness towards the capital enemy of piety and religion.
When he was carried before the parliament, which was then sitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declaration, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had subscribed; his rebellion against God, the King, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose, in his answer, maintained the same supremacy above his enemies, to which he had long been set up, and that by the free and conscious recognition of a good cause, he was justly entitled. He told the parliament, that since the king, as he was informed, had so far avowed their authority, as to enter into a treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect to himself, he said, had spared him from the solemnity of a trial; but his sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged, with infinite shame and remorse, the errors of his early conduct, when their plausible pretences had seduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms against his prince and country. That his following services, he hoped, had sufficiently testified his repentance; and his death would now alone for that guilt, the only one with which he could justly reproach himself. That in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his master, against whose lawful authority they had entered into rebellion; and that, in his venture for life for his sovereign was the least part of his duties, he had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the sacred commands of the king; and had resigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was still enabled to obtain, and which he had shared in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, could not now be spared for any other purpose than that he might be put to death by him in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, could not now be spared for any other purpose than that he might be put to death by him in the field of battle. That he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at other times, and in other places, false, for they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities; the justice of his cause, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other afflictiun than the loss of the authority of his prince, with which he was invested, traded with so much impunity. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjust sentence, his late sovereign; and should be happy if, in his future destiny, he could follow him to the same blissful mansions, when his fate should overtake him. He had, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompence.

Montrose's sentence was next pronounced against him, "That he, James Graham, for this was the only name they had ever heard him use, called Montrose, had fled to Edinburgh cross, and there he been hanged, gibbet, thirty feet high, for the space of three hours; then be taken down, his head been cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison; his legs and arms been stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom: his body been buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, shall take off his excommunication."

The clergy, hoping that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flounced about him, and insulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and assured him, that the warlike virtues which he had show'd, would be a strange but an easy prologue to that which he must undergo hereafter. They next offer'd to pray with him: but he was too well acquainted with those forms of imprecation which they called prayers. None of his English friends, who had served his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king himself found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of his royalty, by which he possessed, served only to draw on him the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montrose, his faithful servant, who had borne his commission, had been sent to Aberdeen, and was still allowed to hang over the gates when he passed by that place.

The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of

Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 159.

Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 160.
estates and the army, who were entirely governed by the assembly, set forth a public declaration, in which they protested, "that they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds of principles; that they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king, and of his house; nor would they own himself or his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owned and prosecuted the cause thereof, was contented to accomplish a measure, which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperience, could excuse. He issued a declaration, such as they required of him. He gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures, opposing the covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people throughout all his dominions. He disdained the influence of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children. He disclaimed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness: and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions; but to declare, that he would never love or favour those who had so little conscience as to follow his interests, in preference to the gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that whatever will succeed him, will be drawn upon his cause, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, divine Providence would crown his arms with victory.

Still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the king's sincerity. The facility which he discovered in yielding whatever was required of him, made them suspect, that he retained some of his opinions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he must of necessity submit, when he was not so far as a man. They had another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance in the presence of the people. To this end several articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed, that he would submit to this indignity. The various transgressions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are against enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and further declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restoration of his rights for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ. In short, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were resolved to trample on it, and vilify it, by every instance of contumely, which their present influence enabled them to impose upon their unhappy monarch.

Charles in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure. He was not called to assist at any council. His favor was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts which he made to unite the opposite parties, increased the suspicion which the covenanters had entertained of him, as a flatterer, who, by art, reputation and compliances was partly led and partly governed by this wild faction, still turned a deaf ear to all advances which the king made to enter into confidence with him. A multitude of words were continued to be the objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever

noxious to the clergy, failed not to have one or other of these epithets affixed to him. The fanaticism which prevailed, being so full of sour and angry principles, and so overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: these were the Souverains. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Edinburgh, which contained fourteen persons were punished by fire; and it became a science, every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms.

The gathering of affairs under Cromwell was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were still resolved to exclude all but their most zealous adherents. As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with vigilance and industry persevered in the work of subduing and expelling the natives.

It was supposed that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland, and appear at the head of the forces; a station for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, after the use of his name in murdering their sovereign, and offering violence to the parliament, had entertained insurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as zealous presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred claim of kinsmanship. He declared that he would never love or favour those at the extremities into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his repugnance by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herself a member of the presbyterian clergy. A committee of parliament was sent to reason with him; and Cromwell was of the number. In vain did they urge that the Scots had first broken the covenant by their invasion of England under Hamilton; and that they would soon renew their hostile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous measures of the commonwealth. Cromwell, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax in every thing which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to solicit him with the single recommendation of his humanity and tears of grief and vexation on the occasion. No one could suspect any ambition in the man who laboured so zealously to retain his general in that high office which he knew, from the character of Fairfax, to be the object of temper which made Cromwell a frantic enthusiast, rendered him the most dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful successes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal, he engaged every one to co-operate with him in his measures; and entering easily and affectionately into every part which he was disposed to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied defeats, to cover, under a tempest of passion, all his crooked schemes and profound artifices.

Fairfax having resigned his commission, it was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in Scotland. This command was intrusted to him, which stood entirely by arms, of the utmost importance; and was the chief step which this ambitious politician had yet made towards sovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

The command of the Scottish army was given to Leslie, an experienced officer, who formed a very proper plan of defence for Edinburgh. A Rise in the supply of men, between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians every thing which could serve to the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell, in the camp of the Scotch army, was discouraged by every expedient to bring Leslie to a battle, and the pro-

\[1\] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 166, 172.
\[2\] ibid. p. 170.
\[3\] ibid. p. 172.
dent. The Scottishman knew that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline to the English; and he carefully kept himself within his entrenchments. By skirmishes and small encounters he tried to confirm his dispositions and even into the English lines, and shrewdly attacked the camps. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp; and having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiers. More was said of this young prince of spirit and vivacity, than under a committee of talking gossamens. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp. They also had some about 4000 Madogards and Englishmen, whose zeal had led them to attend the battle; who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only against their prudent general, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance; and they plainly told him, that if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God. An advantage having been offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of Sabbath-breaking.

The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the English as a fortunate event. The army, which fought on both sides, were almost equally his enemies; and the vanquished were now obliged to give him some more authority, and apply to him for support. They had been forced to meet them at Dunbar, in Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the English, were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions.

The intended humiliation or penance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great pomp and solemnity. But all appearances of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid covenanters: and though treated with civility and courtesy by Argyle, a man of parts and address, he was little better than a prisoner, and was still exposed to all the rancor and pedantry of the ecclesiastics.

This young prince was in a situation which very ill suited his temper and disposition. All those good qualities which he possessed, his affability, his wit, his guile, his three or four gentleman-like, dissipated manners, which here so much recommended him in his private and public services; and his love of ease, liberty, and pleasure, was regarded as the highest enormity. Though arithmic in the practice of courtly dissimulation, the sanctified style was his own. He never allowed his countenance to give any hint of the court, in either the countenance, disposition, or deportment into that starched grime which the covenanters required as an infallible mark of conversion. The Duke of Buckingham was the only English courtier allowed to attend him; and by his lenient talent for ridicule, he had rendered himself extremely agreeable to his master. While so many objects of derision surrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether insensible to the temptation, and wholly to suppress the laugh. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons, they betrayed evident symptoms of weariness or contempt. The clergy never could esteem the king sufficiently regeneratized: and by continual exhortations, monitions, and reproaches, the remnant endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty.

The king's passion for the fair could not altogether be restrained. He had once been observed using some familiarity with a young woman, and a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour so unbecoming a covenanting monarch. The spokesman of the committee, one Douglas, began with a severe aspect,
informed the king that great scandal had been given to the
godly, enlarged on the baneful nature of sin, and con-
cluded with exhorting his majesty, whenever he was dis-
posed to amuse himself, to be more careful, for the future,
in shutting the windows. This delicacy, so unusual to the
place and the character of the men thus regarded by the
king, and he never forgot the obligation.

The king, shocked at all the indignities, and, perhaps, still
more tired with all the formalities, to which he was
obliged to submit, made an attempt to renew his liberty
with General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, been
persuaded by the covenanters, kept in the mountains,
expecting some opportunity of serving his master. The king
returned to the royal body. He secretly made his escape
from Argyle, and fled towards the highlands. Colonel
Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of
him. He overtook the king, and persuaded him to return.
The royalists being too weak to support him, Charles was
the more easily induced to comply. This incident pro-
cured him, afterwards, better treatment and more authority;
the covenanters being afraid of driving him, by their rigours,
to some desperate resolution. Argyle renewed his court-
ships to the king, and the king, with equal dissimulation,
pretended to repose great confidence in Argyle. He even
went so far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that
nobleman's daughter; but he had to do with a man too
wise, and too such a character as Argyle.

As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army
was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the
king was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the
wars expedition, notwithstanding the imminent danger
which threatened their country, were resolute not to unite
their cause with that of an army which admitted any en-
gagors or malcontents among them; and they kept in a
body, as under Kames. They called themselves the Pres-
testers; and their frantic declamations equally against
the king and against Cromwell. The other party were de-
nominated Revolutioners; and these distinctions continued
long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

Charles encamped at the Torwood; and his generals
resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious
maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been
successful during the former campaign. The town of
Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied
him with provisions. Strong entrenchments defended his
front; and it was in vain that Cromwell made every
temptation to bring him to an engagement. After losing
much time, the Scots determined to send Lambert over
the Forth into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the
provisions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne
and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put
them to the sword. Lambert also passed over, with his whole
army; and lying at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post any
longer.

Charles, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution
worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having
the way open, be resolved immediately to march into
England; where he expected that all his friends, and all
those who were discontented with the present government,
would flock to his standard. He persuaded the generals
to enter into the same views; and with one consent, the
army, to the number of 14,000 men, rose from their camp,
and advanced by great journeys towards the south.

He was not disappointed at this movement of the royal
army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had
exposed his friends to imminent danger, and saw the king
with numerous forces marching into England; where his
personal general hatred with prevailed against the
parliament, was capable of producing some great revo-

But if this conduct was an oversight in Cromwell, he
quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He
despatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not
to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots; he sent
orders every where for assembling forces to oppose the
king: he ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang
upon the rear of the royal army, and infest their march;
and he himself accompanying Monk. At the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the
expedition possible.

Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations
of increasing his army. The Scots, terriified at the pros-
pect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great num-
bers. The English presbyterians, having no warning
given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to
move; and those who had him was himself, was rejected by
whom the king expected; and they were further deterred from joining
the Scottie army, by the orders which the committee of
ministers had issued, not to admit any, even to this des-
perate extremity, who would not subscribe the covenant.

The Earl of Derby, leaving the isle of Man, where he had
hitherto maintained his independence, was employed in
levying forces in Cheshire and Lancashire; but was soon
suppressed, and, by the order of the parliament, forced
for the king, when he arrived at Worcester, found that his
forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march,
were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp
in the Torwood.

Such is the influence of established government, that
the commonwealth, though founded in usurpation the
most unjust and unpopular, had authority sufficient to
raise every where the militia of the counties; and these,
armed with the popular forces, bent all their efforts against
the king. With an army of about 30,000
men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester; and
attacking it on all sides, and meeting with
but little resistance, was kept from Du
ger, and General
Middleton, broke in upon the disordered royalists.
The streets of the city were strewn with dead. Hamilton, a
noblemen of bravery and honour, was mortally wounded;
and Colonel Marsey, who became commanding, having
made many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to
fly. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken
prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national
anguish, put to death the few that escaped from the
field of battle.

The king left Worcester at six o'clock in The king's
the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled
about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty
of his friends. To provide for his safety, it thought best to
separate himself from his companions; and he left
them without communicating his intentions to any of
them. By the Earl of Derby's directions, he went to
Boscobel, a lone house, in the borders of Staffordshire,
habited by one Penderell, a farmer, to this man
Charles intrusted himself. The man had dignity of sen-
timents much above his condition; and though death
was his natural enemy, he had a strong regard for
himself. If Charles should be taken, by his conduct, he
had promised to any one who should betray him, he
professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took
the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable
with himself, and with him he attempted the danger. On
their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put
a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves
in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in
the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded.
For a better concealment, he mounted upon an eak, where
he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for
twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by.
All of them were intent in search of the king; and some
expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him.
This tree was afterwards denominated the Royal Oak; and
for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with
great veneration.

Charles, in the middle of the kingdom, and could
neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without
the most imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and parties zeal
interested multitudes to discover him: and even the
smallest indiscretion of his friends might betray him. The
king, joined Lord Wingate, who was skilful in the neighbour-
hood, agreed to put themselves into the hands of
Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Pendray, not
many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walks in
the night, that the Duke of Hamilton, who was sent
out to find the king, did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horse-
back; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attend-
ed by the Pendrells, who had been so faithful to him. Lane
sent several of his relations to join the parliament, but
it was hoped, he would find a ship, in which he might
transport himself. He had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Nor-

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the quiet. With her, even inclinations of a artisan were largely exposed and enlightened, but she was alarmed, but made the better promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ship, it was found, would, for a month, set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain; and the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He intrusted himself to Colonel Windham of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partisan of the royal family: the natural effect of the long civil war, and of the furious rage to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and either fully revealed or most men, the variety of incidents, had been put to trial. The royalists too, had, many of them, been obliged to make concealments in their houses for themselves, their friends, or more valuable effects; and the arts of studying the enemy had been frequently put to the test, and the betters were generally favourable to the king in the present exigency. As he often passed through the hands of Catholics, the Priest's Hole, as they called it, the place where they were obliged to conceal their presents, was sometimes employed for sheltering their distressed sovereign.

Windham, before he received the king, asked leave to intrust the important secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on which divers were chosen to try the king; these were, no one proved wanting either in honour or discretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and a grand-child in defence of his father, she was now restored, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of himself. Windham told the king, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons: "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our last three sovereigns: but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of the kingdom. But do not you, faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should hang upon a bush." "These last words," added Windham, "made such impressions on all our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible characters." From innumerable instances it appears, how deep-rooted in the minds of the English nation of that age was the principle of loyalty to their sovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more enlightened affection towards a legal constitution. But during those times of military usurpation, these passions were the only principles in use.

The king continued several days in Windham's house: and all his friends in Britain, and in every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspense with regard to his fortunes: But when he was made known, that they were neither dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant search of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape; but he was detained. "I made," said Windham, "many inquiries. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures; assumed different disguises; in every step was exposed to imminent perils; and amidst every grief of uncorrected fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the oorh, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, to which he embarked. He had been known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After one and forty days' concealment, he arrived safely at Fes-
camp in Normandy, where several who less than himself had, at different times, been privy to his concealment and escape. The battle of Worcester afforded Cromwell what he called his crowning mercy. So he was, that he intended to pursue the king to the sea, landed in the bay, and of Lambert and Fleetwood; but was dissuaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook submission to the empty name of a republic, which stood chiefly by his influence, and was supported by his victories. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only assured, that he now discovered to his intimate friends these aspiring views; and even expressed a desire of assuming the rank of king, which he had contributed, with such seeming zeal, to abolish. The little popularity and credit acquired the commonwealth by the republicanists further stimulated the wealth ambition of this enterprising politician. These men had not that large thought, nor those comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators: their selfish aim was to increase their particular country's power. They carried their rigid austerity so far as to enact a law, declaring fornication, after the first act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy. They made small progress in that important work, which they professed to have so much at heart, the setting of a new model of representation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend that they intended to establish themselves as a permanent and spiritual legislature, and to define the power of 60 or 70 persons, who called themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to bestow new liberties upon the nation, they found themselves obliged to infringe every title of those, which, through time immemorial, had been transmitted from their ancestors. Not daring to intrust the trials of treason to juries, who, being chanced indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the ancient laws, they eluded that noble institution, by which the government of this island has ever been so much distinguished. They had evidently seen in the trial of Lilburne what their own fate would have been, if the most turbulent, but the most upright and courageous, of human kind, was tried for a transgression of the new statute of treasons: but though he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted to the great joy of the people. Westminster-hall, may the whole city, rang with shouts and acclamations. Never did any established power receive so strong a declaration of its usurpation and invalidity; and from no institution, besides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

That they might not for the future be exposed to af-
frauds, which so much lessened their authority, the parlia-
mant erected a high court of justice, which was to receive indictments from the council of state. This court was composed of men devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to sacrifice everything to their own safety or ambition. Colonel Essebus Andrews and Colonel Walter Slingsby were tried by this court for conspiracy, and condemned to death. They were royalists, and refused to plead to before so illegal a jurisdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other prey-bearers, having entered into a plot against the life of the king, were also the accusers, and executed. The Earl of Derby, Sir Timothy Featherstooe, Bemboe, being taken prisoners after the battle of Worces-
ter, were put to death by sentence of a court martial; a method of proceeding of unexampled rigour, and viola-
tion of right, for which a former parliament had so stern-

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1 Hensle's Chronicle, p. 381.
2 Parl. Hist. vol. 12, p. 47.
3 Warsley, p. 363.
budy contended, and which, after great efforts, they had estored to the king.

Excepting their principles of toleration, the maxims by which the republicans regulated all their public affairs were founded mainly on the principles of a perpetual peace, and a civil co-operation for the self-defense of the nation, and for the maintenance of a tolerable settlement, than those by which they conducted their civil concerns. The presbyterian model of congregation, classes, and assemblies, was not allowed to be finished: it seemed even the intention of many leaders in the parliament to resist of no established church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magistrate, to embrace whatever sect, and to support whatever clergy, were most agreeable to him.

The parliament went so far as to make some approaches in one province, to their independent model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malcontents, itinerant preachers with small salaries were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these, being furnished with horses at the public expense, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel. They were all of them men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades, in order to follow this new profession. And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

But, however, the court had, by the turn of their disposition, and by the nature of the instruments which they employed, better qualified for acts of force and vigour, than for the slow and deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding the distresses of the country, three counties, which in an earlier period, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous faction, who had reason to return a vote in impeachment of the subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and now, that a power, so often the object of the members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impressions, though much superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality moderate, and so much a sop opulent could easily bear. The military genius of the people had, by the civil contests, been rouzed from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscuracy, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have admitted them; and while so great a number were employed in such active hands, no wonder the republic was successful in all its enterprises.

Blake, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended London. Tonnage, and provided with an abundance of provisions they were all alike. The king, which the late king was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land-service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, and he received orders to pursue Prince Rupert, to whom the king had intrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kings, and, escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued and chased him into the Tagus, where he intended to make an attack upon him. But the city of Portugal, moved by the same motives, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided Prince Rupert in making his escape.

To be avenged of this partiality, the English admiral made preparations for a descent upon the Spanish coast; and he threatened still further vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions, and, at the request of his emissaries, was invited to the haughty royal table.

m Dr. John Waller's Attempt, p. 147, et seq.

n When the Earl of Derby was alive, he had been summoned by Ireton to one of his public meetings at Twickenham, and had been thronged thither; and he threatened still further vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions, and, at the request of his emissaries, was invited to the haughty royal table.

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public, and was at last admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, made sail towards the westward with his fleet of thirty vessels, under his brother Rupert, who had a ship with a squadron to reduce them. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia, were soon subdued. Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Wil- loughby of Parham, made some resistance; but was at last obliged to submit.

With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to the English commerce. The Countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illustrious Henry, earl of Truro, illustrious in many actions during the civil war, displayed a manly courage by her obstinate defence of Latham-house against the parliamentary forces; and she retained the glory of being the last person in the island, who submitted to the victorious commonwealth.

Ireland and Scotland were now entirely subjected and reduced to tranquility. Ireton, the new deputy of Ire- land, at this time, set up a commonwealth, 30,000 strong, to subdue the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many encounters, which, though of themselves now of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cause. He himself, however, was not unmixedly happy, as he had no hand in the massacres. Sir Philip O'Neale, among the rest, was, some time after, brought to the gibbet, and suf- fered an agonous death, which he had so well meritied by his inhuman cruelties. Limencote, a considerable town, still remained in the hands of the Irish; and Ireton, after a vigorous siege, made himself master of it. He was here infected with the plague, and shortly after died; a memo- rable personage, much celebrated for his vigilance, intellec- tual, capacity, even for the strict execution of justice in that unlimited command which he possessed in Ireland. He was observed to be infallible in all his purposes; and it was believed by many, that he was assisted by a sincere and passionate love of liberty, and never could have been induced by any motive to submit to the smallest appear- ance of regal government. Cromwell appeared to be much affected with his death, as a fate to be visited upon the republicans, who posessed great confidence in him, which he did not show their regard for his merit and services, they bestowed an estate of two thousand pounds a-year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Though the established government was lost, the mere shadow of a commonwealth, yet was it beginning, by proper arts, to encourage that public spirit which no other species of civil polity is ever able fully to inspire.

The command of the army in Ireland discharged on Lieutenant-General Ludlow. The civil government of the island was intrusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained success. The Irish, it was believed, were disgusted with the king on account of those violent de- clarations against them and their religion, which had been uttered by the Scots, applied to the King of Spain, to the Duke of Albecester, and the Chars, while Charles, unable to resist the prevailing power, made submis- sions to the parliament, and retired into England, where he soon after died. He was a steady cathoie; but a man more amiable by all just and impartial principles. I detain your favours: I labour your freemos, and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I shall keep it to the utmost of my power and means, to the great plague, and I hope, that I should please you, friends, according to my promise; since you have delivered me from the enemy, in your late majesty's service, from which principles of fidelity I am not what devoted. I scawn your
The successes which attended Monk in Scotland were no less decisive. That able general laid siege to Stirling castle; and, though it was well provided for defence, it was soon surrendered to him. He there became master of all the northern provinces of the kingdom, and bore the title of Duke of Ermine. The Earl of Leven, and the Earl of Crawford, Lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert measures for raising a new army, were suddenly taken by Lord Cockburn, and conveyed into Dalkeith. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprise, met with a like fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, supplied with provisions, and a council situated in the midst of all the rich furniture, plate, and money of the kingdom, which had been sent thither as a place of safety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach, gave a general assault. He carried the town; and following the example and instigation of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy's demands. This parliament, the English commonwealth; and excepting a few royalists, who remained some time in the mountains, under the Earl of Glencarne, Lord Balcarras, and General Middleton, that maintained independent governments, the acceptance of the independence, of poverty, and valour, maintained its independence, was reduced to total subjection.

The English parliament sent Sir Harry Vane, St. John, and some other commissioners, to the Kingdom of Scots; these men, who possessed little of the true spirit of liberty, knew how to maintain the appearance of it; and they required the voluntary consent of all the counties and towns of this continent of kingdom; and he sent them to the same commonwealth with England. The clergy protested; because, they said, this incorporating union would draw along with it a subordination of the church to the state in the things of Christ. The English judges, joined to some Scottish, were appointed to determine all causes; justice was strictly administered; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with the present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who possessed a capacity for the arts both of peace and war, served much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

A.D. 1651.

By the total reduction and pacification of the Kingdom of Scotland, this parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms.

The life of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interposed, except by her good offices, between the contending parties. When William, Duke of Orange, was engaged to determine all causes; justice was strictly administered; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with the present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who possessed a capacity for the arts both of peace and war, served much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

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symptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hostile, disposition in the States. The States, alarmed at these steps, sent orders to their ambassadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of State of their intentions. The minister of England, instead of striking terror into the Dutch republic, was considered as a menace, and further confirmed the parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men in both states were every day more irritated, not only by reason of this affair, but also by the constant reports, which was not long before these humours broke forth into action.

Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced, by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action, which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine; since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended that, having given a signal to the Dutch admiral to strike, Tromp, instead of complying, had attacked him, and found that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral, nevertheless, began hostilities. It is certain that the admiralty of Holland, who are distinct from the council of state, had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion with regard to that vain but much contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect paid the English flag as a deference due only to the monarch. The Dutch court therefore, a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, were desirous of a war with England.

Blake, though his squadron consisted only of fifteen vessels, reinforced, after the battle began, by eight under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors in England, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them.

When the States heard of this action, of which the consequences were easily foreseen, they were to the utmost confusion, and desirous to have a squadron of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative which Tromp had sent of the late encounter. They entreated them, by all the laws of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found, upon inquiry, that he had been guilty of an action which they so much disapproved. The imperious parliament would have token to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated by the numerous successes which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought that every thing must yield to their fortunate army to endeavour the renewal of the treaty which they sought, of making war upon the States. They demanded that, without any further delay or inquiry, reparations should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained, and that when this demand was not complied with, they despatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

Blake sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring-busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them. Blake took shelter in the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was dispersed, and received great damage.

Sir George Ayscue, though he commanded only forty ships, according to the English accounts, managed to make a successful night attack on De Ruyter, who had under him fifty ships of war, with thirty merchantmen. The Dutch ships were indeed of inferior force to the English. De Ruyter, the only admiral in Europe who has attained a renown equal to that of the greatest general, defeated himself, for he killed, that Ayscue should over him. Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruyter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight, that it was not restored to the sea entirely of all English vessels.

Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch squadron nearly equal in numbers, commanded by De Witte and De Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail towards Holland. The English were not deterred by the Mediterra nean. Van Galen, with much superior force, attacked Captain Badity, and defeated him. He fought, however, his victory with the loss of his life.

Sea-fight, indeed, had proved so far as to disable the vanquished from making head in a little time against the victors. Tromp, seconded by De Ruyter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who resolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted great bravery. In this action the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himself was wounded. The Garland was taken, the Gloire was captured, the English were burned, and one sunk; and might have come home to save the English fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravo, fixed a broom to his mastarm, as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and one, who had been sent from Scotland when the English lay off Portland, they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel, along with ninety vessels of 300 men each. De Ruyter received orders to wait at the isle of Rhoë, till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Tromp, and under him, De Ruyter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious ever yet between two maritime and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their fleet were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

All these successes of the English were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the English in trials could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an imposition which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late king had put the navy into a situation in which it was now superior in quality which they sought, of making war upon the States. They demanded that, without any further delay or inquiry, reparations should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained, and that when this demand was not complied with, they despatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

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necessity; but from vain points of honour and personal resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the public. They resolved, therefore, to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make some advances towards peace. They met not, however, with a favourable reception; and it was not without pleasure that they learned the dissolution of that haughty assembly, by the violence of Cromwell; an event from which they expected a more peaceful and beneficial issue.

The zealous republicans in the parliament had not been the chief or first promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every possible advantage. On all occasions they set up the Restorist opposition to the army, and celebrated the glory and successes of their naval armaments. They insisted on the intolerable expense to which the nation was subjected, and urged the necessity of diminishing it, by a reduction of the land forces. They had ordered some of the regiments to serve on board the fleet in the quality of marines. And Cromwell, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently saw that they had entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination under their authority. Without scruple or delay he resolved to prevent them.

On such firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that though a great master of fraud and dissimulation, he judged it superfluous to employ any disguise in conducting this bold enterprise. If summoned to account, he could point out his motives; for he knew that they were disposed to receive whatever impressions he was pleased to give them. Most of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made and the powers, when the late king was seized at Holmby; the general officers regarded the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought that they themselves were entitled to protection among those officers and retons, of which its members had so long kept possession. Harrison, Rich, Overton, and a few others who retained some principle, were guided by notions so extravagant, that they were easily deluded into measures the most violent and most criminal. And the whole army had already been guilty of such illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no further scruple with regard to any entreprise for which they were prepared.

In the council of officers it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they there desired the parliament to reflect how many years they had sitten, and what profit they had derived from these; how they had introduced the new model the representative, and established successive parliaments, who might bear the burden of national affairs, from which they themselves would gladly, after so much danger and fatigue, be at last relieved. They remonstrated that the parliament had achieved great enterprises, and had surmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they said, to the rest of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore desired them, after settling a council who might execute the laws during the interval, to summon a new parliament to discharge that free and independent government, which they had so long promised to the people.

The parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their application, and by mutual altercation and opposition the breach became still wider between the army and the commonwealth. Cromwell, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settle to which he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrison having assured the council that the general sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, Major Strasser briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly: for if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, Colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell, that the parliament was sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the House by new elections; and was at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwell, in a rage, immediately hastened to the House, and carried a body of 300 soldiers before him to the door of him placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Harrison, and told him, that he now judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider, before you engage in it. You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyrannical disposition, oppression, and oppression of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the parliament, "let you go; give place to honest men; to honest men who are not now the soldiers of Cromwell. There are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you: he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane excusing himself against this proceeding, he had heard a loud voice, "O Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art an drunkard and a glutton;" "and thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this babbler? Here, take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the House, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to hide himself in Whitehall.

In this furious manner, which so well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwell, without the least opposition, or even murmuring, annihilate that famous assembly which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution. All parties now reaped successively the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries which they had suffered revenged on their enemies; and that by the same arts which had been practised against them. The king had, in some instances, stretched his prerogative beyond its just bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocrisy, the populace, first to tumults, then to war, against the king, the peers, and all the royalists. No sooner had the king reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independents, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The independents amidst their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebelliousness of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all ancient, example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with which men were oppressed, could not be subdued, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.
Cromwell's birth and private life—Barthome's parliament—Cromwell not created Earl—The last months of Charles—The resurrection of the republic—War with Spain—James of Montausier captured—Admiral Blake's administration—Cromwell's demand for probity and advice—Dunkirk taken—Siege of the protector—His death and character.

Olivier Cromwell, in whose hands the Cromwell's birth dissolution of the parliament had left the and after the temporary, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntington, the last year of the former century, of a good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate from his father. In the course of his education he had been sent to the university; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and he made small proficiency in his studies. He even threw himself into a disorderly and disorderly course of life; and he consumed in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the more early years of his youth, and dissipated part of his patrimony. All of a sudden the spirit of reformion seized him; he married, affected a grave and composed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and vigour of the puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained by gaming. The same vehemence of temper which had transported him to the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. He joined in all the acts of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hospitality, as well as his liberality to the silenced and deprived ministers, proved as chargeable as his former debauches. Though he had acquired an inestimable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so injured by his expenses, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture as a profession. But this expedient served rather to involve him in further debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he said to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he removed leisure from the temporal affairs. His active mind, superior to the low occupations to which he was condemned, preyed upon itself; and he indulged his imagination in visions, illuminations, revelations; the great nourishment of that hypochondriacal temper to which he was ever subject. Urged by his wants and his petty, he had made a party with Hambden, his near kinsman, who was pressed only by the latter motive, to transport himself into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical party; and it was an order of council which obliged them to discern and remain in England. The Earl of Bedford, who possessed a large estate in the fen Country, near the Isle of Ely, having undertaken to drain those natural swamps, was obliged to apply to the king; and by the powers of the prerogative, he got commissioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new acquired land among the several proprietors. He met with opposition from many, among whom Cromwell distinguished himself; and this was the first public opposition which he had met with of discovering the factious real and obstinacy of his character.

from accident and intrigue he was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament. His domestic affairs were then in great disorder; and he seemed not to possess any talents which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere into which he was now at last entered. His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untunable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. The fervour of his spirit frequently prompted him to two or three attacks in the House, was obliged to be heard with attention; his name, for above two years, is not to be found oftener than twice in any committee; and those committees into which he was admitted were chosen for affairs which were rather interest of the knights than the men of business. In comparison of the eloquent speakers and fine gentlemen of the House, he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foresaw that, if a civil war should ensue, he would soon rise to eminence and distinction.

Cromwell himself seems to have been conscious where his strength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontrollable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party which pushed every thing to extremities against the king. He was active in promoting the famous remonstrance, which was the signal for all the ensuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a small majority, he was alarmed. The question had been lost, he was resolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this resolution, he said, peculiar to himself; many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

He was no less than forty-three years of age when he first embraced the military profession; and by force of genius, without any master, he soon became an excellent officer; though perhaps he never reached the fame of a consummate commander. He raised a troop of horse; fixed his quarters in Cambridge; exerted great severity towards that university, which zealously adhered to the royal party, and who had himself a number of adherents in the lengths in favour of that cause which he had espoused. He would not allow his soldiers to perplex their heads with those subtitles of fighting by the king's authority against his person, and of obeying his majesty's commands. He first instructed that discipline and inspired that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies in the end victorious. "Your troops," said he to Hambden, according to his own account, are most of them old decayed serving men and country apprentices, with whom kind of fellows; the king's converts are composed of gentlemen's younger sons and persons of good quality. And do you think that the mean spirits of such base and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, courage and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit, and take it not that I say, of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be always beaten, as you have hitherto been in every encounter." He did as he proposed. He enlisted the sons of freedomholders and farmers. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics throughout England. When they were collected in a body, their enthusiastic spirit still rose to a higher pitch."In the month of October, said the master, as well as from policy, was sufficiently inclined to increase the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded. The wild enthusiasm, together with valour and discipline, still propagated itself; and all men cast their eyes on so pious and so successful a leader. From low commands he rose with great rapidity to be really the first, though in appearance only the second, in the army. By fraud and violence, he soon rendered himself the first in the state. In proportion to the increase of his authority, his talents always seemed to expand themselves; and he displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergence by which they were called into the first action. All England seemed to see a nation so turbulent and unruly, who, for some doubtful encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent prince, descended from a long line of monarchs, now last subdued and reduced to slavery by one, who, a few weeks before, was no better than a private gentleman, whose name was not known in the nation; and who was little regarded even in that low sphere to which he had not always a man, who would set by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but especially by the
several congregations of saints dispersed throughout the kingdom. The royalists, though they could not love the man who had imbued his bands in the blood of their sovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the people of England; and to support the latter, they were governed. The presbyterians were pleased to see those men by whom they had been outlawed and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outlawed by their own servant; and, in the phrase of the last act of violence upon the parliament. These two parties composed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in some tolerable temper. All men likewise, harassed with wars and factions, were glad to witness any panacea; and it was impossible for them to submit to a person of such admirable talents and capacity, than to a few ignoble enthusiastic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel subjection.

The republics, being denounced by Cromwell, were the party whose resentment he had the greatest reason to apprehend. That party, besides the independents, contained two sets of men, who are seemingly of the most opposite principles, but who were then united by a similitude of genius and of character. The first and most numerous were the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, who insisted, that dominion being founded in grace, all dispensations of justice, must be correction, which arose from piety and holiness; who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ upon earth; and who pretended, that the saints in the mean while, that is, themselves, were alone entitled to govern. The second were those, who chose to call themselves libertarians, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and insinuated, that all the various sects, so heated against each other, were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of such differing opinions were not contented with the ancient and legal forms of civil government; but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Chaloner, Harrington, Suckling, Wilmot, Neill, were esteemed the heads of this small division.

The diets were perfectly hated by Cromwell, because he had no hold of enthusiasm, by which he could govern or overreach them; he therefore treated them with great rigour and disdain, and usually denounced them as leathens. As the millenarians had a great interest in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their size of understanding afforded him greater advantage. Cromwell, in the kingdom; and the Monarchical law was intended to establish the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the detraction of the public. Among the fanatics of the House, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and histrangies. He was a leather-seller in London; his name, Praise-God Barbon. This ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barbon's parliament.

The Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negoti with the whole authority of the state. This legislature, in which the number of persons who might succeed them in that high and important office.

There were great numbers at that time, who made it a principle always to adhere to any power which was uppermost, and to support the established government. When Providence, therefore, was so kind as to bestow on these men, now assembled together, the supreme authority, they must have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had not been willing to comply with the demand, which they deemed it a matter of course, for the party, and having their own consent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwell, for their legislative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exercise of it.

In this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greater part were mechanics:

fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with seeking God by prayer; this office was performed by eight or ten gifted men of the assembly; and with so much success, that, according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devotional exercises, enjoyed so agreeable a success, as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they considered the high dignity to which they supposed themselves exalted. They had been told by Cromwell, in his first discourse, that he never looked to see such a day; therefore, their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work which it was expected, the Lord was to bring them to. All fanatics, being convinced by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the ecclesiastics, who claim a peculiar sanctity, derived merely from their office and priestly character. This parliament was thrown into confusion by the elenchical function, as savouring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relic of Judaism. Learning, also, and the universities, were deemed heathenish and unnecessary: the common law was denounced a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery; the highest court of jurisdiction in the kingdom; and the Monarchical law was intended to establish as the sole system of English jurisprudence.

Of all the extraordinary schemes adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any, except that which attempted to establish the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the detraction of the public. Among the fanatics of the House, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and histrangies. He was a leather-seller in London: his name, Praise-God Barbon. This ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barbon's parliament.

The Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negoti
The right of peace, war, and alliance, rested in him; but in these particulars he was to act by the advice and with the consent of his council. The power of the sword was vested in him alone, and he could not entrust it even to the king of the Redeemer. The ambassadors finding themselves proscribed, not as enemies of England, but of Christ, remained in astonishment, and knew not which was most to be admired, the implacable spirit or egregious folly of these pretended saints.

Cromwell began to be ashamed of his legislature. If he ever had any design in summoning so preposterous an assembly, beyond amusing the populace and the army, he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had so far succeeded as to make them desire any other government, which might secure their professions, now brought into danger by these desperate fanatics. Cromwell himself was dissatisfied, that the parliament, though they had derived all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord, and to insist already on their privileges. He had been careful to summon in his writs several persons especially, to concert, by concert, these met early; and it was mentioned by some among them, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They hastened to dissension, and Cromwell, therefore, to Tenth Dec. house, their speaker; and, by a formal deed or assignment, restored into his hands that supreme authority which they had so lately received from him.

General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the House; and that they might preserve the reign of the saints from coming to an unholy end, they placed one Xoyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were subscribed to by Colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: "for to my certain knowledge, we have not been here these many years."

The military being now in appearance, as well as in reality, the sole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwell thought fit to indulge in a new fancy; for he seems not to have had any deliberate plan in all these alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obscurantism to himself, indulged an unfounded ambition, proposed in a council of officers to adopt another scheme of government, and to temper the liberty of the people by the authority of a semi-royal person, who should be known by the appellation of protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called the instrument of government, containing that thing new legislature; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwell was declared protector; and with great solemnity installed in that high office.

So little were these men endowed with the spirit of legislation, that they confessed, or rather boasted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this instrument, by which the whole government of three kingdoms was intended to be regulated and administered to all succeeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is considered how crude and undigested a system of civil policy they endeavoured to establish. The articles of this instrument are these: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen, persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one; the other two appointed supreme magistrate of the commonwealth; in his name was all justice to be administered; from him were all magistracy and honours derived; he had the power of all criminal and murder acts; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved.

h Thacker, vol. i. p. 172. 291. Also Stubbes, p. 91. 92.

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England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no cessation of hostilities, the States, unwilling to suffer any longer the loss and dishonour of being blockaded by the enemy, made the utmost efforts to recover their situation. The occasion did the power and vigour of that republic appear in a more conspicuous light. In a few weeks they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped some ships of a larger construction. The publication of Portuguese orders, the vigorous chastisement of it, suiteing so well to the undaunted character of Cromwell, was universally approved of at home, and admired among foreign nations. The States had sought court curn inconvenient; and the ambassador soon after signed with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce.

Another act of courage, but necessary in his situation, was, at the very same time, exercised by the protector, in the capital punishment of Gerard and Vowel, two royalists, who were accused of conspiring against his life. He had erected a high court of justice for their trial; an infringement of the ancient laws, which at this time was become familiar, but one to which no custom or precedent could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The restless Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been devised during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were assured of entire impunity.

The protector had occasion to observe the prejudices entertained against his government by the disposition of the parliament, which he summoned on the third of September, that day of the year on which he gained his two victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It must be confessed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwell's intentions from his instrument of government, it is such a medley piece, that we cannot easily conjecture, whether he seriously meant to establish a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a first magistrate, in so extensive a government, seemed necessary both for the dignity and tranquility of the state, and the authority, which he assumed as protector, was, in some respects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws invested and still intrust to the king. On the other hand, the legislative power, which he resolved to commit to himself and council, together with so great an army, independent of the parliament, was bad prognostics of his intention to submit to a civil and legal constitution. But if this were not his intention, the method in which he distributed and conducted the elections, being so favourable to liberty, forms an evidence which is not easily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the small boroughs, places the most exposed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which represented the citizens of the 273 towns and counties. The rest were elected by London, and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: an estate of 200 pounds value was necessary to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and, excepting that such of the royalists as had borne arms against the parliament and all their sons were excluded, a more fair representation of the people could not be desired or expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

The protector seems to have been disappointed, when he found that all the pretensions which perhaps nothing but covers to his ambition, had not proceeded him the confidence of the public. Though Cromwell's administration was less odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable. The royalists had been instructed by the king to remain quiet, and to cover themselves under the appearance of republicans; and they found in this latter faction such irrevocable hatred against the protector, that they could not wish for more zealous adversaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the presence of liberty and popular election was but a new artifice of this great deceiver, in order to lay asleep the deluded nation, and give himself leisure to rivet their chains more securely upon

them; that in the instrument of government he openly declared his intention of still retaining the same mercenary array, by whose assistance he had subdued the ancient established government, and who would with less scruple obey him, in overturning, whenever he should please to order them, that new system, which he himself had been pleased to model: that being sensible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to give a face to the new, to obviate it, and to appear, as civil administration, and to balance the army by a seeming consent of the people. That the absurd trial, which he had made, of a parliament elected by himself, appointed perpetually to elect their successors, which proved, that he was at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averse to a free republican government, and possessed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legislator; that he was a depraved character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, could never seriously submit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure: and that the best policy was to oblige him to take off the mask at once; and either submit entirely to that parliament, which he had summoned, or, by totally rejecting its authority, leave himself no resource but in his seditious and emissary arm. In prosecution of these views, the parliament, having heard the protector's speech, three hours long, and having chosen Lenthall for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended institution of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, by the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arranging this new dignity; and even the pretended successors of government, as the protector himself, and of that authority which Cromwell, by the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arranging this new dignity; and even the pretended successors of government, as the protector and his council, were not consulted before one of the greatest members of the parliament, who had smitten the protector's authority without censure. The utmost that could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for so they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long speeches, and by a representation of a question of a question of a question, which, they thought, were sensible, would be carried against them by a great majority. The protector, surprised and enraged at this refractory spirit in the parliament, which however he had so much reason to expect, went for them to the plenary chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title; since the former government of which they complained, had invested him with the protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or disputed; that among these were the government of the nation, and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that, with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other contrary circumstances of government, he confessed himself powerless entitled. The protector now found the necessity of exacting a security which, had be foreseen the spirit of the House, he would with better grace have required at their first meeting. He obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament, and he placed guards at the door of the House, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retained the same refractory spirit which they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pensive and examined, article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy: very few topics were advanced with the general approbation of the House; and during the whole course of these proceedings, they neither bowed to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some malcontent officers, he hastened to the dissolution. And as he was above all things disposed to dissolve the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no parliament could be dissolved till it had sat five months; but Cromwell pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practised in the paying the fleet and army. The full time therefore having elapsed, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confused, angry harangue, and dismissed them. Were we to judge of Cromwell's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compositions, he was not to be accounted a man of very great capacity for it. But in the great variety of human geniuses, there are some which, though they see their object clearly and distinctly in general, yet, when they come to unfold its parts by discourses or writings, lose that firmness by which they had before attained. All accounts agree in ascribing to Cromwell, a tiresome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to disguise his meaning; yet no man's actions were ever, in such a variety of difficult incidents, more decisive and judicious. The electing of a discontented parliament is a proof of a discontented nation: the angry and abrupt dissolution of that parliament is always sure to increase the general discontent. The members of this assembly, returning to their counties, propagated that spirit of mutiny which they had exerted in the House. Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the ancient authority of one long and great line, encouraged the murmurs, and thought the present usurpation; though they acted so cautiously as to give the protector no handle against them. Wildman and some others of that party carried still further their conspiracies against the protector and the new constitution. They did not consider that the old parliamentary party, though many of them were displeased with Cromwell, who had disposed of their power, were still more apprehensive of the danger of any discord or writing, lose that firmness by which they had before attained. All accounts agree in ascribing to Cromwell, a tiresome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to disguise his meaning; yet no man's actions were ever, in such a variety of difficult incidents, more decisive and judicious. The electing of a discontented parliament is a proof of a discontented nation: the angry and abrupt dissolution of that parliament is always sure to increase the general discontent. The members of this assembly, returning to their counties, propagated that spirit of mutiny which they had exerted in the House. 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his enemies, were those whom he could oppress under the most plausible pretences, and who met with least countenance and protection from his adherents. He issued an edict, with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, X. to raise the money by which the free disposi-
tion continually exposed the public. Without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the nobles, however harassed with former oppressors, were now threatened with the same, for which purpose sums of money; and many of them were reduced by these multiplied disasters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be disaffected, or even lay under any suspicion, showed himself to be proved against him, was exposed to the new exaction.

In order to raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the protector instituted twelve major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of Eng-
land into so many military jurisdictions. These men, as-
signed by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person whose property should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himself and his council. Under colour of these powers, which were sufficiently exorbitant, the major-generals exercised an arbitrary power, and imposed taxes on the whole property and the persons of every subject. All reasonable men now concluded, that the very mask of liberty was thrown aside, and that the nation was for ever subdued to the absolute power of the protector, who was in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of eastern tyranny. Not only the supreme magistrate owed his authority to illegal force and usurpa-
tion: he had parcellled but the people into so many sub-
divisions of slavery, and had delegated to his inferior ministers the same unlimited authority which he himself had so violently assumed.

A government totally military and despotic is almost sure, after some time, to fall into impotence and langua-
ture; but when it immediately succeeds a legal constitution, it may, at first, to foreign nations, appear very vigorous and active, and may exert with more unanimity that power, spirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form. It seems now proper, after so long an interval, to look abroad to the general state of Europe, and to consider the measures which Eng-
land alone has been able to hold its head in the midst of the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwar-
like genius of the two last princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great security which they possessed, have made them negligent of the transactions on the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. The bold and restless genius of the protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprises to every part of Christendom; and partly from the ascendant of his magnanimous spirit, partly from the situation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of Eng-
land, even under its most legal and bravest princes, was never more sensibly felt than during this unjust and violent usurpation.

A war of thirty years, the most signal and most destruc-
tive that had appeared in modern annals, was at last finished by the Catherine of Braganza. The treaty of Westphalia, which was composed those fatal quarrels which had been excited by the palatine's precipitate acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young palatine was restored to part of his dignities, and was received in the negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwar-
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Sweden, which had acquired by conquest large domini-
nions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprises which promised her, from her success and valor, still more extensive acquisitions on the side both of Poland and of Denmark, and of Russia. But Charles XII. had assumed the throne of that kingdom after the voluntary resignations of Christina, being stimulated by the fame of Gustavus, as well as by his own martial disposition, carried his conquering

army to the south of the Baltics, and gained the cele-

brated battle of Parnawa, which he displayed in the annals during the space of three days. The protector, at the time his alliance was bound by every power in Europe, anxiously courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy against the legitimacy of such renown, even though it threatened the whole north with conquest and subjection.

The transactions of the parliament and protector with France had been various and complicated. The emoluments of Richelieu had furnished fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it first broke out in Scotland; but after the confirma-
tion had diffused itself, the French court, observing the materials to be of themselves sufficiently combustible, found it unnecessary any longer to animate the British malcontents to an opposition of their sovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for composing these intestine disorders; and their ambassadors, from decency, immediately went to London, to concert with the British ministers, and to receive directions from a prince with whom their master was connected by so near an affinity. Meanwhile, Richelieu died; and soon after him the French king, Louis XIII. learnt to be, an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent of the kingdom. Car-
dinal Mazarine succeeded Richelieu in the ministry; and the same general plan of policy, though by men of such opposite characters, was still continued in the French ac-
cs. The establishment of royal authority, the reduction of the Austrian family, were pursued with ardour and success; and every year brought an accession of force and grandeur to the French monarchy.

A Condé, a Turenne, were formed; and the troops, ani-
mated by their valour, and guided by their discipline, ac-
quired every day a greater ascendant over the Spanish.

All of a sudden, from some intrigues of the court, and some discontent in the courts of justice, intestine commotions were raised at this time, and the king, to whom was attributed a part in these rebellions of the French, neither emboldened by the spi-
rit of liberty, nor disgraced by the fanatical extravagances which distinguished the British civil wars, were conducted with little bloodshed, and with little bloodshed. The French monarchy was too much in the minds of the people. Though guarded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the Prince of Condé, the malcon-
tents, in a little time, were either expelled or subdued; and the French monarchy, having lost a few of its conquests, returned with fresh vigour to the acquisition of new do-
mimion.

The Queen of England, and her son Charles, during these commotions, passed most of their time at Paris; and notwithstanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and still less support, from the French court. Had the queen-regent been ever so much inclined to assist the English prince, the disorders of her own aff-
sairs would, for a long time, have prevented such intentions from being impracticable. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that, one morning, when the Cardinal de Retz waited on her, to inform her, that her daughter, the young princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie a-bed, for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a Queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. Of this being informed, the protector, who had been informed of all such intentions, sent a paid court to the parliament. He accepted of a pension of 10000 a year from them, and took a place in their assembly of divines.

Scrip. Hist. vol. xx. p. 433. The protector, during the civil wars, had much neglected his uncle, and
French; and Blake went so far as to attack and seize the whole squadron of ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. That town, disappointed of these supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French ministers soon found it necessary to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the city. He went at last to Spa, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years on a small pension, about 6000 pounds a-year, paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in the Low Countries. In the meantime, however, his family had discovered a disposition to order and economy; and his temper, cheerful, careless, and socialable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire of which his enemies had boasted.

Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the Marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants. If the French ministry had thought it prudent to bend under the English parliament, they deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector, when he assumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the councils of France were directed, was artful and vigilant, subtle and patient, false and intriguing; determined to maintain his power by dexterity and violence, and placing his honour more in the final success of his measures, than in the splendour and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwell, by his impetuous character, was the advantage of concentration, seeking an ascendant over this man; and every proposal made by the protector, however unreasonable in itself, and urged with whatever insinuation, met with a ready compliance from the political and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux was sent over to England as minister; and all circumstances of respect were paid to the daring usurper, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, a prince so nearly related to the royal family of France. With indefatigable patience, he sought to assure him that, according to his character, Cromwell seemed entirely to neglect; and though privy-counsellers, with English commissions, committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarine was content, in hopes of a fortunate issue, still to submit to these indignities.

The court of Spain, less connected with the unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater distress than the French by the search, had been still more forward in her advances to the prosperous parliament and protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish envoy, was the first public minister who recognized the authority of the new republic; and in return for this avowal, Ascham was sent envoy to Madrid to treat about a treaty. Not long after this minister arrived in Madrid, than some of the banished royalists, inflamed by that invertebrate hatred which animated the English factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him, together with his secretary. Immediately they took sanctuary in the churches; and assisted by the general favour, which every where attended the royal cause, were enabled, most of them, to make their escape. Only one of the criminals suffered death; and the parliament seemed to rest satisfied with this atonement.

Spain, at this time, assailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and labouring under many internal disorders, retained nothing of her former greatness, except the haughty pride of her counsels, and the hatred and jealousy of her neighbours. Portugal had rebelled, and established her monarchy in the house of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had revolted to France: Naples was shaken with popular revolts: the Low Countries were invaded with superior forces, and seemed ready to change their master: the Spanish infantry, anciently so formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in their flight from the Flanders, and though in the service, banished France, sustained, by his activity and valour, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin with which that monarchy was visibly threatened.

Had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved that balance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depended. Had he studied the united influence of the Low Countries, Austria, Portugal, and the Indies, over the political and economic circumstances of France, he might have perceived that no neutrality between those great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his ill-acquired and unsettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, whom might lend assistance to defend his country against the attacks of his enemies. His magnanimity undervalued danger: his active disposition, and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose: and as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, so sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms.

The extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumstances which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprising protector, and made him hope that he might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion, in which the Spanish monarchy should eventually end. Should be fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English. With this, a powerful navy, an active protector, and a numerous and powerful body of adherents, he might have collected new burthens on the discontented people. From France a vigorous resistance must be expected: no plunder, no conquests could be hoped for; the progress of his arms, even if attended with success, must there be slow and gradual: and if the protector had judged his success would be less striking to the multitude, whom it was his interest to allure. The royal family, so closely connected with the French monarch, might receive great assistance from that court to prosecute his designs; and an army of French, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the most opposite factions against the present usurpation.

These motives of policy were probably seconded by his gigantic prejudices; as no human mind ever contained so strange a mixture of sagacity and absurdity, as that of this extraordinary personage. The Swedish alliance, though much contrary to the interests of England, he had contracted with his zeal for Protestantism; and Sweden being closely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he so much prized himself, should a rupture ensue between England and this latter kingdom. The hugonots, he expected, would meet with better reception in England, who were better disposed with their sovereign. And as the Spaniards were much more papists than the French, were much more exposed to the old puritanical hatred, and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquisition, whose rigour they had refused to mitigate on Cromwell's solicitation? he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from heaven. A preacher likewise, inspired, as was supposed, by a prophetic spirit, bad him go and prosper: calling him a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniards, crush antichrist, and make way for the purity of the gospel through all the world.

Actuated equally by these digested, these ambitious, and these interested motives, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons; and while he was making those preparations, the neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspense, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm should discharge itself. One of these squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now so great and so formidable, that the citizens of Genoa, during the Crusades, had ever before sailed in those seas;
and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and whose pride equally provoked attacks, drenched invasion from a power which professed the most inhuman manners and tenets—him, and which so little regulated its movements by the usual motives of interest and prudence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained from the Duke of Tuscany reparation for some losses which the English commerce had sustained by him. He found them willing to sail to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from further violence on the English. He presented himself before Tunis, and had the satisfaction of seeing in the same day the same fate which had been meted out to the public bade him look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goleta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not to be pressed by such a bravado: he drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action, which its very temperateness, prepare, rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valor.

Jamaica conquered. The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Pen, and numbered about 6000 men, under Commodore Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's. Both these officers were inclined to the king's service; and it is pretended that Cromwell was obliged to hurry the soldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conspiracy which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family. The ill success of this enterprise may justly be ascribed, as much to the injudicious schemes of the protector, who planned it, as to the base execution of the officers whom it was conducted. The soldiers were the refuse of the whole army: the forces, enlisted in the West Indies, were the most profligate of mankind: Pen and Venables were of incomparable inferiority. The English were not furnished with arms fit for such an expedition: their provisions were defective both in quantity and quality: all hopes of pillage, the best incentive to valor among such men, were refused the soldiers and seamen: no directions or intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprise: and at the same time they were tied down to follow the advice of commissioners who disconcerted them in all their projects.

April 15. It was agreed by the admiral and general to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, in a fright, deserted their hospital, and fled towards the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were disembarked, without guides, ten leagues distant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without provisions, and, what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered spirit, and attacked them. The English, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and scarcity of food from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, were unable to resist. An incredible number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed 600 of them, and chased the rest on board their vessels.

The English commanders, in order to stone as much as possible for this unpromising attempt, bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though a man of fortune, must have felt the stroke, which must have put the spirit of such men into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had made a coquet of greater importance than he was himself at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vast one which was now before him. He gave orders, however, to support it by men and money; and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the English; the chief acquisition which they owe to the enterprise of Cromwell.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods of English merchonst, of which they could make themselves masters. The commerce with Spain, so profitable to the English, was cut off; and near 1500 vessels, it is computed, fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards.

Several sea officers, having entertained scruples of conscience with regard to the justice of the Spanish war, threw in their lots with them by quitting the service. Captain White, who had been a warm admirer of the cause, thought, of their superiors, could justify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magistrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in resigning to the public their natural liberty, could bestow on it only what they themselves were possessed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could invest it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of Heaven. Such maxims, though they seem reasonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and must be regarded as one effect, though of the most innocent and even honourable kind, of that spirit, partly French, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Blake lay some time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the Plate fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to make sail towards Portugal. Captain White, than whom no sailor is more beloved on the coast, had a squadron of seven vessels, came in sight of the galloons, and immediately set sail to pursue them. The Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore: two others followed his example: the English took two ships valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galloons were set on fire; and the Marquis of Badajoz, viceroy of Peru, with his wife, and his daughter, who accompanied him in the vessel, were destroyed in them. The marquis himself fought against; but seeing these unfortunate women, astonished with danger, fell in a swoon, and perished in the flames, he rather chose to die with them, than drag out a life ruined with the remembrance of such dismal scenes. When the treasures gained by this enterprise arrived at Portsmouth, the protector, from a spirit of ostentation, ordered them to be transported by land to London.

The next action against the Spaniards was more honourable, though less profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately set sail to intercept them. He arrived off the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a formidable posture. The bay was secured with a strong castle, well provided with cannon, besides seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with musqueteers. Don Diego Diques, the Spanish admiral, ordered all his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore, and posted the larger galleons further off, at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea.

Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, he overthrew with a most unexpected and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They lay under the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must have cut them to the heart. But the wind suddenly changing, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious victor.

This was the last and most signal action of the and death of gallant Blake. He was consumed with a Admiral Blake, dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, which he had so much adorned by his valor. As he came within sight of
land, he expired. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and cures he which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. It is still our duty, he said to the seamen, to fight for our country, into what hands over the government might fall. Dimized, generous, liberty, and the happiness of mankind were hateful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violence which were then so predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge; but his remembrance was not to be implied in countries. Cromwells were the most handsome panegyric on his memory.

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigour and enterprise, and drew a consideration to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. The great mind of this successful usurper was intent on spreading the renown of the English nation; and while he struck mankind with astonishment at his extraordinary fortune, he seemed to ennable, instead of debasing, that people whom he had reduced to subjection. It was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared as it ever was that of a Roman; and his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they laboured. Defence of the admirals.

It must also be acknowledged, that the navigation of Cromwell, in his civil and domestic administration, displayed as great regard both to justice and clemency, as his usurped authority, derived from his enemies, was founded only on the sword, could possibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity; amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial. The executive authority managed itself, and to him who stood in the way except where necessity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whose credit with the republicans and levellers he defended, were indeed for some time confined to prison; Cove, who refused to pay illegal taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obstinacy; high courts of justice were erected to try those who had engaged in conspiracies and insurrections against the protector's authority, and whom he could not safely commit to the verdict of juries. But these irregularities were deemed ineffectual consequences of his illegal authority. And though often urged by his officers, as is pretended, to attempt a general massacre, as a method of reformation, he always with horror rejected such sanguinary counsels.

In the army was laid the sole basis of the protector's power; and in managing it consisted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The soldiers were held in exact discipline; a policy which both accustomed them to obedience, and made them less hateful and burdensome to the people. He augmented their pay; though the public necessities sometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their interests, they were sensible, were closely connected with those of their general and protector. And he entirely commanded their affectionate regard, by his abilities and success in almost every enterprise which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it stands in opposition to civil establishments; and still more where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanatics with whom he had reproached in his soldiers, he had reduced them into measures, for which, if openly proposed to them, they would have entertained the utmost aversion. But this same spirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made them more ready to rely on that band of men which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of king was an usurpation upon Christ, they were apt to suspect a protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harrison, though raised to the highest dignity, and possessed of Cromwell's confidence, became his most inveterate enemy as soon as the authority of a single person was established, against which the usurper always made such violent protestations. Overton, Rich, Okie, officers of rank in the army, were actuated with the same principles, and Cromwell was obliged to deprive them of their commission; either at their own request, which he before thought unbounded among the troops, seemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthusiastic and seditions spirit of the troops, Cromwell established a kind of militia in all the counties. Cavalry were enlisted under proper officers, regular pay distributed among them, and a resource by that means provided both against the insurrections of the royalists, and mutiny of the army.

Religion can never be deemed a point of small consequence in civil government; but during this period, it may be regarded as the great spring of men's actions and determinations. Though transported, himself, to the most frantic whiskies, Cromwell had adopted a scheme for regulating this principle in others, which was sagacious and political. Being resolved to maintain a national church, yet detesting the old hierarchy, and the presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of trying, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some presbyterians, some independents. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the hands of the titular ministers; they examined and admitted such persons as received holy orders; and they inspected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy. Instead of supporting that union between learning and theology, which has long been attempted in Westminster, these tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the sole object of their examination. The candidates were no more perplexed with questions concerning their progress in Greek and Latin, than in their knowledge of the dispensations of the Scriptures and sciences: the chief object of scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their conversion.

With the pretended smarts of all denominations Cromwell was familiar and easy. Laying aside the state of protector, which, on other occasions, he well knew how to maintain, he insinuated to them, that nothing but necessity could obstruct him to invest himself with it. He talked spiritually to them; he sighed, he wept, he bemoaned his lot, he wept, and prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghostly gifts; and these men, instead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud that his gift was such; and his gift, though the example of others, had in itself such practices in which they themselves were daily occupied.

If Cromwell might be said to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independents who could chiefly boast of his favour; and it may be affirmed, that such pastors of that sect, as were not passionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him.

The presbyterian clergy also, saved from the ravages of the malapprist and millenarians, and enjoying their establishments and tithes, were not averse to his government; though he still entertained a great jealousy of that ambitious and restless spirit by which they were actuated. He therefore granted most liberal indulgences to the catholics and prelates; and by that means both he attached the wild sectaries to his person, and employed them in curbing the domineering spirit of the presbyterians. I am the only man, he was often heard to say, who has declared liberty for that insolent sect, which can suffer none but itself.

The protestant zeal which possessed the presbyters and independents, was highly gratified by the laudatory manner in which the protector to succeed to the succession of the persecuted protestants throughout all Europe. Even the Duke of Savoy, so remote a power, and so little ex-
posed to the naval force of England, was obliged, by the
authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to
tolerate the Protestants of the valleys, against whom that
prince had commenced a furious persecution. France
itself was content only with the religion, but even, in some instances, with the sedicious insurrections
of the bugnots; and when the French court applied for
a reciprocal toleration of the catholic religion in England,
the protector, who arrogated in every thing the superiority,
would admit no proposal to this purpose, but that of a
project of instituting a college, in imitation of that at
Romc, for the propagation of the faith; and his apostles,
in zeal, though not in unanimity, had certainly been a
full and constant terror to the clergy.
Cromwell retained the church of England in constant,
thought he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than
the republican parliament had formerly allowed. He was
pleased that the superior lenty of his administration
should in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royalists,
both by the army which he retained, and by those
secret spies which he found means to intermix in all their
counsels. Manning being detected and punished with
death, he corrupted Sir Richard Wilks, who was much
trusted by Chancellor Hyde and all the royalists; and by
means of this man he was let into every design and con-
spicacy of the party. He could discoiar any project, by
counsel or spies, and if it came to issue of any kind
which he valued so highly, that he must needs open
the bottle himself: but in attempting it, the cork-screw
dropt from his hand. Immediately his courtiers and
generals flung themselves on the door to prevent.
Cromwell burst out into a laugh, and said: Should any fool, said he,
be brought to the door, he would fancy, from your posture,
that you were seeking the Lord; and you are only seeking
a cork-screw.
And amidst all the unguarded play and busi
foonry of this singular personage, he took the opportunity of remarking
the characters, designs, and weaknesses of men; and he
would sometimes push them, by an indulgence in wise,
to open him the most secret recesses of their bosom.
Great regularity however, and even austerity of manners,
were always maintained in his court; and he was careful
never by any liberties to give offence to the most rigid of the
godly. Some state was upheld; a little dignity, and without
necessity, a little splendour. The nobility, though
courted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to inter-
mix with those mean persons who were the instruments of his government. Without departing from economy, he was generous to those who served him, and showed how to find out and engage in his interests every man
possessed of those talents which any particular employ-
ment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges,
his ambassadors, were persons who contributed, all of
them in their several spheres, to the security of the pro-
tector, and to the honour and interest of the nation.
Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in
one commonwealth with England, Cromwell had reduced
those kingdoms to a total subjection; and he treated
them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil adminis-
tration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting
mostly of English, of which Lord Broghill, the
Justiciary was admitted by the queen judges, four of whom
were English. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility,
be abolished all vassalage, and revived the office of
justice of peace, which King James had introduced, but
was not able to support. A long line of foreign pra-
isons was maintained throughout the kingdom. An army
of 10,000 men kept every thing in peace and obedience;
and neither the bandits of the mountains, nor the bigots
of the Low Countries, could induce their inclination to

1 About this time an accident had almost robbed the protector of his life,
and perhaps of his kingdom. He was going to visit his friend Sir
Hathway at Goodnestone, a short distance from the court. He had
with him the lord chamberlain, as a secretary, and his private
secretary, being in the coach. The horses were started and ran
away; a man was unable to command the fall of a pole, which he
was dragging, and he was dragged upon the rod for some time; a post, which he

2 A man with a pocket full of money, went off; and by that singular good fortune, which
would have killed him, he was taken up without any damage but his short coat or horse.

turbulence and disorder. He courted the presbyterian clergy; though he nourished that intestine entity which prevailed between the revolutionaries and protesters; and he found that very little policy was requisite to foment quarrels among theologians. He permitted no church assemblies; being sensible that from thence had proceeded many of the past disorders. And, in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed the irregularities of faction, liberty, had they attained so much happiness as at present when reduced to subjection under a foreign nation.

The protector's administration of Ireland was more severe and violent. The government of that island was first established by Cromwell. Alarmed, it was married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, a young man of an amiable, mild disposition, and not destitute of vigour and capacity. Above five millions of acres, forfeited either by the papist rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the English soldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more sudden and violent change of property are scarcely to be found in any history. An order was even issued to confine all the native Irish to the province of Connaught, where they would be shut up by rivers and mountains and eternal seas. It was hoped to be no longer dangerous to the English government; but this barbarous and absurd policy, which, from an impi- nance of attaining immediate security, must have depre- cated the respect of the world and reduced the English estates of no value, was soon abandoned as impracticable.

New parliament. Cromwell began to hope, that by his ad- ministration, attended with so much lustre and power abroad, so much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired such authority as would enable him to meet the representatives of the nation, and would assure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He summoned a parliament; but, not trust- ing implicitly to the loyalty of the people, he used of every art, which his new model of representation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections, and fill the House with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, those few but such officers as were most acceptable to him. Scotland showed a like compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on English parlia- ments as an enormous badge of slavery, it was, on that account, more easy for the officers to prevail in the elections.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the pro- tection still found that the majority would not be favour- ably inclined to his proposals. He set up the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refused a recon- ciliation of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protected against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty, but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

The majority of the parliament, by means of these arts and violence, was now at last either friendly to the pro- tection, or resolved by their compliance to adjust, if possible, this military government to their laws and liberties. He voted a renunciation of all titles of Charles Stuarts, or any of his family; and this was the first act, dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the labours of the House, resolved to move, that the future parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwell; and no surprise or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwell afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to move in such a manner, he answered; "As I have the honour to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you. "Get thee gone," was the answer with a shrug of the shoulder, and "yet get thee gone, for a mad fellow as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwell resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That measure was also become necessary for his own security. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually, between a despotic monarchy and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, had that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being possessed of so much distinct jurisdiction, began to establish a separate title to power, and had rendered themselves formidable to the protector himself. It was absolutely neces- sary, though he had not foreseen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Clay- pole, his son-in-law, who possessed his confidence, aban- doned them to the pleasure of the House; and though the name of major-general was preserved, it was rather entirely annihilated, the power of the major-generals. At length, a motion in form was made by Alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the pro- tection with the dignity of king. This motion, at first, ex- cited great disorder, and divided the whole House into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual ad- herents of the protector, the major-generals, and such officers as depended on them. Lanier, a man of deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, had long entertain- ed the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the pro- tectionist; and he foresaw, that if the monarchy were ever established, his services would be lost, and thereupon the crown be transmitted to the posteriority of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and rising all those civil and religious jealousies against the kingly person, which he had previously excited, he encouraged among the soldiers, and which served them as a pretence for so many violences, he raised a numerous and still more formidable party against the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was supported by every one who was more particularly devoted to the protector, and who hoped, by so acceptable a measure, to pay count to the prevailing authority. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired of ever being able to subvert the present policy, and who, in fixing it on ancient foundations, to induce the protector, from views of his own safety, to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the protector himself had been so far influenced by these sentiments, that when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and an ignoble usurper, who, by blood, treason, and perfidy, had made himself to the throne. The bill was voted by a considerable majority; A. D. 1659.

and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome those scruples which had so long delayed. This project was not unacceptable to Cromwell.

The conference lasted for several days. 9th April.

The committee urged, that all the statutes and customs of England were founded on the supposition of royal authority; and could not, without extreme vio- lence, be adjusted to any other form of government. The protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; and no man was ac- quainted with the extent or limits of his authority: that if it were attempted to define every part of his jurisdic- tion, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of so complicated a work; if the whole power of the king were at once transferred to him, the question was plain; the word "name," and the question was indis- putably due to the ancient title: that the English constitu- tion was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birth-right of the first magistrate, and that he had promised, by an act of law of Henry VII., that the security of those who act in defence of the king in being, by whatever means he might have acquired possession; that it was extremely the interest of all his kinsmen's friends, that the protector should act in a manner as to make his government uniform with the whole, and that a republic, together with a protector, had been established, in order to provide further securities for the freedom of the constitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found insufficient, even dangerous and
pernicious; since every undeterred power, such as that of a protector, must be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of thenation.

The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwell. He was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of these reasons; and his inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the commons. But how to bring over the soldiers to the same way of thinking was the question. The office of king had been painted to them in such horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling it, yet, even their general, to whom they were so much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all past professions, would make them paws, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the most shameless hypocrites, estailed, by no other than mercenary motives, in the cause of the most perfidious traitor. Principles, such as they were, had been encouraged in them by every consideration, human and divine; and though it was easy, where interest concurred, to deceive them by the thinnest disguises, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the mask, to show them, in a full light, the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suspended between these fears and his own repentance, Cromwell, particularly, excelled in London, and seemed still to oppose the reasonings of the committee; in hopes that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the soldiers to his new design.

While the protector argued so much in contradiction, both to his judgment and inclination, it is no wonder that his eloquence, always confused, embarrassed, and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reason. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curiosity. The members of the committee, in their reasonings, discover judgment, knowledge, eloquence, in London, and are preserved by this memorable occasion. But what a contrast, when we pass to the protector’s reply! After so singular a manner does mature discourse bear its talents, that in a nation abounding with great personages, a man who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a person of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of.

The opposition which Cromwell dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was resolved to except from the body of the nation, nor from their authority: it was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter. Dodington was married to one of these men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent, that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. They told him that, if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards should have it in their power to serve him.4 Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several informations were given that he had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwell, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown, which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had rendered to him. But history is inclined to blame his choice; but he must be allowed the best judge of his own situation. And in such complicated subjects, the alteration of a very minute circumstance, unknown to the spectator, will often suffice to cast the balance, and render a determination, which, in itself, may be uneligious, very prudent, or even absolutely necessary to the actor.

A dream or prophecy, Lord Clarendon mentions, which he affirms, (and is approved by) Lord Herbert, versaUy talked of, almost from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwell was so considerable a person as to bestow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold that Cromwell should be the greatest man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully, mount the throne. Such a prepossession probably arose from the heated imagination, either of himself or of his followers; and as it might be one cause of the great progress which he had already made, it is not an unlikely reason which may be assigned for his refusing, at this time, any further elevation.

The parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwell, found themselves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. Instead of the sovereign government, which was the will of the general officers alone, an humble petition and advice was framed, and offer-
prize, as if secure of the duty and attachment of the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he still supported; and he endeavoured to assist that crown in its successful enterprises, for reducing all its neighboring and ambitious kingdoms, and rendering itself absolute master of the Baltic. As soon as Spain declared war against him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himself in all its undertakings with that great and illustrious kingdom, Spain, having long courted, in vain, the friendship of the successful usurper, was reduced at last to apply to the unfortunate prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed the pretensions of Francis to the crown of France, and raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The Duke of York, who had, with applause, served some campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular esteem of Marshal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to seek military experience under Don John of Austria, and the Prince of Condé.

The scheme of foreign politics, adopted by the protector, was highly imprudent, but was suitable to that magnanimity and enterprise, with which he was so sagaciously endowed. He was particularly desirous of conquest and dominion on the continent; and he sent over into Flanders six thousand Englishmen, under a Dutch general officer, of the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardryke was taken, and put into the hands of the English. Early this campaign, siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated. Dunkirk taken.

The value of the English was much remarked on this occasion. Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwell. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of abilities, who had married his niece, and was a leading member of the court of Parliament.

This acquisition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining further advantages. He was resolved to concert measures with the French court for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, so chimerical, or rather so dangerous, a project would certainly have been carried into execution. And this first and principal step towards more extensive conquest, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expense of blood and treasure, fully to attain, had at once been accomplished by the enterprise, though unskilful, politics of Cromwell.

During this period of motley combinations of mutual friendship and regard passed between the French king and the protector. Lord Fancenberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, was deposed to London, then in the camp before Dunkirk, and in the regard, usually paid to foreign princes by the French court: a Mazarin was sent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the Duke of Crequy; and expressed his regret, that his urgent affairs should deprive him of the honour which he had long wished for, of paying, in person, his respects to the greatest man in the world.

The protector respited little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad: the situation in which he stood at home, kept him perpetually in anxiety and care. His administration, so expensive both by military enterprises and secret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in considerable debts. The royalties, the heard, and the maintenance of their dependencies for general reparation; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this pro-

He applied to get possession of Thistle and the passage of the Sound. For that purpose an agent was sent to the court of Holstein, with a letter, containing the terms on which he proposed to get possession of Bremen. Thistle, vol. vi. p. 476. The agent reported, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a fast in London, so that an Fleetwood said, the English fleet, which was not enaunt of the French, had been taken by the Lord had given a signal answer. The Lord has not only owned us in our wars before, but, in our walking upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all straights and difficulties, though we have not had our desire, was our situation in the Indies, not more than able for the same spirit. Thistle, vol. vi. p. 476. You have, says he, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers given for you daily, sent up by the nearest and most approved ministers and Chris-
The countenance of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: he felt that the grandeur which he had attained was so much his了自己的cardinal, and that the tranquillity which it belonged to virtue alone, and moderation, fully to ascertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually some fatal accident in his distempered government, seeing nothing but treachery and anarchy and possessing the confidence of no party, resting his title on no principle, civil or religious, he found his power to depend on so delicate a pose of factions and interests, as the smallest event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which with such signal intrepidity he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the pandews of fanatical or interested assassins, and every moment assumed to threaten one of his relatives, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him: with a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him; he wore armour under his clothes, and further secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him; but treachery was still as constant a feature in the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Sel dom he slept above three nights together in the same inn, lest he should be anticipated in the chamber he intended to choose, or mistrusted himself in any which was not provided with back doors, at which windows were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: solitude astonished him, by withdrawing that protection which he found so necessary for his security.

His body also, from the contagion of the sicknote of the anxious mind, began to be affected; and his protector, health seemed sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week, no dangerous symptoms appeared. He returned from no place without expectation of walking abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of death, and to cast his eye towards that future existence, whose idea had once been intimately present to him; though since, in the hurry of affairs, and in the shock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or suffer final reprobation; for he was entirely undecided, replied the preacher. "Then am I safe," said the protector: "for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace."

His physicians were sensible of the perilous condition to which his dissipator had reduced him: but his chaplains,

**The Common Wealth**

**chap. Lxix.**—A. D. 1655.
by their prayers, visions, and revelations, so buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable answer, it was pretended, had been returned by Heaven to the petitions of all the guilty; they had relied on their averagements much more than on the opinion of the most experienced physicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I tell you, I shall not die of this distemper; I am well assured of my recovery. It is prevented by the Lord. I am freed by my supplications, but to those of men who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate correspondence with him. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the medical art, and the power of God is far above nature." Nay, to such a degree of madness did their enthusiastic assurances amount, that upon a fast day, which was observed on his account both at Hampton-court and at Whitehall, they did not so much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges which they had received of his recovery. He himself was overheard offering up his addresses to Heaven; and so far had the illusions of fanaticism prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural morality, that he assumed the character of a mediator, in interfering for his people, than that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of social duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the severest reprobation.

Many persons, who had before seen him as one of the most contemptible and wretched of mankind, considered him then in a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare, that the protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A death, which threatened his will, was in their eyes of the highest importance to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorate. A simple affirmative was to be, extraneous to such a question. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate for him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar. His partisans, as well as his enemies, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

The writers, attached to the memory of character...this wonderful person, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the most extravagant panegyric; his enemies form such a conception of his moral qualities as resembles the most virulent invective. Both of them, it may be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune, as bespeak their representation a great air of probability. What could be more extraordinary, than the circumstance of his being a person of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, or shining talents of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute, so great a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should {shame} that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these tenements under a seeming obedience to a parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Temple too upon that parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they have been the subject of all sorts of abuse and calumny? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress again that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England? Overcome first all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patriotically, and to the utmost degree of their ruin and destruction? Run over each corner of the three nations, and subdue, with equal facility, both the riches of the south, and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreigners, and accepted as a host of a god? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen...and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army to do its vengeance by means of a most abominable policy and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant! Have the estates and lives of three nations at such a disposal as was once the little instance of the fate of the unfortunate and liberal in the spending of them? And lastly, (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory,) with one word beseech all this power and splendour to his possession? Do possessed of peace at home, and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world; which as it was too little for his praise, so might it have been for his conquests, if the short line of his mortal life could have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs."

My intention is not to disfigure this picture, drawn by so masterly a hand: I shall only endeavour to remove from it somewhat of the murrells; a circumstance, which on all occasions, gives much ground for doubt and suspicion. It seems to me, that the circumstance of Cromwell's life, in which his abilities are principally discovered, is his rising from a private station to the highest dignity of the empire, so much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his signal military talents, his eminent dexterity and address, were all requisite for the exercise of the essential powers of an army; and the motion appear the effect of supernatural abilities, when we consider, that Fairfax himself, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a seat in parliament, had, through the same steps, attained even a superior rank, and, if endowed with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite such an army to rebellion against the parliament, required no uncommon art or industry; to have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprise. When the breach was well and truly advanced between the military and civil powers, a supreme and absolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general; and if he be afterwards pleased to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded on most occasions as great condescension, if not as superfluous caution. That Cromwell was ever able really to blind or overreach either the king or the republicans, does not appear; as they possessed no means of resisting the force which he commanded, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by seeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themselves from his dominion. If he seduced the military fanatics, it is to be considered that their interests and his evidently concurred, the army was drawn up in his name, and that he led them to the greatest imposition, and that he himself was at bottom as fanatic an enthusiast as the worst of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to display those vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he set so high a value. An army is so forcible, and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society.

The domestic administration of Cromwell, though it discovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: perhaps, his difficult situation and situation, instigated by the spirit of the age, and though full of intrepidity, were perilous to national interest, and seem more the result of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foresight and deliberation.

An eminent personage, however, he was in many respects, and even a superior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of eloquence, the abilities which in him were most admired were a fine eye for the most brilliant and gaudy success, were the magnificent resolution of his enterprises, and his peculiar dexterity in discovering the characters, and practising on the weaknesses of mankind.

If we were to imagine a perfect man, creature of mind such as Inigo Jones, from that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the original
of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. Amidst the passions and prejudices of that period, that he should prefer the parliament to the government was, without doubt, reasonable; and since, even at present, some men of sense and knowledge are disposed to think that the question with regard to the justice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and uncertain. The murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible, but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action that he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see, how the various factions could at that time have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such virtues and such vices in fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity.

Cromwell was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame of body, and of a cleanly, though not of an agreeable countenance. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters, one married to General Fleetwood, another to Lord Fauconberg, a third to Lord Rich. His father died when he was very young. He married till after he was a protector; and, contrary to his character, was frequently absent from his court, and on no account allowed to frequent visits from him. She was a decent woman, and, by her frugality and industry, had raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune. She had even been obliged to set up her house, and to manage her own household affairs. She was one of the most celebrated women of that age, and one of the most excellent mothers. She had a great reputation for the management of the brewery. Ludlow, by way of ennu, mentions the great acquisition, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who possessed a jointure of sixty pounds a year upon her estate. She was of a good family, of the stock of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

CHAP. LXII.


A.D. 1658.

All the arts of Cromwell's policy had so often practised that they began to lose their effect; and his power, instead of being confirmed by time and success, seemed every day to become more tinct and precarious. His friends the most closely connected with him, and his counsellors the most trusted, were entering into councils to determine him; and, with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any ministers on whom he could rely. Men of probity and honour, he knew, would not submit to be the instruments of an usurpation violent and ill-timed, and those who were free from the restraint of principle, might betray, from interest, that cause, in which, from no better motives, they had enlisted themselves. Even those on whom he conferred a favour, never deemed it his part to become equivalent for the sacrifices which they made to obtain it: whoever was refused any demand, justified his anger by the specious colours of conscience and of duty. Such difficulties surrounded the protector, that his dying at so critical a time is esteemed by many the most fortunate event that ever attended him; and it was thought, that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his usurped administration.

But when that potent hand was removed, which contributed to one end, the dissolution of the unwieldy and ill-fitted machine. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accustomed to a retired life, acquainted with the officers, men unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not easily have thought, maintain that authority which his father had acquired by so many valourous achievements, and such signal successes. And when it was observed, that he possessed only the life, which was bounded by so many vices; that indulgence, incapacity, irresolution, attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution. For some time, however, the public was disappointed in this opinion. The council of the protector as recognised the succession of Richard: fleet—known and wood, in whose favour it was supposed protector.

Cromwell had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the protectorship; Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwell, was immediately proclaimed the new protector: the army, every where, the fleet, acknowledged his title: above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance. Foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments: and Richard, whose moderate, unassuming character never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of so rich an inheritance, which seemed to be tendered to him by the consent of all mankind.

It was found necessary to call a parliament, in order to furnish supplies, both for the ordinary administration, and for those engagements with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence in elections, the ancient right was restored to all the small boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their usual members. The House of Peers, or the other House, consisted of the same persons that had been appointed by Oliver. The House of Commons, at first, signed, without hesitation, an engagement not to alter the present government. They next proceeded to examine the humble petition and advice; and after great opposition, without any vehement argument, they was carried by difficulty, carried by the court-party to confirm it. An acknowledgment too of the authority of the other House was extorted from them; though it was resolved not to treat this House of Peers with any greater respect than they should return to the Commons. A declaration was also made, that the establishment of the other House should nowise prejudice the right of such of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament. But in all these proceedings, the opposition among the Commons was so considerable, and the debates were so much prolonged, that all business was retarded, and great alarm given to the partisans of the young protector.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were justly apprehended. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were entering into cahals against him. No character in human society is more dangerous than that of the fanatic; because, if attended with weak judgment, he is exposed to the suggestion of others; if supported by more discernment, he is entirely governed by his own passions, which save in the family of Cromwell, immensely increased proportion. Fleetwood was of the former species; and as he was extremely addicted to a republic, and even to the fifth monarchy, or dominion of the saints, it was easy for those, who had insinuated themselves into his confidence, to instil disgusts against the dignity of protector. The whole
republican party in the army, which was still considerable. Fitz, Mason, Massy, Farley, united themselves to that general. The officers too of the same party, whom Cromwell had disposed, as Delane, Okey, Ludlow, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time suspended. A party likewise, who found themselves eclipsed in Richard's favour, Sydenham, Kelso, Berry, Hedges, joined the cabal of the other. Even Devon, the protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now roused from his retirement, inflamed all those dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with some great resolution, for he had disputed with the officers established in their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and because Cabal of Wal. de dwelt in Wallingford-house, the party re-ceived a denomination from that place.

Richard, who possessed neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed to give an unguarded consent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No sooner were they assembled than they voted a remonstrance. They there lamented, that the good old cause, as they termed it, that is, the cause for which they had engaged against the late king, was entirely neglected; and they proposed, as a remedy, that the whole military power should be vested in some person whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expressed the same resolution of adhering to the good old cause.

The council was justly alarmed at those movements among the officers. The persons in whom he chiefly confided were, all of them, excepting Broghil, men of civil characters and professions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitebroke, Wolesley; which would only assist him to have them removed. He possessed none of those arts which were proper to gain an enthusiastic army. Murmurs were thrown out against some promotions which he had made. Would you have me, said he, prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Lambert, to continue in the same, or neither pray nor preach; yet will I trust him before ye all.

This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended saints. The other qualities of the protector were correspondent to these sentiments: he was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition. Some of his party offering to put an end to those intrigues by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures.

The parliament was no less alarmed at the military cabals. They voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to crisis. The officers proceeded to Richard and demanded of him the dissolution of the parliament. Desbrowv, a man of a clownish and brutal nature, threatened him, if he should refuse compliance. The protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little shilling to resist. The parliament was dissolved; and by the same act the protector was, by every one, considered as effectually dethroned. Soon after he signed his deposition in form.

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the same moderate disposition as Richard; but as he possessed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended that he might make resistance. His popularity in Ireland was great, and even his personal authority. He had the best of his youth, was considerable. Had his ambition been very eager, he, had, no doubt, been able to create disturbance: but being threatened by Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel John Jones, and other officers, he was quietly resigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not resolution to execute, of proclaiming the kigl in Dublin.b

Thus fell suddenly, as from a cloudless height, but by a catastrophe without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to possess an estate, which was moderate, and burdened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years; and at Pecznus in Languedoc he was introduced, under a borrowed name, to the Prince of Conti. That prince talked of English affairs, and Richard, who was extremely fond of him, and dreamed of power and capacity. "But as for that poor worthless fellow, Richard," said he, "what has become of him? How could he be such a blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from all his father's time and successes?" Richard attended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a remembrance more precious than noisy triumphs and a name, and a great contentment and tranquillity.

The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, deliberated what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes, levied by arbitrary will and pleasure; it was agreed to preserve the shadow of civil administration, and to revive the long parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwell. That assembly could not be dissolved, it was asserted, but by their own consent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to destroy, their right to government. The officers also expected that their opinions, in the wilderness of their own weakness, they would be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain where the power was so vested.

The officers applied to Lenthal, the speaker, and proposed to him, that the parliament should resume their seats. Lenthal was of a low, timid spirit; and, being uncertain what course might be the best, was desirous of evading the proposal. He replied, that he could by no means comply with the desire of the officers; being engaged in a business of far greater importance to himself, which he could not omit on any account, because it concerned the safety of the state, and the eminence of the officers in question; he added, that the officers pressed him to tell what it might be. He was preparing, he said, to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take next sabbath. They insisted, that mercy was preferable to sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for that great duty, than by contributing to the public service. All their remonstrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day, the speaker being informed that a tumult of the House was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, as Ludlow observes, to join them; and the House immediately proceeded upon business. The seceded members attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The numbers of this parliament were small; Long parlia-

lleft exceed seventy members; their alt. most, or Kump-
thonty in the nation, ever since they had removed from the army, was extremely diminished; and after their expulsion had been totally annihilated: but being all of them men of violent ambition; some of them men of experience and capacity; they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, and observed that some appearance of a parliament was requisite for the purposes of the army, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their masters. They chose a council, in which they took care that their men were of the majority: they appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted in his commission, that it should only continue during the pleasure of the House: they chose seven persons who should nominate to such commissions as became vacant; and they voted that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the House. These precautions, the tendency of which was considerable, gave great displeasure to the officers; and their discontent would immediately have broken out into some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

The bulk of the nation consisted of royalists and pres-
byterians; and to both these parties the domination of the pretended parliament had ever been to the last degree odious. When that assembly was expelled by Cromwell, contempt had succeeded to hatred; and no reserve had been made to express the utmost detestation against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. Seeing them reinstated in authority, all orders of men felt the highest indignation, together with apprehensions, lest such tyrannical efforts should be renewed, as soon as they should fall upon their enemies, who had so openly insulted them.

A secret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties, and it was agreed, that, burying former enmities, they should all join in the good cause. Upon this understanding they passed the Townshend, or Throw of the Rump; so they called the parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body. The presbyterians, sensible from experience that their passion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable excesses, were willing to lay aside ancient jealousies, and, at all hazards, to restore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry, bent their passionate endeavours to the same enterprise, by which alone they could be redeemed from slavery. And no man was so remote from party, so indifferent to public good, as not to feel the most ardent wishes for the dissolution of that tyranny which, whether the civil or the military part of it was considered, appeared equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

More than three hundred who had so narrowly escaped the royalists on his trial before the high court of justice, seemed rather amounted than daunted with past danger; and haring, by his resolute behaviour, obtained the highest confidence in all the regiments of the commonwealth, and became the centre of all their conspiracies. In many counties, a resolution was taken to raise in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townshend, undertook to secure Lyme; General Massey engaged at Gloucester; Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen, conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir George Booth, of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton, of North Wales; Arundel, Pollard, Grenville, Trevisa, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all these enterprises. And the king, attended by the Duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects. The French court had promised to supply him with a small body of forces, in order to countenance the insurrections of the English.

This combination was discovered by the infidelity of Sir John, and a party, who, observing the correspondence which he had begun with Cromwell. He had engaged to reveal all conspiracies, so far as to destroy their effect; but reserved to himself the management of convincing the conspirators. He took care never to name any of the infamous conspirators, who had zealously adhered, and were resolved still to adhere, to the royal cause in every fortune. These men he esteemed; these he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the presbyterians, or such lukewarm royalists, as, discouraged with their disappointment, were resolved to expose themselves to no more hazards. A lively proof how impossible it is, even for the most corrupted minds, to divest themselves of all regard to morality and social duty.

July. Many of the conspirators in the different counties were thrown into prison; others, astonished at such revolts of the gentry, left their houses, or remained quiet; the most tempestuous were prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendezvous; insomuch that some found it impossible to join their friends, and others were dismayed with fear and superstition at an incident so unusual during the summer season. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect was that of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. The Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Arundel, Colonel Massey, and above all Sir William Middleton joined Booth with some troops from North Wales; and the malcontents were powerful enough to subdue all in that neighbourhood who ventured to oppose them. In their declaration they made no mention of the king: they only demanded a free and full parliament.

The parliament was justly alarmed. How combustible the materials, they well knew; and the fire was now, as it seemed, falling among them. Booth was of a family extensively presbyterian; and his conjunction with the royalists they regarded as a dangerous symptom. They had many officers whose fidelity they could more depend on than that of Lambert; but there was no one in whose judgement and capacity they reposed such confidence. They commissioned him to suppress the rebels. He made incredible haste. Booth imprudently ventured himself out of the walls of Chester, and, in the open country, was surrounded by raw troops against these hardy veterans. He was suppressed, soon routed and taken prisoner. His whole army was dispersed. And the parliament had no further occupation than to fill all the jails with their open or secret enemies. Designs were even entertained of transporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies; lest they should propagate in England children of the same malignant affections with themselves.

This success hastened the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no less dangerous to them than Booth. A thousand pounds, which they sent him to buy a jwel, were employed by him in liberal presents to his officers. At his instigation they drew up a petition, and transmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honest, if sincerity in folly deserve that honourable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood should be made commander-in-chief, Lambert, commander-in-chief of the horse, Desborow lieutenant-general of the horse, Monk major-general of the foot. To which a demand was added, that no officer should be dismissed from his command but by a court-martial.

The parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately cashiered Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazeldig proposed the imprisonment of Lambert for high treason. Fleetwood's commission was vacated, and the command of the army was vested in seven persons, of whom that general was one. The parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treason to levy any money without consent of parliament.

But these votes were feeble weapons in opposition to the swords of the soldiery. Lambert drew some troops together, in order to decide the controversy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the assistance of the parliament, was taken by them. Morley and Moss brought their regiments into Palace-yard, resolved to oppose the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an easy way of disappointing them.

He placed his soldiers by the tower, and hastened to Westminster-hall. When the speaker came in his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were, in like manner, intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, observing that they were exposed to derision, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterprise, a solemn fast had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the usual prelude to every signal violence which they committed.

The officers found themselves again invested with supreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the substance, however much exceptions on others the empty shadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they pretended to invest with sovereign authority; and they called them a Committee of Safety. They spoke every where of summing a parliament chosen by the people; but they really took some steps towards assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment. In the meantime, the force of these there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; to the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude, beneath those sanctified robbers, whose union and whose
Foreign affairs. In this distracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were hastening towards a compounding of those disputes by which they had so long been agitated. The parliament, while it preserved authority, instead of following the imprudent politics of Cromwell, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the French in peace and wealth, and resolved, in conjunction with that state, to mediate by force an accommodation between the northern powers. Montague was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambassadors Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican, Sidney found the Swedish monarch, by whom he was received in the palace of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleased, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progress of royal victories, and display, in so singular a manner, the superiority of freedom above tyranny. With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths.—"It is cruel," said he, "that laws should be disregarded and perverted!" But his wife's atony was enclosed in a island, and might be starved by the combined squadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had so successfully managed the concerns of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he soon after died.

The wars between France and Spain were also concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. These animosities had long been carried on between the rival states, even while governed by a sister and brother, who cordially loved and esteemed each other. But politics, which had so long prevailed over these friendly affections, now at last yielded to their influence; and never was the triumph more full and complete. The Spanish Low Countries, if not every part of that monarch, lay almost entirely at the mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, disorderly finances, law and irreligious rebels, by which the dispersed provinces of Spain defended against the vigorous power of France. But the queen-regent, anxious for the fate of her brother, employed her authority with the cardinal to stop the progress of the French conquests, and put an end to a quarrel which, being commenced by ambition, and attended with victory, was at last concluded with moderation. The young monarch of France, though aspiring and warlike in his character, was in his judgment not occupied in the pursuit of love or gallantry, and had passively resigned the reins of empire into the hands of his politic minister. And he remained an unconsidered spectator; while an opportunity for counter was parted with, which he never was able, during the whole course of his active reign, fully to redeem.

The ministers of the two crowns, Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the Isle of Peñans, a place which was supposed to belong to neither kingdom. The negociation being brought to an issue by frequent conferences between the ministers, the monarchs themselves agreed to a congress; and these two splendid courts appeared in their full lustre amidst those savage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Theresa, along with him; and giving her to marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tie the incompatible interests of the two monarchs. The French king made a solemn renunciation every succession which might accrue to him in right of his consort; a vain formality, too weak to restrain the ungoverned ambition of princes.

The affairs of England were in so great disorder, that it was not improbable to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjust measures with a power which was in such incessant fluctuation. The king, reduced to despair by the failure of all enterprises for his restoration, was resolved to make a fresh attempt; but it was agreed he should be sent to the Pyrenees at the time when the two ministers were in the midst of their negociations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation; and expressed great inclination, had the low condition of affairs in the state of England, to make the distressed monarch. The cautious Mazarin, pleading the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, refused even to see him; and though the king offered to marry the cardinal's niece, for the present, obtain the means of a happy life, but empty professions of respect, and protestations of services.

The condition of that monarch, to all the world, seemed totally desperate. His friends had been baffled in every enterprise; and a sort of unmitigated servitude now streamed with the blood of the more active royalties: the spirits of many were broken with tedious imprisonment: the estates of all were burdened by the fines and confiscations which had been levied upon them; no one dared openly show himself of that party; and so small did their number seem to a superficial view, that, even should the nation recover its liberty, which was deemed nowise probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolution, was now paving the way for the king to mount, in peace and triumph, the throne of his ancestors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of the Prince de Condé and Monck, that this happy change was at last accomplished.

George Monck, to whom the fate was reserved of re-establishing monarchy, and finishing the war, was the second son of a family in Devonshire, ancient and honourable, but lately, from too great hospitality and expense, somewhat fallen to decay. He betook himself, in early youth, to the profession of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the Isle of France. After England had concluded peace with all her neighbours, he sought military experience in the Low Countries, the great school of war to all the European nations; and he rose to the command of a company under Lord Goring. This company consisted of 200 men, of whom a hundred were volunteers, often men of family and fortune, sometimes noblemen who lived upon their own income in a sphere of action, and resources a military turn at this time prevailed among the English.

When the sound of war was first heard in this island, Monck returned to England, partly desirous of promotion in his native country, partly distressed with some ill usage from the States, of which he found reason to complain. Upon the Scottish pacification, he was employed by the Earl of Leicester against the Irish rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was soon taken notice of for his military skill, discipline, and constancy. Having been employed in ostentation, expense, or cares, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of the soldiery; who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, usually called him Honesty Monck; an honourable appellation, which they still continued to him, even during his greatest elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were inflamed into rage against the opposite faction, he fell under suspicion from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Irish army was called over into England, surmises of this kind had been so far credited, that he had even been suspended from his command, and ordered to Oxford that he might be tried. The charge laid against him. His establisht character for truth and sincerity here stood him in great stead; and upon his earnest protestations and declaraions, he was soon restored to his regiment, which he commanded at the siege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royalists, commanded by Byron; and took Colonel Monck prisoner. He was sent to the Tower, where he endured, above two years, all the rigours of poverty and confinement. The king, however, was so desirous of avenging his son, that he was prepared with sacrifices of the greatest value; but it was not till after the royalists were totally subdued, that he recovered his liberty. Monck, however distressed, had an able defender in Monck, to whom he pardoned his accusers; but it was by the 19th of November, 1660.
cited him to engage in the wars against the Irish, who were considered as rebels by both king and parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcilable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once engaged with the general's enmity, he could not avoid, by the equality and justice of his administration, being also give contentment to that restless people, now reduced to subjection by a nation whom they hated. No less accept- able was his authority to the officers and soldiers; and foreseeing that the good will of the army under his command might some time be of great service to him, he had, with much care and success, cultivated their friendship.

The connections which he had formed with Cromwell, his benefactor, preserved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of General Monk. When the long parliament was restored, Monk, who was not prepared for opposition, adhered to the king and was committed to no command, from which it would not have been safe to at- tempt dislodging him. After the army had expelled the parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate the constitution and the rights of the king, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, suspected to be the motive of his actions.

A rivalry had long subsisted between him and Lambert; and every body saw the reason why he opposed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be subverted. But little friendship had ever subsisted between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it seemed not improbable that he intended to employ his industry, and spend his blood, for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained designs for the king's restoration, we know not with certainty; it is likely, that as soon as Richard was deposited, he foresaw, that without such an expedient it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement. His elder and younger brothers were elevated to the royal cause; the Granvilles, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were in the same interests; he himself was intoxicated with no fumes of enthusiasm, and had maintained no connections with any of the fanatical party. His early engagements had been with the Earl of Arundel; and by being chosen the body in the king's council, he was prevented suffering any disgust from the royal family. Since he had en- listed himself with the opposite party, he had been guilty of no violence or outrage, which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty, was easy and open; and nothing stood to prevent his becoming, by his natural propensity to that measure, except the views of his own elevation, and the prospect of usurping the same grandeur and authority which had been assumed by Cromwell. But from such exorbitant, if not impossible projects, the natural tranquility and moderation of his temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, seem to have set him at a distance. Cromwell himself, he always asserted; could not long have maintained his usurpation; and any other person, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more difficult to practise arts, of which every one, from experience, was sufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reason as well as candour, to suppose that Monk, as soon as he put himself in motion, had entertained views of effecting the king's restoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound silence even to Charles himself, be regarded as considerable. His temper was naturally reserved; his circumstances re- quired dissimulation; the king, he knew, was surrounded with spies and traitors; and upon the whole, it seems hard to say whether his mind was more devoted to his idea of his prudence, as a dispensation of his prosperity.

Sir John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's service, sent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be seen for some hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chief clerk and principal servant, who found him himself necessitated to fight, both against the Mar- quis of Ormond in Ireland, and against the king himself in Scotland. Upon the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk was sent for and commissioned by the king to enforce the settlement, which subsisted to a degree never heard of, and was finally extended to the advantage of the king's. The doctor, having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there should be occasion, to second his applications. At last, the general arrives; the brothers embrace, and after some observations, the doctor opens his business. Monk interrupted him, to know whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the subject. 'To nobody,' replied his brother, 'but to Price, whom I know to be entirely in your confi- dence.' The general, altering his countenance, turned the discourse, and would enter into no further confidence with him, but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother the moment he knew he had disclosed the secret; though to a man whom he himself could have trusted.

His conduct, in all other particulars, was full of the same reserve and prudence, and no less was required in effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any sus- picion, he immediately cashiered; Cobbett, who had been sent by the committee of safety; under pretence of communi- cating their resolutions to him, he resolved upon the de- bushing his army, he committed to custody; he drew together the several scattered regiments; he sum- moned an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of states; and having communicated to them his resolu- tion of marching into England, he received a seasonable, though no great supply of money.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk sent commissioners and two other commissio- neers to London, with large professions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He desired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle. The committee will- ingly accepted this fallacious offer.

Meanwhile these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with in- extricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into total confusion; the business of the army was to bring the king's forces to London, with large professions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He desired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle. The committee will- ingly accepted this fallacious offer.

Novem-ber.
friends exhort him to more vigour, they could get no other answer, than that God had spitten in his face and would not hear him. Men now ceased to wonder, why Lambert had promoted him to the office of general, and had consented himself with the second command in the army.

26th of December.

Lenthal, the speaker, being invited by the officers, again assumed authority, and summoned together the parliament, which twice before had been expelled with so much reproach and ignominy. As soon as assembled, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; they appointed commissioners for assigning quarters to the party; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to those quarters which were appointed them.

A. D. 1660.

Jan. 1.

Lambert was now in a very disconsolate condition. Monk, he saw, had passed the Tweed at Coldstream, and was advancing upon him. His own soldiers deserted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax, too, he heard, had raised forces behind him, and had possessed himself of York, without declaring his purpose. The last orders of the parliament so entirely stripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above a hundred horse: all the rest went to their several stations and rendezvous; and he himself was, some time after, arrested and committed to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the parliament, and who had resumed their commands, they might suddenly, were again cashiered and confined to their houses. Sir Harry Vane and some members, who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the parliament now seemed to be again possessed of its absolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of opposition or control.

The republican party was at this time guided by two men: Vane, who were their opposite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who possessed greater authority in the parliament, was haughty, impu- risious, precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noisy, pertinacious obstinacy, to acquire an ascendancy in public assemblies. Vane was noted, in all civil transactions, for temper, insinuation, address, and a profound judgment; in all religious speculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a Jacobin, a republican; and fancying that he was cert,ained to be favoured with inspiration, he deemed himself, to speak in the language of the times, to be a man above ordinances, and, by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and un- restrained, which greatly discredited the inferior mortals. These whimsies, mingling with pride, had an application to his excellent understanding, that sometimes he thought himself the person deputed to reign on earth for a thou- sand years over the whole congregation of the faithful.

Monk, though informed of the restoration of the parlia- ment, from whom he received no orders, still advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: the scattered forces in England were above five times more numerous. Fairfax, who had resolved to declare for the king, not being able to make the general open his intentions, retired to his own house in Yorkshire. In all counties through which Monk passed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addresses, exhorting him to engage himself, that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of those liberties, which by law were their birth-right, but of which, during so many years, they had been fatally bereaved: and that, in order to this salutary purpose, he would prevail, either for the restoring of those members who had been sequestered before the king's death, or for the election of a new parliament, who might legislate, and by general consent, again govern the nation. Though Monk pretended not to favour these addresses, that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and situation afforded, mightly animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy, which now equally oppressed the kingdom; the experience of past distrac-
The common council of London daily refused to submit to an assessment required of them; and declared that, till a free and lawful parliament imposed taxes, they never should deem it their duty to make any payment. This resolution, if yielded to, would immediately have put an end to the cord and harmony of the parliament; it required, therefore, upon this occasion, to make at once a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience.

9th February. Monk received orders to march into the city; to seize twelve persons, the most obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the posts and chains from all the streets; and to take down and break the portals and candles, and to restore all the ordinances by which they had been suspended or revoked. Having fixed a close correspondence with the city, and established its militia in hands whose fidelity might be relied on, he returned with his army to Westminster, and renewed every one of those suspended regulations of the nation. While he still pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large steps towards the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy.

The seceded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the House, and finding the doors barred, no longer any obstruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: most of the independents left the place. The restored members first declared, that the minister, who knew them to be however different in affections, expectations, and designs, united in the detestation of the long parliament.

A council of state was established, consisting of men of character and moderation; most of whom, either in open civil wars, had made a great figure among the presbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into such hands as would promote order and settlement. These, conjured with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the more numerous, though dispersed army, of whose inclinations there was still much reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more dangerous of the others, and bringing the troops to a state of discipline and obedience.

Overtol, governor of Hull, had declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of King Jesus: but when Alured produced the authority of parliament for his command at the place to Colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conspiracy with Sir George Booth; and, having been on several occasions at variance with both, he marched towards the coast of England, with an intention of supporting that insurrection of the royalists. On his arrival, he received the news of Booth's defeat, and the total failure of the enterprise. The great difficulties, to which the parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country-house. The council of state now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval as well as military force, in hands favourable to the public settlement.

Notwithstanding all these steps which were taken towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the kirk to be opened. To call a free parliament, and to restore the royal family, were visibly, in their present dispositions, the hopes of the royalists. They were又是 selected for the

b After Monk's declaration for a free parliament on the alluvium of parliament (the populace exclaimed) was celebrated by these symbols of hatred and detestation.

The parliament, though in the agonies of despair, made still one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They sent a committee with offers to gain the general. He refused to hear them, and ordered the house to be dissolved. Though several persons, desparate from guilt and fanaticism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his government, he would not be guilty to take ill persons. Having fixed a close correspondence with the city, and established its militia in hands whose fidelity might be relied on, he returned with his army to Westminster, and renewed every one of those suspended regulations of the nation. While he still pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large steps towards the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy.

The seceded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the House, and finding the doors barred, no longer any obstruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: most of the independents left the place. The restored members first declared, that the minister, who knew them to be however different in affections, expectations, and designs, united in the detestation of the long parliament.

A council of state was established, consisting of men of character and moderation; most of whom, either in open civil wars, had made a great figure among the presbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into such hands as would promote order and settlement. These, conjured with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the more numerous, though dispersed army, of whose inclinations there was still much reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more dangerous of the others, and bringing the troops to a state of discipline and obedience.

Overtol, governor of Hull, had declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of King Jesus: but when Alured produced the authority of parliament for his command at the place to Colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conspiracy with Sir George Booth; and, having been on several occasions at variance with both, he marched towards the coast of England, with an intention of supporting that insurrection of the royalists. On his arrival, he received the news of Booth's defeat, and the total failure of the enterprise. The great difficulties, to which the parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country-house. The council of state now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval as well as military force, in hands favourable to the public settlement.

Notwithstanding all these steps which were taken towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the kirk to be opened. To call a free parliament, and to restore the royal family, were visibly, in their present dispositions, the hopes of the royalists. They were又是 selected for the
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lllSTOUY OF 0IU:.VT liUITAlN-

ITtere was one Momre, a {^eiitieman of I>evoiishire, of
a Hedcntar)') studious dis|>osiUi‘n, nearlv related to Monk,
and one who luid always maintained the strictest intimacy with him.
With this friend alone did Monk
deliberate concerning that great enterprise which he had
nrojected.
Sir John (Jranville, wlio had a commission
trom the king, applied to Momreibr access to the genera);
but received for answer, that the general desired him to
communicate his business to Morrice. Granville, though
importunately urged, twice refused to deliver hi$ massage
to any but Monk himself ; and this cautious politician,
finding him now a person, whose secreev could be safely
trusted, admitted him to his presence, and opened to him
Still lie scrupled to commit any
his whole intentions.
thing to writing:* he deliveretl only a verbal message by
Granville ; assuring the king of his services, giving advice
for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the
Spanish territories, and retire into Holland. He was apprehensive lest Spain might detain him as a pledge for the
recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica.
Charles followed
these directions, and very narrowly esca|ied to Hreda.
Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and respect, Licen arrested

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S}ianiards.

Lockh^, who was governor of Dunkirk, and nowise
averse to the king’s service, was applied to on this occasion.
'I’he stale of F'ngland was set be fore him, the certainty of
the restoration represented, and ilie prosjieci of great favour
displayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom,
ana receive the king mlo his fuitress. Ix>ckhart still replied, that his commission was derived from an English
parhament, and he would not npen hLs gates hut in obedience to the same authority.^ Tins scruple, though in the
present emergence it approaches towards supi rstitiun, it is
difficult for

us entirely to condemn.
new parliament went every where

Tlie elections for the

in

favour of the king’s jiarty. Tlii.s was one of ihoie ]>opular
torrents, where the most indifferent, or even the most
averse, are transported with the general |Kusion, and
zealously adopt the senliments of the community lo which
they belong. The enthusiasts themselves seemed to lie
disarmed of Oteir fury ; and between despair and astonishment, gave way to those measures, which, they found, it
would be impossible for them, by their utmost efforts, lo
withstand.
The preibyterians and the royalists, being
united, fonned the voice of the nation, which, without
noise, but witli infinite ardour, called for the king's re-

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storation.
Die kingdom was almost entirely
tlic hands
of Uie former party ; and some zealous leaders among tliem
U^gan to renew the demand of those conditions, which bad
been required of the late king in the treaty of Newjiort
but the general opinion seemed to condemn all those
rigorous and jealous capitulations with their sovereign.
Harassed with convulsions and disorders, men ardently
longed for repose, and were terrified at the roention of
negociations or delays, which miglit affoitl opportunity to
the seditious army still to breed new confusion. The }«ssion too for liberty having been carried to such violent extremes, and having producc<i such bloody commotions,
began, by a natural movement, to give place to a spirit of
loyalty and obedience ; and the public was less zealous in
a cause, which was become odious on account of the
calamities which had so long attended it.
Afier the legal
concessions made by the late king, the constitution seemed
to be sufficiently seared ; and the additional conditions
insisted on, as they had been framed during the greaien
ardour of the contest, amounted rather to annihilation than
a limitation of monarchy.
Above all, the general was
averse to the mention of conditions ; and resolved that the
crown which he intended lo restore, should be conferreil on
the king entirely free and unencumbered. Without further
scruple, therefore, or jealousy, the people gave their voice
in elections for such as they knew to entertain sentiments
favourable to monarchy ; and all paid court to a party
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Hail he rvrr intrmli^ lo
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[A. D. 1660.-CBAP.

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which, they foresaw, was soon to govern tlie nation.
Though the parliament had voted, that no one should
elected, who had himself or whose father had home arms
for the late king ; little regard was any where paid to this

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ordinance,

llie leaders of the presbvterians, the Earl

of

Manchester, Lord Fairfax, Lord Hoborts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Aimesley, Lewis, were determined
to atone for post transgressions, by their present zeal for
the royal interests ; and from former merits, successes, and
sufferings, they had acquired wilb^heir party the highest
credit and auuiority.
I'he affairs of Ireland were in a condition no less favourable to the king. As soon a.s Monk declared against the
English army, he di spatched emissanes into Ireland, aud
engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him
in the same measures.
Lord Hroghil, president of Munster, and Sir Charles ( ^te, president of Connaught, went
so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king, and
to promise their assistance for his re.storatiun.
In conjunction with Sir Thtophilus Jones, and other officers, they
took possession of the governmeut and excluded Ludlow,
who was zealous for the
parliament, but whom tliev
pretended to lie in a confedeiwy ijitli the committee of
safety.
They kept lliemselves in readiness to scttc the
king; but made no declarations, till they sliould see the

Rump

turn which affairs took in F.ngland.
Hut all these promising views had almost been blasted
by an untoward accident. U|K>n the admission of the
secluded members, the republican party, particularly the
late king’s judges, were seized with incjustest despair, and
endeavour^ to infuse tlie same sentiments into tne army.
By themselves or their emissaries, they represented to tl^
soldiers, that all tliose brave actions, whicli had been performed during the war, and which were so mentonous in
the eves of the parliament, would no doulrt be regarded as
the deepest crimes by the royalists, and would expose the
army to the severest* vengeance. Dial in vain aid that
party make professions of moderation and lenity : the
King’s death, the execution of so ni.'uiy of tlie nobility and
gentry, the sequestration and imprisonment of the rest,
were in their eyes enmes so de^i, and offences so personal, as must lie prosecuted with tlic most implacable resentment. Dial tlie loss of all arrears, and the* caslnermg
of everv officer and soldier, wctc the lightest punishment
which must be expected : after die dispersion of the army,
no further protection remained to them, either for life or
property, but the clemency of enraged victors. And that
even if the most perfect security could be obtained, it were
inglorious lo be reduced, by treachery and deceit, to subjection under a foe, who,
the open field, bad so often
yielded to their superior valour.
After these suggestions had been infused into the arrav,
Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower, and
threw Monk and the council of state into great consternation.
Diey knew I^amberl's vigour and activity; they
were acquainted with his popularity in the armv ; they

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were sen.sjble, that, though the soldiers had lately desertetl
him, they sufficiently expressed their remorse and their
detestation of those, who, by fiilse professions, they found,
had so rgregiously deceived them. It seem^ necessary,

emplov the greatest celenty in suppressing so
dangerous a foe: t'ulonel Ingoldsby, who had been qpe
of the late king’s judges, but who was now
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*
entirely engaged in the royal cause, was despatcliMl after him.
He overtook him at DavenUy , while
he liiul yet assembled but four troops of horse- One of
them deserted him. Another quickly followeil tlie example.
He hiinself, endeavouring lo make his escape, was
seized by Ingoldsby, to whom he made submissions not
suitalde to his former character of spirit and valour. Ukev,
Axud, Cohbet, Crede, and other officers of that jiarty, were
taken prisoners witli him. All the roads were full of .soldiers hastening to join them.
In a few days they had been
formidable, and it was thought, that it might prove dantherefore, to

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of Sir Atilhmi* AihUy Coopfr. hy Mr.
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gerous for Monk himself to have assembled any considerable body of his republican army for their suppression: so that nothing could be more happy than the sudden extinction of this rising flame.

When the parliament met, they chose Sir Henry Hammond, as speaker, man whose though he had for some time concurred with the late parliament, had long been esteemed affec
tionate to the king's service. The great dangers incurred during former usurpat
ions justified, and in many cases, the death of every one in awe; and none dared, for some days, to make any mention of the king. The members exercised their spirit chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Crom
cell, and in various innovations for the better carrying on the business of their late sovereign. At last, the general, having sufficiently sounded their inclinat
ions, gave directions to Annesley president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loud
est acclamations were excited by this intelli
gence. Granville was called in; the letter, accompanied with a declaration, readily read: without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer: and, in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the king
dom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The people, freed from the state of suspense in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious looks for the first time to one of social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men, particularly of Oughtred, the mathematician, who d.ed of pleasure, when informed of this happy and unexpected event; for, he could not conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three king
doms, which had long been torn with the most violent con
vulsions; and having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions offered him by the king, as well as by every other in the kingdom, he freely accepted the miss
er to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birthday. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

At this era, it may be proper to stop a moment, and take a general survey of the age, so far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts, and sciences. The chief feature of this period is, that it affords an admirable example of that robust and vigorous

ture; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

No people could undergo a change more sudden and extraordinary than that which the English nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of fanaticism, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties ex
ceeded anything which we can now imagine: had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the ancient massacres and pro
scriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on palpable injustice, and was supported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and despair into such sanguinary measures; and if these furious expedients had been employed on one side, revenge would naturally have pushed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No social inter
course was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royals, though oppressed, harassed, persecuted, disdain'd all afinity with their masters. The more they were reduced to subjection, the greater superiority did they affect above those usurpers, who by violence and injustice had acquired an ascend
ant over them.

The manners of the two factions were as opposite as those of the most distant nations. "Your friends, the cavaliers," said a parliamentarian to a royalist, "are very dissolute and dissipated." "True," said the royalist, "they have the infirmities of men: but your friends, the roundheads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion,
and spiritual pride. 71 Riot and disorder, it is certain, notwithstanding the good example set them by Charles I. prevailed very much among his partisans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom excesses are less peculiar than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themselves in all pleasures, particularly those of the table. Opposition to the rigid preciosity of their antagonists increased their inclination to good fellowship; and the character of their dissipation was so great, that it became an as a sure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiscations and sequestrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careless and social jollity. 72 As much as hope is superstitious and a poor delusion, so much is it an illusion to make a bow, or move their hat, or give any sign of reverence. Instead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of speaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the simplicity of ancient language, omitting the jargon, which, on any consideration, they could be brought to employ.

Dress too, a material circumstance, distinguished the members of this sect. Every superfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched; no plaits to their cost, no buttons to their sleeves; no lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was universally rejected by them with horror and detestation.

The violent enthusiasm which prevailed among the parliamentary party, is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history; and the most instructive, as well as entertaining, to a philosophical mind. All the recreations were, in a manner, suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents. Horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities. 73 Even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian: the sport of it, not the humanity, gave offence. Colonel Houston, from his pious zeal, matched with his religion against the bear-baiters, and destroyed the game. But there were there kept for the diversions of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Huldrum. Though the English nation be naturally careless and inconsiderate, it was not for the first time carried beyond all example in ancient or modern times. The religious hypocrisy, it may be remarked, is of a peculiar nature; and being generally unknown to the person himself, though more dangerous, it implies less falsehood than any other species of insincerity. The Old Testament, preferably to the New, was the favourite of all the sectaries. The eastern poetical style of that composition made it more easily susceptible of a turn which was agreeable to them. We have had occasion, in the course of this work, to speak of many of the sects which prevailed in England: to enumerate them all would be impossible. The quakers, however, are so considerable, at least so singular, as to merit some attention; and as they renounced by principle the use of arms, they never made such a figure in public transactions as to enter into any part of our narrative.

The religion of the quakers, like most others, began with the lowest vulgar, and, in its progress, came at last to comprehend people of better quality and fashion. George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire, in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and employed himself as a glove-maker. For tending a stronger impulse towards spiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country clothed in a leather doublet, a dress which he long affected, as well for its singularity as its cheapness. That he might wear himself from sublimity of objects, he broke off all connections with his friends and family, and never dwelt a moment in one place; lest habit should beget new connections, and depress the sublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement than his Bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no rest or sleep, and, in its progress, became less and less concerned for temporary objects, he became so poor and low that he was not merely of the lowest vulgar, but of the poorest sort of spiritual progress, and began to pay less regard even to that divine composition itself. His own breast, he imagined, was full of the same inspiration which had guided the proficients and apostles themselves; and by this inward light must every spiritual obscurity be cleared, by this living spirit must the dead letter be animated.

When he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the forms of self-applause so soon subsided, if he continually supplied by the admiration of others; and he began to seek proselytes. Proselytes were easily gained at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the most extravagant modes of it were sure to be most popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and ostentation, Fox and his disciples, from a superstitious and ostentation, carelessly evoked, and made to mock themselves and the admiration of others; and he began to seek proselytes. Proselytes were easily gained at a time when all men's affections were
THE COMMONWEALTH.

army was estimated at 60,000 pounds a-month. 5 The establishment of the army in 1652 was, in Scotland, 15,000 foot, 2,580 horse, 560 dragoons; in England, 4,700 foot, 2,520 horse, garrisons 6,514. To all, 31,519, besides officers. 6 The army in Scotland was afterwards considerably reduced. This sum was probably in short of 20,000 men; so that, upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained to 1652 a standing army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly sum of 1,047,715 pounds. 7 Afterwards the protector reduced the establishment to 20,000 by an act of government andumble petticoat and advice. His frequent enterprises obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had set on foot to England an army of 15,256 men, in 1650, in Ireland about 10,000 men. 8 The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling a-day. The horse had two shillings and a-half; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family enlisted in the protector's cavalry. 9 No wonder that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so gainful a profession.

At the battle of the battle of Worcester, the parliament had on foot about 80,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members who had assumed the government, never at any time appeared so conspicuous. 10 The whole revenue of the public, during the protectorate, was at 186,717 pounds; his annual expenses at 2,301,540 pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from parliament. 11 The commerce and industry of England increased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: the trade to the East Indies and to Guinea became considerable. The Dutch possessed almost the trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey. 12 Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions which afterwards prevailed; though it soon recovered after the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: the Spanish war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants; and commerce has ever since been more honourable in English than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was generally invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty. Interest in 1650 was reduced to six per cent. The customs in England, before the civil wars, are said to have amounted to 500,000 pounds a year; a sum ten times greater than during the best period in Queen Elizabeth's reign: but there is probably some exaggeration in this matter.

The post-house in 1653 was farmed at 10,000 pounds a-year, which was deemed a considerable sum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half their present postage.

From 1619 to 1628, there had been coined 6,000,042 pounds. From 1628 to 1657, the coinage amounted to 7,733,521 pounds. 13 Dr. Davenant has told us from the registers of the mint, that between 1538 and 1659, there had been coined 19,832,476 pounds in gold and silver. 14 The first mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, in about 1665. Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflower, and a variety
of salaldb, were about the same time introduced into England.

The colony of New England increased by means of the puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themselves from the constraint which Lord and the church put on them; and, before the commencement of the civil wars, it is supposed to have contained 25,000 souls. For a like reason the catholicks, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

Before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taste began to prevail in the long lost pleasant art of music.sometimes having the pencil himself, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign masters were bought up at a vast price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who were touched with the same elegant passion. Vandyke was cartridge and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was master of the king's buildings; though afterwards persecuted by the parliament, on account of the part which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying some orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houses, in order to make room for that edifice. Laws, who had not been surpassed by any musician before him, was much sought by the king, who enriched his court with talent. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was thought by some more anxious with regard to purity of style than became a monarch. Notwithstanding his narrow views, so far from his freedom from that magnificence, that he possessed four-and-twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and completely furnished; insomuch that, when he removed from one to another, he was not obliged to transport anything along with him.

In his youth himself a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, notwithstanding his being a bishop, received a pension from him. Marvel and Milton were in his service. Waller, who was his relation, was supported by him. That poet protector himself was not so wholly illustrate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a-year to the divinity professor at Oxford; and an historian mentions this bounty as an instance of his love of literature. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

Civil wars, especially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly favourable to the arts of elegance and composition; yet, by presenting nobler and more interesting objects, they amply compensate the tranquillity of which they becawe the Muse. The speeches of the parliamentary orators during this period of our nation much surpass the beauty of what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then first put to trial. It must, however, be confessed, that the wretched fanaticism which so much infected the parliamentary party, was no less destructive of taste and science, than of all law and order. Gaity and wit were proscribed; human learning despised; freedom of inquiry detested; cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged. It was an article positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Utrecht, that all play-houses should for ever be abolished. Sir John Davenant, says Whitlocke, speaking of the year 1695, published an opera, notwithstanding the nice of the times. All the king's furniture was put to sale; his pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: the cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at 300 pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curiosities was sold at above 50,000/. Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces, and the materials of them sold. The very library and medals at St. James's were intended by the generals to be brought to the victors to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry quartered near London: but Selden, on hearing of the loss, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonswealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This expedient saved that valuable collection.

It is, however, remarkable, that the greatest genius by far that shone out in England during this period, was deeply engaged with these fanatics, and even prostituted his pen in theological controversy, in factious disputes, and all that is base and servile. This was John Milton, whose poems are admirable, though liable to some objections; his prose writings disagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal: his Paradise Lost, his Comus, and a few others shine out in his compositions: even in the Paradise Lost, his capital performance, there are very long passages, amounting to near a third of the work, almost wholly destitute of harmony and elegance, nay, of all value; and the great insipidity of the natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increased by the inequalities in his subject; of which some parts are of themselves the most lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the most laboured elegance of composition to support them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble subject, is the most wonderful sublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucrectus and Tasso no more will stand comparison with him. More concise than Tasso, more nervous than Lucrectus; had he lived in a later age, and learned to polish some rudeness in his verses, had he enjoyed better fortune, and possessed himself of all his arguments, he would, without doubt, have attained the pinnacle of perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the esteem of the court, and that his Paradise Lost was long neglected: prejudices against an apostate for the regicides, and against a work not wholly purified from the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into request; and Tonson, in his dedication of a smaller edition, speaks of it as a work just beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he seems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke's talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obsequie Whitlocke himself, though lord-keeper and ambassador, and indeed a man of great abilities and merit, has become in comparison of Milton.

It is not strange that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: it is more to be admired that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honourable in a prince, and to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then first put to trial. It must, however, be confessed, that the wretched fanaticism which so much infected the parliamentary party, was no less destructive of taste and science, than of all law and order. Gaity and wit were proscribed; human learning despised; freedom of inquiry detested; cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged. It was an article positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Utrecht, that all play-houses should for ever be abolished. Sir John Davenant, says Whitlocke, speaking of the year 1695, published an opera, notwithstanding the nice of the times. All the king's furniture was put to sale; his pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: the cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at 300 pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curiosities was sold at above 50,000/. Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces, and the materials of them sold. The very library and medals at St. James's were intended by the generals to be brought to the victors to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry quartered near London: but Selden, on hearing of the loss, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonswealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This expedient saved that valuable collection.

denced to the court, and lived in the best company. He possessed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the House of Commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage, than of honour or intention. He died in 1657, aged 79.

Cowley is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taste of his age; but had he lived even in the purest times of Greece or Rome, he must always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verse is only known to be such by the rhyme which terminates them. In his rugged untuneful numbers are conveyed sentiments the most strained and distorted; long-spun allegories, distant allusions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and vigour of thought, sometimes break out amidst these unnatural conceptions; a few anecdotes surprise us by their ease and gaiety: his prose writings please, by the honesty and goodness which they express, and even by their spleen and melancholy.

This author was much more praised and admired during his life-time, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton. He died in 1667, aged 49.

Sir John, who sat in Cooper’s Hill, (for none of his other poems merit attention,) has a looseness and vigour, which had not before him been attained by any English poet who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that style are well overcome, and he has given to the age, and exposed a faithful picture of nature, in a durable work, and is transmitted to the latest posterity. But a system, whether physical or metaphysical, commonly owes its success to a very want of sublimity, whose tragic scenes are sometimes so wonderfully forcible and expressive, is a very indifferent poet when he attempts to rhyme. Precision and neatness are chiefly wanting in Denham. He died in 1689, aged 73.

No Englishman in that age was more celebrated both abroad and at home, than Hobbes: in our time he is much neglected: a lively instance, how precarious all reputations founded on reasoning and philosophy! A pleasant writer, who paints the manners of the age, and exposes a faithful picture of nature, in a durable work, and is transmitted to the latest posterity. But a system, whether physical or metaphysical, commonly owes its success to a very want of sublimity, whose tragic scenes are sometimes so wonderfully forcible and expressive, is a very indifferent poet when he attempts to rhyme. Precision and neatness are chiefly wanting in Denham. He died in 1689, aged 73.

Harrington’s Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and even in our time, it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The style of this author wants ease and fluency; but the good matter which his work contains, makes compensation. He died in 1677, aged 66.

Harvey is entitled to the glory of having made, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital discovery in one of the most important branches of science. He had also the happiness of establishing at once his theory of blood and its circulation, and of turning physicians in Europe. He died in 1667, aged 66.

He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harsh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when men are least amiable, without preventing that authority and regard which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderness was excited by the memory of his recent adversities. His present prosperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. And as the sudden and surprising revolution, which restored him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumstances, or was more blest with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects.

This popularity the king, by his whole demeanour and behaviour, was well qualified to support and to increase. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gravity, accompanied his conversation and address. He was accustomed, during his whole reign, among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability which was capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of resentment, yet so powerful in influence, as carelessness of his temper, he insured pardon to the most guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favour to his most violent opponents. From the whole tone of his actions and discourse, he seemed devoted to the memory of past aninomities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country.
Upon the death of the king, his council de facto admitted the most fit and able men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: the presbters, equally with the rest of the print, had a share in the honors. Among them was also created Lord Earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley; Denzi Hollis, Lord Hollis. The Earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and Lord Say, privy-seal. Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even more gladly chosen to his king.

Admiral Montague, created Earl of Sandwich, was entitled, from his recent services, to great favour; and he obtained it. Monk, created Duke of Albemarle, had performed such signal services, that according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of distinction. Charles's disposition, free from jealousy; and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never overrated his merits; prevented all those disgusts which naturally arise in so delicate a situation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extensive, and his parts were more solid than shining. Though he had distinguished himself in inferior stations, he was imagined, upon familiar acquaintance, not to be wholly equal to those great achievements, which fortune, united to prudence, had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unable to do the scene of life to which he had not yet been accustomed. Morrice, his friend, was created secretary of state, and was supported more by his patron's credit than by his own abilities or experience.

Though the king himself sophisticated of his principal ministers and favorites, was the circumstance which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and prognosticated future happiness and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was chancellor of the exchequer; Monson, created Duke, of Ormond, was steward of the household; the Earl of Southampton, high treasurer; Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. These men, united together in friendship, and combining in the same faction, it was expected, might support public honour, and repay each other's credit, and pursued the interests of the public.

Agreeable to the present prosperity of public affairs, was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The solemnity and austerity of the funerals fell into discredite, together with their principles. The royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition, found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them, not to follow these manners. From past experience it had sufficiently appeared, that gravity was very distant from wisdom, formality from virtue, and hypocrisy from religion. The king himself, bore a strong propensity to pleasure, société, and any painful exertions evoking exultation in the mind, or causing any serious and malignant humours, which had hitherto engendered such confusion. And though the just bounds were undoubtedly passed, when men returned from their former extreme; yet was the public happy in exchanging vices, permissions to society, for disorders, hurtful chiefly to the individuals themselves who were guilty of them.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disturbed by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: but the parliament immediately fell into good correspondence with the king, and they treated him with the same dutiful regard which had usually been paid to his predecessors. Being summoned without the king's consent, they received an address, and a request of the crown, to the king's immediate discharge for the public service, to which he was willing to assent. The king allowed the request, for the public service, and the crown; the other part of the address was rejected.

The king, before his restoration, being unprepared, afraid of reducing any of his enemies to despair, and at the same time unwilling that such enormous crimes as had been committed, should receive a total impunity, had expressed himself very cautiously in his declaration of Bredin, and had promised an indemnity to all criminals but such as should be excepted by parliament. He now issued a proclamation, declaring that such of the late king's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen wardens were immediately surrendered, besides others escaped beyond sea.

The Commons seemed to have been more inclined to lenity than the Lords. The upper House, inflamed by the ill usage which they had received, debated for the crown the late king's judges, to except every one who had sitten in any high court of justice. Nay, the Earl of Bristol moved, that no pardon might be granted to those who had in anywise contributed to the king's death. So wide an exception, that every one had been partaker in the late king's death, or who parted in the execution of the late king, might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of some court artifice or intrigue. But the king soon dissipated these fears. He came to the House of Peers; and, in the most earnest terms, passed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the necessity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promise: a promise, he said, which he would ever regard as sacred; so to it he probably owed the satisfaction, which at present he enjoyed, of meeting his people in parliament. This measure of the king's was received with great applause and satisfaction.

After repeated solicitations, the act of indemnity passed both [H. and L.], Lords. The king, who had an immediate hand in the late king's death, were there excepted; even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Those acts of indemnity, in which the regicides, were also excepted. St. John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sitten in any illegal high courts of justice were punished.

The next business was the settlement of the revenue of the king's. In this work, the parliament laboured with great attention, and not only proceeded to recover the revenue for that year, but well as to the support of the crown. The treasuries of lands and revenues had long been regarded as a grievous burden by the nobility and gentry; several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchase this prerogative, together with that of purveyance; and 200,000 pounds a year had been offered that prince in lieu of them; wardships and purveyance, however, had been utterly abolished by the republican parliament: and even in the present parliament, before the king arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for the emoluments of these prerogatives. A hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum agreed to; and half of the revenue was settled in perpetuity upon the king, the other half to be levied.

Though that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the king's situation which induced him to consent to it. No request of the parliament, during the present joy, could be refused them.

Tonnage and poundage, and the other half of the excise were granted to the king during life. The parliament even proceeded so far as to vote that the settled revenue for the crown should be 1,200,000 pounds a year; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. But as all the princes of Europe were perpetually augmenting their military force, and consequently their expense, the necessity of revenue became so pressing in both of honour and security, that a tax could not be levied. Though that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the king's situation which induced him to consent to it. No request of the parliament, during the present joy, could be refused them.
thought necessary, might, even after the restoration, be extorted by the Commons from their necessitous prince. This parliament showed no intention of employing at present that enmity to any such purposes; but they seemed still determined that the king should not be sufferer to the revenues of the crown fixed and independent. Though they voted in general, that 1,200,000 pounds a year should be settled on the king, they scarcely assigned any funds whatever for that sum, and they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of parliament.

In all the temporary supplies which they voted, they distinctly avowed that they would not yield grace to any engagements, any grant made them by the king, or by his agents, or by his officers of any kind, amounting to 20,000 pounds, or any amount less, without the previous concurrence of the parliament. And the Commons showed great jealousy in granting the sums for that end. An assessment of 70,000 pounds a month was imposed; but it was at first voted to continue only three months: and all the other sums, which they levied for that purpose, by a poll-bill and new assessments, were still granted by parcel; as if they were not, as yet, well assured of the fidelity of the hand to which the money was intrusted. Having proceeded so far in the settlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned itself for some time.

September 13.

Trials and executions, which chiefly interested the public, was the trial and condemnation of the recusants. The general indignation, attending the enormous crime of which they had been accused, made their sufferings the subject of joy to the people; but in the peculiar circumstances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mixed sentiment universally prevailed, which was easy to compassion and indulgence. Can any one, without concern for human blindness and ignorance, consider the deaneen of General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, the same cautious fragility. To disdain the army, so formidable in itself, and so much accustomed to rebellion and changes of government, was necessary for the security both of king and parliament; yet the Commons showed great jealousy in granting the sums for that end. An assessment of 70,000 pounds a month was imposed; but it was at first voted to continue only three months: and all the other sums, which they levied for that purpose, by a poll-bill and new assessments, were still granted by parcel; as if they were not, as yet, well assured of the fidelity of the hand to which the money was intrusted.

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The Princess Henrietta, daughter of Charles I., had been married to the Duke of Gloucester, a young prince of promising hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The king, by no incident in his life, was ever so deeply affected. Gloucester was observed to possess united the good qualities of both his brothers; the clear judgment and penetration of the king; the industry and attention to the welfare of his people; and the benevolence of York. He was also believed to be affectionate to the religion and constitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the small-pox put an end to his life.

The Prince of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy attending the restoration of his family, with whom he lived in great friendship, soon after Beckwith and the others communicated the matter to the king; and obtained his consent to the marriage of the Princess Henrietta with the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

After a recess of near two months the parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement. They established the post-office, wine-licences, and some articles of the revenue. They granted more assessment, and some arrears, for paying and disbursing the army. Business, being carried on with great unanimity, was soon despatched: and after they had sat two months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them.

This House of Commons had been chosen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and though many of the royalists had been incorporated among them, with divine illuminations. That these frequent illusions of the divine Spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to shake his steady resolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that, when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendour and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations; and, neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles and his integrity.

Scot, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had said in the House of Commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb-stone than this; Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death. He supported the same point upon his trial.

Carew, a millenarian, submitted to his trial, saying to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms. Some scribbled to say, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country; because God had set them to judge others. Others said, that they would be tried by the word of God.
have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is nowise probable that all the interest of the court would ever, with this House of Commons, have been able to make it effectual. They showed this prudence, no less than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

The chancellor, from the same principles of conduct, hastened to discharge the army. When the king reviewed these veteran troops, he was struck with their beauty, order, discipline, and martial appearance; and being sensible, that regular forces are most necessary implements of royalty, he expressed a desire of finding expedients still to retain them. His wise ministers, before him, had a dangerous spirit by which these troops were actuated, their enthusiastic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convicted the king, that till they were disbanded, he never could esteem himself secure established on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse, and 4000 foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this island. Lord Mordaunt said, that the king, being possessed of that force, might now look upon himself as the most considerable gentleman in England.8 The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and other towns, which had made resistance to the king during the civil war, were now disbanded.

Clarendon not only behaved with wisdom and justice in the office of chancellor; all the counsels, which he gave the king, tended equally to promote the interest of prince and people. Charles, accustomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgment of his faithful ministers, continued still to submit to his direction; and for some time no minister was ever possessed of more absolute authority. He moderated the former zeal of the royalists, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the opposite party he endeavoured to preserve inviolate all the king's engagements: he kept an exact register of the promises which had been made for any service, and he employed all his power to fulfill them. The grand minister was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the Duke of York, and, under promise of marriage, had secretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared soon after the restoration; and though many endeavoured to dissuade the king from consenting to so unequal an alliance, Charles, in pity to his friend and minister, who had been ignorant of these engagements, permitted his brother to marry her.5 Clarendon expressed great uneasiness at the honour which he had obtained; and said, that by being elevated so much above his rank, he thencheuse d a more golden downfall.6

Most circumstances of Clarendon's administration have met with applause: his maxim alone in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics have by many been deemed the effect of prejudice narrow and bigoted. Had the zealosity of royal power prevailed so far with the convention parliament, as to make them restore the king with strict limitations, there is no question but the establishment of presbyterian discipline had been one of the conditions most rigidly insisted on. Not only that form of ecclesiastical government is more favourable to liberty than to royal power: it was likewise, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the House of Commons, and suited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general disgust towards faction, and the authority of Monk, had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full settlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a necessary and infallible consequence. All the royalists were zealous for that mode of religion; the merits of the episcopal clergy towards the king, as well as their sufferings on that account, had been great; the laws which established this church, and the liturgy, are as yet unprovided for by legal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to give the superiority to presbyterianism, had been sufficient to involve the nation again in blood and tears. Moved by these views, the Commons had wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left the settlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws.7

The king had not used great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine bishops still remained alive; and these were immediately restored to their sees: all the ejected clergy recovered their livings: the liturgy, a form of worship decent and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches: but, at the same time, a declaration was issued, in order to give contentment to the presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. By this declaration, the king promised that he would provide sufficient bishops for the larger dioceses; that the prelates should, all of them, be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of preslervists, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; that, in the mean time, the use of that mode of worship should not be imposed on such as were unwilling to receive it; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should not be rigidly insisted on. This declaration was issued by the king as head of the church; and he plainly assumed, in many parts of it, a legislative authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the English governed themselves, and the church was neither extended nor diminished to the slightest degree. The measures of the ministry were not so much directed to conciliate the Presbyterians, as to put them in a situation where they might be indispensable. The whole question was wisely left to the disposal of the House of Commons, who could not fail of being made to see, after a while, that the king was resolved to gratify them at an easy rate. The House of Commons was not yet constituted a co-equal branch of the legislature. It was not yet divided into its two parts, with the intent of keeping one branch for restricting the powers of the other, which were intended at first to have been disbanded with the rest of the army.8

5 King James's Memoirs. The prince says, that Venner's insurrection was directly the effect of the necessity for keeping up guard for keeping pace with the enemy, which were intended at first to have been disbanded with the rest of the army.

6 King James's Memoirs.

enterprise. But as a pretence was wanted, besides their old demerits, for justifying the intended rigours against all of them, this reason, however slight, was greedily laid hold of.

Affairs in Scotland hastened with still quicker steps than those in England towards a settlement and a compliance with the king. It was de- diletted in the English council, whether that nation should be restored to its liberty, or whether the forts erected by Cromwell should be abandoned. The turbulent spirit by which the Scots, in all ages, had been so much governed? Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worcester to the restoration, had been detained prisoner in England, had convinced the ministers with the kingdom, and was strenuously opposed that violent measure. He represented, that it was the loyalty of the Scottish nation, which had engaged them in opposition to the English rebellion; and to take advantage of the calamities into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the highest injustice and ingratitude: that the spirit of that people was now fully subdued by the servitude under which the usurpers had so long held them, and would be as little yielded to any reasonable compliance with their legal sovereign, if by this means they recovered their liberty and independence: that the attachment of the Scots to- wards their king, whom they regarded as their native protector, far exceeded that to the English; and would afford him a sure resource, in case of any rebellion among the latter: that republican principles had long been, and still were, very prevalent with his subjects, and all obstacles to their conduct were thus nipped with new tumults and resistance; that the time would probably come, when the king, instead of desiring to see English garrisons in Scotland, would be better pleased to have Scottish garrisons in England, who, supported by English pay, would be found to curb the seditious genius of that opulent nation: and that a people, such as the Scots, governed by a few nobility, would more easily be reduced to submission under monarchy, than one like the English, who breathed nothing but the spirit of democratic equality.

A.D. 1661. These views induced the king to disband all the forces in Scotland, and to raise all the forts which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the parliament, which was summoned. A very compliant spirit was there discovered in all orders of men. The commissioner had even sufficient influence to obtain an act, declaring all the secessions since the year 1653, on pretext of the violence which, during that time, had been employed against the king and his father, in order to procure their absense to these statues. This was a: mere irregularity of his, without any show to the contrary with many dangerous limitations, overthrew some useful barriers which had been erected to the constitution. But the tide was now running strongly towards monarchy; and the Scottish nation plainly discovered, that their past resistance had proceeded more from the turbulence of their aristocracy, and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics, than from any fixed passion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were restored, with some other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretences, was, in its full extent, re-established in that kingdom.

The prelacy, likewise, by the abrogation of every statute enacted in favour of prelatures, was thereby tacitly restored; and the king deliberated what use he should make of this concession. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a passionate zealot against episcopacy, endeavoured to persua- de him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favourite point of ecclesiastical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the king. Charles, though he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scots, that he was resolved, if possible, to set them in a hearty measure. He said to Lauderdale, that prebys- terianism, he thought, was not a religion for a gentile man; and he could not consent to its further continuance in Scotland. At the same time, however, he allowed him that the nation in general was so disgusted with the violence and tyranny of the ecclesiastics, that any alteration of church government would be universally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, deeming that the presby- terian sect, if legally established in Scotland, would ac- quire authoritv, and in England too, would second the application of these measures. The resolution was there- fore taken to restore prelacy; a measure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniences: but whether in this resolution Charles chose not the lesser evil, it is very difficult to determine: he who had been com- missioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interest with the king, was persuaded to abandanc that party; and, as a reward for his compliance, was created Duke of Lauderdale. The consequence of this affair was chiefly intimated to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his con- duct, extremely obnoxious to them.

Charles had not promised to Scotland any such indemnity as he had insured to England by the declaration of Breda; and it was deemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for some time, the terror of punishment, till they should have made the requisite compliance with the new government. Though neither the king's temper nor plan of administration led him to severity, some ex- ample, after such a bloody and trumpant rebellion, seemed necessary: Marquis of Argyll, and the Wardour, picked as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one passed by the late king, in 1641, another by the present in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obstacles to the protection of Argyll; and there then fell a querry into that part of his conduct which might justly be regarded as the most exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the usurpation; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and such a one as the most loyal and affectionate subject might fre- quently by violence be obliged to commit. To make this compliance appear the more voluntary and hearty, there were produced in court letters which he had written to Alle- marte, while that general commanded in Scotland, and which contained expressions of the most inordinate attachment to the established government. But besides the general indignation excited by Allemarie's discovery of this private correspondence, men thought, that even the highest demonstrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a necessary mark of compliance from a person of such distinction as Argyll, and could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The parliament, moreover, on the 1st of January, 1661, passed, declaring the covenant unlawful, and its obligation void and null.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abol- ished by the lenity and equality of the constitution. Cavalier writers, whose names were then heard of no more: all men seemed to concur in submitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of parliament. Theological controversy alone still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of that flame which bad thrown the nation into combustion.
While catholics, independents, and other sectaries, were content with entertaining some prospect of toleration; policy and presbytery struggled for the superriority, and the hopers of both parties kept in agitation.

A conference was held in the Savoy between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretences, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. To declare the case in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were new canvassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes that so many men of gravity and learning could not aim at a delusive amalgamation, to agree in all points of controversy: they were surprised to see them separate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. To enter into particulars would be superfluous. Disputes concerning religious forms, in themselves, the most frivolous of any; and merit attention only so far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil society.

The king's declaration had promised, that some endeavours should be used to effect a comprehension of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all such questions seemed a favourable circumstance for the execution of that project. The paritans of some kind of union were said at the presbyterians, as well as the presbuts, having felt by experience the fatal effects of obedience and violence, were now well disposed towards an amicable agreement: that the bills of communion, levying, excommunications, and all their latter implements, were to be abolished; that the clergy should go generally in every form, rather than by particular invasions, express arguments in the state of j Perry, at best of dependence: and that if their pride were handled some seeming alterations, and a pretence given them for affirming that they had not abandoned their former principles, nothing further was wanting to produce a thorough union betwixt those two parties which composed the bulk of the nation.

It was alleged, on the other hand, that the difference between religious sects was founded, not on principle, but on passion; and that all the irregularities of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehension: that the more insignificant the objects of dispute appeared, with the less prudence might it be inferred, that the real spirit of dissension was different from that which was universally pretended; that the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleasure of making proselytes, and the obstinacy of disputation, would for ever give rise to sects and disputes; nor was it possible that such a source of division could ever, by any concessions, be entirely exhausted: that the church, by departing from ancient practices and principles, would tacitly acknowledge herself guilty of error, and lose that reverence, so requisite for preserving the attachment of the multitude: and that if the present concessions (which was more than probable) should prove ineffectual, greater must still be made; and in the issue, dissension would be dispossessed of all its authority, and worship of all its decency, without obtaining that end which had been so fondly sought for by these dangerous indulgences.

The ministry were inclined to give the preference to the latter arguments; and were the more confirmed in that intention by the disposition which appeared in the parliament lately assembled. The royalists and zealous churchmen were at present the popular party in the nation, and, as a new parliament, the issue had prevailed in most elections. Not more than fifty-six members of the presbyterian party had obtained seats in the lower House: and these were not able either to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopecy, were now exalted to as great power and splendour as they had lately suffered misery and depression. Sir Edward Tymor was chosen dean of St. Patrick's, and lord high chancellor of Ireland.

An act was passed for the security of the king's person and government. To intend or devise the king's imprisonment, or bodily harm, or deposition, or levying war against him, was declared, during the lifetime of his present majesty, to be a high treason. To affirm him to be a Papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to alienate his subjects' affections from him: these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate the person guilty from holding any public or private commission, to agrainst or in all the long parliament is not dissolved, or that either or both Houses, without the king, are possessed of legislative authority, or that the covenant is binding, was made punishable by the penalty of attainder.

The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The people assisted with great alacrity on this occasion.

The abuses of petitioning in the preceding reign had been attended with the worst consequences; and to prevent such irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no oration presented to the parliament should be referred to committee, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the king or either House by above ten persons. The present penalty annexed to a transgression of this law, was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months imprisonment.

The bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from the parliament by the law which the late king had passed immediately before the commencement of the civil disorders. Great violence, both against the king and the House of Peers, had been employed in passing this law; and on that account alone the partisans of the church were provided with a plausible pretext for repelling it. Charles expressed much satisfaction, when he gave his assent to the act for that purpose. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was interested in restoring the prelates to their former dignity. But those who deemed every acquisition of the prince a detriment to the people, were apt to complain of this instance of compliance in the parliament.

After some months, the parliament was again assembled, and proceeded in the same spirit as before. They discovered no design of restoring, in its fullest extent, the ancient prerogative, but only to correct some of the most material breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the sword had, in all ages, been allowed to be vested in the crown; and on that account, every prerogative, every parliament, till the last of the preceding reign, had willingly submitted to an authority more ancient, and therefore more sacred, than that of any positive statute. It was now thought proper solemnly to reinstate the ancient prerogatives of that parliament, and to acknowledge, that neither one House, nor both Houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. The preamble to this statute went so far as to rescind all the acts of every parliament, and much observation has been made with regard to a concession esteemed so singular. Were these terms taken in their full literal sense, they imply a total renunciation of all privileges in the subject, independent of the will of the sovereign. For as no rights can subsist without some remedy, still less rights exposed to so much invasion from tyrant, or even from ambition; if subjects must never resist, it follows that every statute by the court, had prior validity, and must be observed as absolute and uncontrollable: the sovereign needs only issue an edict, abolishing every authority but his own; and all liberty from that moment is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it was absurd to impose
to the present parliament, who, though zealous royalists, showed in their measures that they had not cast off all regard to national privileges. They were probably sensible, that to suppose in the sovereign any such invasion of public liberties is entirely unconstitutional; and that therefore the right of resistance in the subject, must be liable to the same objection. They had seen that the long parliament, under colour of defence, had begun a violent attack upon kingly power; and after the overthrow of an army in blood, had finally lost that liberty for which they had so imprudently contended. They thought, perhaps erroneously, that it was no longer possible, after such public and such exertions, to maintain the principle to which such a necessity, no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

The other measures of this parliament still discovered a more anxious care to guard against rebellion in the subject than the preservation of its power. In order to effect these objects, war and usurpation had naturally increased the spirit of submission to the monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the parliament and of the protectorates, all magistrates, liable to suspicion, had been expelled the corporations: and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refused to subscribe the covenant. To leave all authority in such hands seemed dangerous; and the parliament, therefore, empowered the king to appoint commissioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling such magistrates as either intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should discharge the obligation of the covenant, and should declare, both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to resist the king, and their abhorrence of the trinitarian position of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him.

The care of the church was no less attended to, and of the churchman's right to the enjoyment of that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity was a pledge of their sincere attachment to the episcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to presbyterianism. It was, therefore, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many clauses clearly hostile to independents and other sectaries, enacted to bind all their schemes subverted by the presbyterians, who had once been their associates, exerted themselves to disappoint that party of the favour and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the restoration, they thought themselves justly entitled. By the presbyterians, said they, the war was raised: by them was the populace first incited to tumults; by their zeal, interest, and riches, were the armies supported: by their force was the king subdued: and if, in the sequel, they protested against those extreme violations committed on his person by the military leaders, the petition came too late, having supplied those usurpers with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their sanguinary measures. They had indeed concurred with the royalists in recalling the king: but ought they to be esteemed, on that account, more affected to the royal cause? Habeas and amnestia, from disappointed ambition, were plainly their sole motives; and if the king should now be so-imprudent as to distinguish them by any particular indulgences, he would soon experience from them the same hatred and opposition which had proved so fatal to his father.

The catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court; and from their services and sufferings during the civil war, it seemed but just to bear them some favour and regard. These royalists dreaded an entire union among the protestants. Were they the sole nonconformists in the nation, the severe execution of penal laws upon their sect seemed an infallible ground for them, and therefore they were induced to push matters to extremity against the presbyterians, who had formerly been their most severe oppressors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The Earl of Bute, who, from conviction, or interest, or levity, or complaisance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his religion during the king's exile, was regarded as the head of this party.

The church party had, during so many years, suffered such injuries and indignities from the sectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much less deference, was on this occasion to be expected in the ecclesiastics. Even the last of that communion seemed now disposed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the usual measures of party justice. This sect or faction (for it partook of both) encouraged the ramrouses of plots and conspiracies against the government; crimes, which, without any apparent reason, they imputed to their adversaries. And, instead of enlarging the term of communion, in order to comprehend the presbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices which prevailed among that sect, for suit, and thus justified to themselves that uniformity it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should subscribe all the articles of league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the king.

This bill reinstated the church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigour, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and of indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken. It is true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expressed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament: but this limitation could never reasonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his engagements. However, it is agreed, that the king did not voluntarily concur with this violent measure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and Seymour of Bristol, the author of the bill, who by the intrigues of the catholics, was the chief cause which exerted his consent.

The royalists, who now predominated, were very ready to signalize their victory, by publishing through high principles of monarchy which their antagonists had controverted; but when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither so forward nor so liberal in their concessions as the king would gladly have wished. Though the parliament passed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their sanction to this dangerous innovation. The king's debts were become intolerable; and the Commons were at last constrained to vote him an extraordinary supply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly assessments. But besides that this supply was much inferior to the occasion, the king was obliged to demand earnestly to solicit the Commons, before he could count on it; and, in order to convince the House of its absolute necessity, he desired them to examine strictly into all his receipts and disbursements. Finding, likewise, upon inquiry, that the several branches of revenue fell much short of the sums expected, they at last, after much debate, voted a new imposition of two shillings on each hearth; and this tax they settled on the king during life. The whole established revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million; which was not sufficient for the public expenses. A very rigid frugality at least, which the king seems to have wanted, would have been requisite to make it suffice for the dignity and security of
government. After all business was despatched, the parliament was prorogued.

Before the parliament rose, the court was

king's marriage.

employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catharine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and whom he landed at Portsmouth. During the time that the protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to support the Portuguese in their revolt; and he engaged himself by treaty to supply them with 10,000 men for their defense. Engineering works, the repair of fortifications, and advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance; and in order to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, and a portion of 500,000 pounds, together with two fortresses, to the

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was voluntarily engaged by the most sacred covenant, was this obligation not materially power should ever be able to make him relinquish.

All the defence which Vane could make was fruitless. The court, considering more the general opinion of his accusers than the beginning of prosecution, of the civil war, than the articles of treason charged against him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deserved him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the persuasion of a just cause supported him against the terrors of death; while his enthusiasm, excited by the prospect of glory, embellished the conclusion of a life, which, through the whole course of it, had been so much dissipation. He appeared, therefore, a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose and execution, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admonished him to temper the ardour of his soul. He was not astonished at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death but as a passage to that eternal bliss which he believed to be prepared for him.

This man, so celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him: they treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are written with a spirit of piety and charity, or even of common sense, appear in them. A strange paradox did we not know, that men of the greatest genius, where they relinquish by principle the use of their reason, are only enabled, by their vigour of mind, to work themselves the destruction of error and absurdity. It is remarkable, that, as Vane, by being the chief instrument of Strafford’s death, had first opened the way for that destruction which overwhelmed the nation; so by his death he has struck the key of purpose to destroy all the errors furnished on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane’s behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like leniency in the king. Lambert survived his condemnation nearly years. He was confined to the Isle of Guernsey; where he lived contentedly, forgetting all his past schemes of greatness, and entirely forgotten by the nation: he died a Roman Catholic.

Presbyterian clergy expected to the presbyterians, that party had no leisure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew’s day, which the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the presbyterians, with which he would rather comply. He had some hopes that the bishops would not venture at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The Catholic party at court, who desired a great rent among the protestants, encouraged them in this obstanctly, and gave them hopes that the king would protect them in their refusal. The king himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made the strictest, in order to disgust all the scurrility, and revolting among the presbyterians, and deters them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their curates; and to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Fortified by society in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than openly renounce those principles, which, on other occasions, they were so apt, from interest, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleasure of retaliation; and even pushed, as usual, the vengeance further than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergyman; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the House of Peers, was now refused to the presbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many, that some relaxation in the case of persecution, and some submission of the presbyterians united to the church, and have cured those ecclesiastical faction which had been so fatal, and were still so dangerous. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among presbyterians; the last only consented to accept. Deanes and other preferments were refused by many.

The next measure of the king has not had the good fortune to be justified by any party; but is often considered, at what grounds of the same, as one of those greatest mistakes, if not blemishes, of his Dunkirk told to the French. It is the sale of Dunkirk to the French. The parsimonious maxims of the parliament, and the liberal or rather careless disposition of Charles, were ill suited to each other; and notwithstanding the supplies voted him, his treasury was still very empty and very much indebted. He had secretly received the sum of 200,000 crowns from France, for the support of his fleet, but the force of the fleet was so destroyed, that the ships maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king that sum; and, together with that, the ships which had been paid as the queen’s portion. The time fixed for paying the shipwrecked English on the coast of Dunkirk was approaching. Tangiers, a fortress from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. These considerations had such influence, not only on the king, but even on Clarendon, that this uncorrect minister was the most forward to address the French. The money in lieu of which the English were to receive for the ships, or rather the won and that nation, was therefore the only purchaser that remained. D’Estruades was invited over, by a letter from the chancellor himself, in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thousand pounds were demanded. One hundred thousand were offered. The English by degrees lowered their demand: the French raised their offer: and the bargain was concluded at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum. The importance of that fifth, as is said, was, so small, had it been abroad or at home. The French measured himself, so fond of acquisitions, and so good a judge of his own interests, thought that he had made a hard bargain; and this soon, in appearance so small, was the utmost which the wealthiest crown could offer.

A new incident discovered such a glimpse of the king’s character and principles, as, at first, the nation was somewhat at a loss how to interpret, but such as subsequent events, by degrees, rendered sufficiently plain and manifest. He issued a declaration on the 10th December last, under the pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. After expressing his firm resolution to observe the general indemnity, and to trust entirely to the affections of his subjects, not to any military power, for the support of his throne, he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he subjoined, that, as in the first place he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, in discipline, ceremony, and government, and shall ever constantly maintain it: so as for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own

1 D’Estruades, 17th August, 1660. There was above half of 1000,000 pounds really used as the queen’s portion. For the act of 20th of September, 1660, see pp. 682. 683.

2 It appears, however, from many of D’Estruades’s letters, particularly that of 17th September, that he was alarmed by the different discussion that the king, who on the other hand, was jealous lest the parliament should acquire any separate dominion or authority in a Protestant administration, which was intended to be a restraint on the Roman Catholic clergy. But it was the law the XVIIIth who first made a good success of it. If ever I conclude with anything apropos, it must be an appeal to some ally whose sense of the same purpose as Dunkirk would, in the hands of the English.
way, he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invaded the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom next approaching sessions to concur with him in making such some act for that purpose, as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that habeas corpus which be supposed to be inherent in him." Here a most important prerogative was exercised by the king; but under such artful reserves and limitations as might prevent the full discussion of the claim, they were to be formed between the king and parliament. The foundation of this measure lay much deeper, and was of the utmost consequence.

The king, during his exile, had imbied strong prejudices against a Catholic religion; according to the most probable accounts, he had already been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expressed by the parliamentary party against all papists, had always, from a spirit of oppression, inclined the court, and all the loyalists, to adopt more favourable sentiments towards that sect, which, through the whole course of the civil wars, had strenuously supported the rights of the sovereign. The rigour, too, which the king, during his stay in Scotland, had experienced from the Presbyterian faction, disposed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindliness to the party most opposite in its genius to the severity of those religiousists. The solicitations and importunities of the court of Rome, which he frequented, the view of a more splendid and courtly mode of worship, the hopes of indulgence in pleasure; all these causes operated powerfully on a young prince, whose careless and dissolute temper made him incapable of adhering closely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtless humour of Charles rendered him an easy convert to popery, the same disposition ever prevented the theological tenets of that sect from taking any fast hold of him. During his vigorous state of health, while his blood was warm and his spirits high, a contempt and disregard to all religion held possession of his mind; and he might more properly be denominiad a Roman Catholic. But in those revolutions of temper, when the love of raillay gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent understanding was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of more sincere conviction; and a sect, which always possessed his inclination, was then master of his judgment and opinion. But though the king thus fluctuated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and Roman Catholicism, which he retained, his brother, the Duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eagerness and narrow understanding made him a thorough convert, without scruple of cost, to the power of faction, and of blindly following the application and inquiry. By his application to business he had acquired a great ascendancy over the king, who, though possessed of more discernment, was glad to throw the burden of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealousy. On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general tulation, and giving the catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private houses. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and it was hoped that, under shelter of their name, the small and hated sect of the catholics might meet with favour and protection.

But while the king pleaded his early professions of toleration, and insisted on many other plausible topics, the parliament, who sat a little after the declaration was issued, could by no means be satisfied with that measure. The declared intention of easing the dissenters, and the secret purpose of favouring the catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and in these proposals they were encouraged by the king's ministers themselves, particularly the chancellor. To the House of Commons represented to the king, that his declaration of Breda contained no promise to the presbyterians and other dissenters, but only an expression of his intentions, upon supposition of the concurrence of parliament; that even if the non-conformists had been enticed to plead a promise, they had intrusted this claim, as all their other rights and privileges, to the House of Commons, who were their representatives, and who now freed the king from this care of consideration to be inherent in him." Here a most important prerogative was exercised by the king; but under such artful reserves and limitations as might prevent the full discussion of the claim, they were to be formed between the king and parliament. The foundation of this measure lay much deeper, and was of the utmost consequence.

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his courage, he could never regain the character which he lost by this hasty and precipitate measure.

But though Clarendon was able to elude Ranelagh's credit, this rash assault, his credit at court was sensibly declining; and in proportion as the king found himself established on the throne, he began to alienate himself from a minister, who, in his opinion, was so little suited to his own. Charles's favour for the catholics was always opposed by Clarendon; public liberty was secured against all attempts of the over-zealous royalists; prodigal grants of the king were either suspended, or restrained, and the dignity of his own character was so much consulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did also his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal mistresses. The king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created Duchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his master; and her success was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholls, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was soon after created Lord Arlington.

Though the king's conduct had hitherto, since his restoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to observe, that those virtues by which he had at first so much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great shortness of life; every one of his proceedings invested his character, without much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the result of a facility of disposition, than any generosity of character; his social humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his desire of pleasure was not extented with proper sentiment and decency; and while he seemed to bear a good-will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of friendship, and he had secretly entertained a very bad opinion and charge of most of his ministers. But above all, what sufficed his character in the eyes of good judges, was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whose zeal and sufferings in the royal cause had known no bounds. This conduct, however, in the king, may, in the circumstances of his situation and temper, admit of some excuse; at least, of some alleviation. As he had been restored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his ancient friends, the former pretended a title to share in the favours and being, from practice, acquainted with public business, they were better qualified to execute any trust committed to them. The king's revenues were far from being large, or even equal to his necessary expenses; and his mistresses, and the charge of maintenance of his court, with solicitation, every request from his easy temper. The very poverty to which the most zealous royalists had reduced themselves, by rendering them insignificant, made them unfit to support the king's measures, and caused him to deem them a useless encumbrance. And as many false and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indulgence, averse to a strict discussion or inquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The parliament took some notice of the poor cavaliers. Thirty thousand pounds were, at one time, distributed among them: Mrs. Lane also, and the Penderells, had handsome presents and pensions from the king. But the greater part of the regicide party, and distress; aggrieved by the cruel disappointment in their sanguine hopes, and by seeing avarice and preferment bestowed upon their most inconstant foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they universally said, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAPTER LXIV.

could he not remain altogether insensible to such obvious and such tempting prospects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, had inclined him to study naval affairs, which, of all branches of business, he both loved the most and was the best. The Dutch, during his exile, had expressed towards him more civility and friendship, than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louvensteun or aristocratic faction, which at this time ruled in the commonwealth, had fallen into close union with France; and could that party be subdued, he might hope that his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, would be reinstated in the authority possessed by his ancestors, and would make an alliance of States to a dependence under England. His narrow revenues made it still requisite for him to study the humours of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it has been suspected, though the suspicion was not justified by the event, that the hopes of diverting some of the supplies to his private use were not overlooked by this necessitous monarch.

The Duke of York, more active and enterprising, pushed more eagerly the war with Holland. He desired an opportunity of distinguishing himself; he loved to cultivate commerce: he was at the head of a new African company, whose trade was extremely checked by the settlements of the Dutch: and perhaps the religious prejudices, by which this noble prince was so much governed, he began even so early to instil into him an anxiety against a protectorate in the commonwealth, the ruin of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, observing that the nation was not supported by any foreign alliance, were averse to hostilities; but credit was now on the increase.

By these concerning motives, the court of May 17 and parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The parliament was prorogued without voting supplies; but as they had been induced, without any open application from the crown, to pass that vote above mentioned against the Dutch encroachments, it was reasonably considered as sufficient sanction for the vigorous measures which were resolved on.

Downing, the English minister at the Hague, a man of an insolent impetuous temper, presented a memorial to the States, containing a list of those depredations, of which the English complained. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and these complaints were then thought either so ill-grounded or so frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in that treaty. Two ships alone, the Bonaventure and the Prince Rupert, under the command of Mr. van den Broeck, had been seized; good-hope, had been claimed by the English; and it was agreed that the claim should be prosecuted by the ordinary course of justice. The States had consigned a sum of money to be the cause should be decided against them; but the matter was still in dependence.

Charles, informed by the English minister, instructed by the proprietors with the management of the law-suit for the Bonaventure, had resolved to accept of thirty thousand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him that the claim was a matter of state between the two nations, not a concern of private persons. These circumstances give us no favourable idea of the justice of the English pretensions.

Charles confined not himself to memorials and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had so much pretensions; he likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree, together with several ships trading on the coast. And having sailed to America, he possessed himself of Nova Helgna, once called New York; a territory which James the First had given by patent to the Earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders.

When the States complained of these hostile measures, the king, unwilling to show what he could not well justify, resolutely refused the conditions, but was answer'd with a total ignorance of the transaction. He likewise confined that admiral to the Tower; but some time after released him.

The Dutch, finding that their applications for redress were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with some precipitation, an act of vigour, which hastened on the rupture. Sir John Lawson and De Ruyter had been sent with combined squadrons, in order to clear the practical states on the coast of Barbary; and the time of their separation and return was now approaching. The States secretly despatched orders to De Ruyter, that he should take up the disposition to sail towards the coast of Guinea; that he should retaliate on the English, and put the Dutch in possession of those settlements whence Holmades had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a considerable force, and a necessity of supply, the fleet was immediately formed. All the new acquisitions of the English, except Cape Corse, were recovered from them. They were even dispossessed of some old settlements. Such of their ships as fell into his hands were seized by De Ruyter. That admiral sailed next to America. He attacked Barbados, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed bottesies on Long Island.

Meanwhile, the English preparations for war were advancing with vigour and industry. The king had received no supplies from parliament; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet; the city of London lent him 100,000 pounds: the spirit of the nation seconded his design; the shipyards, from port to port, were busy; and the credit was quickly communicated to the receipts, to which a Dutch ship was put in a formidable condition. Eight hundred thousand pounds are said to have been expended on this armament. When Lawson arrived, and communicated to the States the necessity of a new enterprise, orders were issued for seizing all Dutch ships; and 132 fell into the hands of the English. These were not declared prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed.

The parliament, when it met, granted a new supply, the largest by far that had ever been obtained, given to a King of England, yet scarcely sufficient for the present undertaking. Near two million a half were voted to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great prospect of success, had animated the whole nation against the Dutch.

A great alteration was made this session in the method of taxing the clergy. In almost all the other monarchies of Europe, the assemblies, whose consent was formerly requisite to the enacting of laws, were composed of three estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, who formed so many members of the political body, of which the king was considered as the head. In England, too, the parliament was always represented as consisting of three estates; but their separate influence, in other kingdoms, in the conversion, however, had usually been given at the same time with the parliament; though they possessed not a negative voice in the passing of laws, and assumed no other temporal power than that of important taxes on the clergy. By reason of ecclesiastical pretexts, which he could bestow, the king's influence over the church was more considerable than over the laity; so that the subsidies, granted by the conversion, were commoner greater than those which were voted by parliament. The church, therefore, was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the Commons to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom. A re-established church, which the conversion had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become insignificant to the crown, have been more or less disused of late years.

The Dutch saw, with the utmost regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences; but while the Duke of York's enterprising spirits tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremities. Their measures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate
in his private department, he knew how to adopt, in his public counsels, that economy which suited the interest of a great state. It was ever his maxim, that so independent government should yield to another no evident point of reason or equity; and that all such concessions, so long as they suited the state, must be made with more than to provoke fresh claims and insults. By his management a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with England. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the Duke of York, Oldam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral, killed at Bremer, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one ship, and several of her crew. It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Boumeester, one of the Duke's bed-chamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Boumeester never was sufficiently punished for his temerity. It is allowed, however, that the Duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fight, and in perils of death; and Mr. Boyle were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with his brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly dispositions, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits to flag; and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose force he had not been afraid to encounter.

This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation, and determined De Wit, who was the soul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he secured the Dutch Dutchers of the coast, and those sects of the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been bred to the sea. He was brought up in some parts of piloting and sailing, beyond what men expert in those arts had ever been able to attain.

The misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their assistance and support. The King of France was engaged in a defensive alliance with the States; but as its naval force was yet in its infancy, he was entirely averse, at that time, from entering into a war with so formidable a power as England, which he did not wish to make a peace between the States, and for that purpose sent an embassy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the English ambassador at Paris, endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the side of England; and, in his master's name, made him the most tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spanish Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himself; provided Lewis would allow him to pursue his advantages against the Dutch. But the French monarch, though the conquest of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his interests: he thought, that if the English had once established an uncontrollable dominion over the sea, and over commerce, they would soon be able to render his acquisitions a dear purchase to him. When De Lionne, the French secretary, assured Van Beuningen, ambassador of the States, that this offer had been based on his master during six months; "I can readily believe it," replied the Dutchman; "I am sensible that it is the interest of England." Such were the established maxims at that time with regard to the interests of princes. It must however be allowed, that the politics of Charles, in making this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakness of Spain would have rendered the French conquests easy and infallible; and the vogue of the Dutch, it might be foreseen, would make the success of the English much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquisition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain consequence; nor is trade a constant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and some of them very delicate, circumstances.

Though the King of France had resolved to support the Hollanders in that unequal contest in which they were engaged; yet he protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The King of Denmark meanwhile consoled himself with the hope to remain in the contest between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the most extraordinary: he made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing that measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very rich laden, had put into Bergen, Sandwich, who now commanded the English navy, (the duke having gone ashore,) despatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but whether from the King of Denmark's delay in sending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engross the whole booty, the English admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpose. The Danish governor fired upon him, and the Dutch having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a gallant resistance.

The King of Denmark, seemingly ashamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offer that the Dutch should cede their fleet to him at the very same time, his resident at the Hague, Ruperti with by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England. To this latter alliance he adhered, probably from the increase of the English power in England; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. This was a sensible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a blow was given to the English commerce; the King of Denmark's naval force was also considerable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince stipulated to assist his ally with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

The king endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had despatched Sir Richard Fanhaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarch was sunk into a state of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into cordial friendship with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangers, the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these offences sunk so deep in the mind of the Spanish

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5 King James, in his Memoirs, gives an account of this affair different from what was recorded in the officers' reports. But Boumeester brought orders to Sir John Harvey, captain of the ship, to effect it, and Harvey did his utmost to prevent it. After some time, finding that his falling back was like to prejudice the contest in the fleet, he resolved to make the attempt, and in the night to send a quarter-deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repos.

6 The Duke of Brunswick.
monarch, that no motive of interest was sufficient to outweigh them.

The Bishop of Munster was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate, a man of restless enterprise and mullation, had entertained a violent animosity against the States; and he was easily engaged, by the promise of subsidies from England, to mass an invasion that republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000 men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak resistance. The land forces of the States were as feebly and ill-equipped as they were gallant and irreducible. He with his committing great ravages in several of the provinces, a stop was put to the progress of this warlike prelate. He had not military skill sufficient to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands: the King of France sent a body of 6000 men to oppose him: subsidies were not regularly remitted to him from England; and many of his troops deserted for want of pay: the Elector ofHanover threatened him with an invasion in his own state; and on the whole, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the first summons of his intentions, Sir William Temple was sent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance: but found that he arrived too late.

The Dutch, encouraged by all these favourable circumstances, continued resolve to exert themselves to the utmost in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, had in the meantime been expelled the Ganges: his Indian fleet was come home in safety: their harbours were crowded with merchant ships: faction at home was appeased: the young Prince of Orange had put himself at the head of the States of Holland, and of De Wit, their pensionary, who executed his trust with energy and fidelity: and the nunsigns, which the Hollanders entertained against the attack of the English, so unprovoked, as they thought, it made them thirst for revenge, and hope for better success in their next enterprise. Such vigour was exerted in the common cause, that, in order to man the fleet, all merchant ships were prohibited to sail, and even the fisheries were suspended.

The English likewise continued in the same disposition, though another more disgraceful calamity had joined itself to that war. The plague had broken out in London; and with that violence, as to cut off, in a year, near 90,000 inhabitants. The King was obliged to summon the parliament at Oxford.

A good agreement still subsisted between the French and parliament, and De Wi. on their part, unanimously voted the supply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. And he, to prove the truth of this calm act, which has given occasion to grievous and not unjust complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy against its invertebrate enemies, persevered in the project of weakening her own enemies against the nonconformists. It was enacted, that no dissenting teacher who took not the nonresistance oath above mentioned, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and two months imprisonment. By ejecting the nonconforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any living by their spiritual profession. And now, under the colour of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedition was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence. Had not the spirit of the age prevented this insalutary act, these violations were preludes to the most forcible persecution.

However prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not pass without opposition. Besides several peers, attached to the old parliamentary faction, Southerne, himself, though Clarendon's great friend, expressed his disapprobation of these measures. But the church party, not discouraged with this opposition, introduced into the House of Commons a bill for imposing the oath of nonresistance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three votes: and parliament, after a short session, was prorogued.

After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force. Yet she possessed an advantage by her science, that she lay between the fleets of France, and might be able, by speedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or such want of intelligence in her ministers, that this circumstance lost its advantage, and proved of no service to the Duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon; and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail, was now commonly supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, under the command of De Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the protector, had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach Prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the Duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of De Ruyter, protested against the temerity of this resolution: but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who seeing the enemy advance, and prepared for the combat. The battle that ensued, is one of the most memorable that we read of in story; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some show of four ammunition by his valour for the rashness of days. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this man, who was now in the prime of life, and could not lose the summit of honours. We shall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be sufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

In the first day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, was overpowered, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew so hard, that they could not use their lower tier, they derrived but small advantage from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on their sails and rigging; and few ships were sunk or much damaged. But in the evening the English, commonly attributed to De Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himself extremely on this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkness parted the combatants.

The second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat become more steady and more terrible. The English now found, that the greatest value cannot compensate the superiority of numbers, against an enemy who well conducted; and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory, and enemies from faction, exerted themselves in emulation of each other; and De Ruyter had the advantage of disengaging and saving his antagonist, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the most imminent danger. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action; and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-six carracks; they found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and were on the point of renewing the combat, when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement. Next morning they found these English with orders to continue their retreat; and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were ordered to stretch a-head; and sixteen of the most entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in view. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an indomitable countenance to his victorious foes. The Earl of Ossory, son of Ormond, a gallant youth, who sought honour and experience in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral
Albemarle confessed to him his intention rather to blow up his ship and perish gloriously, than yield to the enemy. Osborne applauded this desperate resolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet, some two hundred and forty sail, made its appearance. Albemarle did not allow the enemy to reach the scene of action. The Dutch flattened themselves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquished; the English hoped that Prince Rupert had come, to turn the scale of action. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of this fleet, put to sea, and steered towards it. Unhappily, Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of a hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, struck on the Galloper sands, and could receive no assistance from his friends. But Albemarle could not even reap the consolation of perishing with honour, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireships to attack him, and he was obliged to strike. The English sailors, seeing the necessity, with the utmost indignation surrendered themselves prisoners.

Albemarle and Prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning the battle began afresh, when John's road near Dover was the true valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

Though the English, by their obstinate courage, repelled the charge of the Duke of Beaufort principal and uttermost, who had obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ships, and having some appearances of advantage, expressed their satisfaction by all the signs of triumph and rejoicing. But as the English fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to sea more formidable than ever, together with many of those ships which the Dutch had boasted to have burned or destroyed; all Europe saw, that those two brave nations were not enemies in a contest, which was not likely, on either side, to prove decisive.

It was the conjunction alone of the French, that could give a decisive superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, De Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valor and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch, and was completely repulsed; and he killed the third admiral of the enemy.

Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from De Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter made the least endeavours to save the men of the main body of the English; and though outnumbered by numbers, kept up his station, till at least the end engaged. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation, however, at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I among so many thousand bullets, in that there was not one to put an end to my miserable life?" One De Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But De Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the utmost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of De Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours.

The loss sustained by the Hollanders in this action was not very considerable; but as violentanimosities had been excited among the English officers on one side or other, the consequences which took place was great among the provinces. Tromp’s commission was at last taken from him; but though several captains had misbehaved, they were so effectually protected by their friends in the magnificence of the towns, that most of them escaped punishment, many were still continued in their commands.

The English now rode incontestable masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was sent into the road of Viz, and burned the city. The whole fleet, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coast. The Dutch merchants, who lost by this enterprise, uniting themselves to the Orange faction, exclaimed against an admiral who did not prevent this, and brought such disgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of De Wit could have supported itself under such a complication of calamities.

The King of France, apprehensive that the Dutch would sink under their misfortunes, at last, that De Wit, his friend, might be dispossessed of the administration, hastened the advance of the Duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likewise was again equipped; and under the command of De Ruyter, cruised near the straits of Dover. Prince Rupert, with the English navy, now stronger than ever, came full sail upon them. The Dutch admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. Helens; where he said some time, in order to repair the damages which he had sustained. Meanwhile the English sent the city of Viz up the channel, that the English fleet unperceived; but he did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been seized with a fever; many of the chief officers had fallen into sickness; a contagious distemper was spread through the fleet: and the states thought it necessary to recall them into their harbours, before the enemy could be refitted.

The French King, anxious for his navy, which, so much care and industry, had laboured so much; sent new orders to De Ruyter, to make the best of his way to Fries. That admiral had again the good fortune to pass the English. One ship alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

While the war continued without any decisive success on either side, a calamity happened to London, which threw the people into great consternation. Fire, breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses that it was at last extinguished. The king and duke used their utmost endeavours to save the people; but the whole industry of all their industry was unsuccessful.—About four hundred streets, and thirteen thousand houses, were reduced to ashes.

The causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics; though it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either party. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest inquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription engraved by authority on the monument, ascribed this calamity to the actions of King James, by order of King James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing which flatters their prevailing passion!

The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity,
has proved in the issue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before. A discretionary power was assumed by the king to regulate the distribution of the buildings, and to fix the use of lath and timber, the materials of which the houses were formerly composed. The necessity was so urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that no exceptions were taken at an exercise of authority, which otherwise would have been deemed illegal. Had the king been enabled to carry his power still further, and made the houses rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had much contributed to the convenience of the town, as well as to the neatness of the city. Great advantages, however, have resulted from the alterations; though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which used to break out with such great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared since that calamity. The parliament met soon after, and gave the sanction of law to those regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners for deciding all such questions of property, as might arise from the fire. They likewise voted a supply of 1,800,000 pounds in levied, partly by a poll, partly by assessments. Though their increased taxes were no procures which could fix on which papiests the burning of London, the general aversion against that sect still prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous increased power. To prevent the desire of the commonalty, issued the proclamation for the banishment of all priests and Jesuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, destroyed all confidence in his sincerity, whenever he pretended an amendment toward the catholic religion. Whether suspicions of this nature had diminished the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears, that the supply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public necessities seemed to require. The intrigues of the Duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only steadiness to render him extremely dangerous, had somewhat embarrassed the measures of the court; and this was the first time that the king found any considerable reason to complain of a failure of confidence in this House of Commons. The rising symptoms of ill humour tended, no doubt, to quicken the steps which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies. According to Charles's hopes, it was sensible, that all the match points, ends for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely abortive. The Dutch, even when single, had defended themselves with vigour, and in proportion as they multicated their military drill and preaptations. Though their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive credit enabled them to levy great sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, distrusted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved so disastrous and so costly. The first advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the king sent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he intimated to the States his desire of no trouble norchange, and their answer was in the same amiable instructions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority, still insisted that the States should treat at London; and they agreed to meet him this compliment so far as concerned themselves; but being being engagéd with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. On a sudden, the king went so far on the other side as to offer

2 The Dutch had spent on the war nearly 40 millions of livres a year, besides a great deal more in ammunitions. The commerce had been carried on with the most great advantage by the English parliament. L'Estrange, 4th of December, 1660. 100 of the sending of ambassadors to the Hague; but this proposal, which seemed honourable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and distress them, by affording the English an opportunity to carry on cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were made between the English and the Dutch at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they lay before the war, or, if both sides should be unequal, that the provinces should continue in possession of their present acquisitions. Charles accepted of the latter proposal; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the Isle of Breda, the present government of which was formally valuable for its produce of spices. The English had been masters of it; but were dispossessed at the time when the violence were committed against them at Amboyna. Cromwell had stipulated to have it restored; and the Hoolanders, having first entirely destroyed all the spice trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the English had been anew expelled during the course of the war. Charles renewed his pretensions to this island; and as the English thought it was not easy to multiply, and seemed to require a long discussion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda. Local and powerful country were the English ambassadors. They immediately desired, that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims should be adjusted: but this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected by the English, and the answer was, that Charles, as an active minister, thoroughly acquainted with the characters of princes and the situation of affairs, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the English the honours of the war, and severely revenge those injuries, which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English. Whatever projects might have been formed by Charles for securing the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expenses of such vast armaments had exhausted all the supplies; and even a great debt was contracted to the seamen. The king therefore was resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of 1,500,000 pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well those which had been occasioned by the war, as those which he had formerly contracted. He observed that the Dutch had been with great reluctance forced to the war, and that the success of it was not such as to inspire them with great desire of its continuance. The French, he knew, had been engaged into hostilities by no other motive than that of supporting their ally; and as the king of Spain was a great enem of the war, and therefore hostile to the French, it seemed most probable, that they would confer with the English and French. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of peace appeared inadmissible; and nothing but forms, at least some vain points of honour, seemed to remain for the ambassadors at Breda to discuss. In this situation, Charles, moved by an ill-timed frugality, remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest affrights which it has ever received. Two small squadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with such potent and mortal enemies, every thing was left almost in the same situation as in times of the most profound tranquillity. De Witt protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the preparations of the Danes. The English offered to him the Thanes under the command of Dr. Ruyter, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Chatham; but these preparations were unequal to the present necessity. Sheerness was soon taken; nor could it be saved by the valor of Sir Edward Sprague, who defended it. Having the advantage of a spring tide and an entirely wind, the Dutch pressed forward on the English coast; and though fortified by some ships which had been there sunk by orders of the Duke of Chandno, Albermarle. They burned the three ships which lay to

January, 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want of money which caused the English to open the roads for the Passage at the time; the commerce had been carried on with the most great advantage by the English parliament. L'Estrange, 4th of December, 1660. 100 of
guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth. After damaging several vessels, and possessing themselves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had burned, they advanced, with six men of war and five fire-ships, as far as Upnor castle, where they burned the Royal Oak, of his Highness, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," he said, "that a Douglas had left his post without orders." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hos- tilities even to the coast. But they were not permitted to do so, and the last ship was sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery; the train-bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt: they met with no better success at Plymouth: they insulted Harwich: they sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French taken this opportunity to join the Dutch fleet and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to push to the victory so near extremities. His interest required that a balance should be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrolled superiority should be given to either. Great indignation prevailed among the English to see an enemy so unequal, as they considered him, come within such close terms of their coast; and when they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now of a sudden rise undisputed masters of the ocean, burn their ships in their own harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the nation itself. But hope was not to be de-ceived in all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor to ill behaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvi-dence, of that man which was regarded as the greatest symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries, who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who uprised against their government; for it was known that those persons had been treated with such severity. In the present distress, two expedients were embraced; an army of 12,000 men was suddenly levied; and the par- liament, though it lay under prorogation, was summoned to meet. The houses were very angry, and the only one which the Commons pleased, was an address for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expression of jealousy showed the court what they might expect from that assembly; and it was thought more prudent to pro-pose a convention till winter. But the signing of the treaty at Breda ex- terminated the king from his present difficulties.

The English ambassadors received orders to recede from those demands, which, however frivolous in themselves, could not now be relinquished, without ac- knowledging a superiority in the enemy. Polemore re- mained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships, Bon- venture and Good-hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted on: Acquit was yielded to the French. The acquisition of New York, a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English profited from; and the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

To appease the people by some sacrifice Charles's fall.

To appease the people by some sacrifice the royal authority, the king, in concert with both the council and the Commons, resolved to make the king sacrifice Clarendon to popular prejudices, the memory of his past services was not able any longer to delay his fall. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of Lord Keeper. Sir Orlando, the treasurer, who, during the winter, had persevered to the utmost in his attachments to the chancellor. The last time he appeared at the council table, he exerted his friendship with a vigour, which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," said be, speaking of Clarendon, "is a true protagonist and an honest Englishman; and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the consequences of his removal.

But the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gra- tify the malice of his enemies: his total ruin was resolved on. The Duke of York in vain exerted his interest in his behalf of his father; and the chancellor, in concert with the Commons, and with the privy council, resolved to fall in promoting that violent measure; and no means were thought so proper for ingratiating the court with a par- liament, which had so long been governed by that very minister, who was to be the vicar of the victor of the Revolution. Some popular acts paved the way for the session; and the parliament, in their first address, gave the king thanks for these instances of his goodness, and among the rest, they took care to mention his dismission of Clarendon. The king, in reply, to the breach which he bore ever again employ that nobleman in any public office whatsoever. Immediately the charge against him was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Seymour, after-
wards Sir Edward, and consisted of seventeen articles. The House, without examining particulars, further than hearing general affirmations that all would be proved, immediately imposed a fine of forty thousand pounds on the articles he knew to be either false or frivolous; and such of them as we are less acquainted with, we may fairly presume to be no better grounded. His advising the sale of Dunkirk seems the hottest and the most part of the charge; where a mistake in judgment allowing it to pass, such, where there appear no symptoms of corruption or bad intentions, it would be very hard to impute as a crime to any minister. The king's necessities, which occasioned that measure, was no proof of reason, he charged on Clarendon; and chiefly proceeded from the over-frugal maxim of the parliament itself, in not granting the proper supplies to the crown.

When the impeachments was carried up to the Peers, as it contained an accusation of treason in general, without specifying any particulars, it seemed not a sufficient ground for committing Clarendon to custody. The precedents of Strafford and Laud were not, by reason of the violence of the times, deemed a proper authority; but as the Commons still insisted upon his commitment, it was necessary to appoint a free conference between the Houses. The Lords per se rejected; and the Commons resolved on an obstruction to public justice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous tendency. They also chose a committee to draw up a vindication of their own proceedings.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuosity against him, and that a defence, offered to such prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw. At 6 o'clock he wrote a paper addressed to the House of Lords. He there said, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the king; that during the first years after the restoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counsellors, men of such reputation that no one could entertain suspicions of their wisdom or integrity; that his credit soon declined, and however he might disapprove some measures, he found it vain to oppose them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the source of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his disapprobation of many unhappy steps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of public offences, his real crime, that which had exasperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent opposition to extravagant grants, which the importance of states had extended from his majesty.

It is not necessary to repeat the maxim of the Commons under the application of a label; and by a vote of both Houses, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The parliament next proceeded to exert their legislative power against Clarendon, passed a law for the exclusion of the Cinque Ports from the revenue, and took the title of protector for the reduction of the Protestants, which received the royal assent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He survived his imprisonment six years; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does honour to his memory; and except Whitlocke's Memorials, is the most candid account of those times, composed by any contemporary author.

Clarendon was always a friend to the liberty and constitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late king's service, and was greatly regarded by the crown and friends of that monarch: he was pursued with unrelenting animosity by the long parliament; he had shared all the fortunes, and directed all the counsels, of the present king during his exile; he had been advanced to the highest trust and offices after the restoration; yet all these circumstances, which might naturally operate with such force, either on resentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his disposition and principles. It is said, that when he first engaged in the study of the law, his father exhorted him with great earnestness to shun the practice too common in that profession, of straining every point in favour of prerogative and interest; and covering selfish reasonable science to the oppression of liberty; and in the midst of these rational and virtuous counsels, which he reiterated, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, and expired in his son's presence. This circumstance gave additional weight to the principality of his character.

The combination of king and subject to oppose so good a minister affords, to men of opposite dispositions, an equal occasion of inveighing against the ingratitude of princes, or ignorance of the people. Charles seems never to have mitigated his resentment against Clarendon; and the rational prejudices pursued him to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremities, had not their officers, bearing of the violence, happily interposed.

The next expedient which the king embraced to defend himself and public justice, is more deserving of praise; and, had it been steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory respected. It is the triple alliance of which Louis XIV; a measure which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and munificent spirit of the nobility were subdued: the popular pretensions of the parliament renounced: the moderate party resorted to the objection that a foreign and extensive and fertile country, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenuous and industrious inhabitants; and while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprises, it was turned to an entire submission under the will of the sovereign.

The sovereign who now filled the throne was well adapted, by his personal character, to both increase and to avail himself of these advantages. Lewis XIV. endowed with every quality which could enchant the people, possessed many which merit the approbation of men of letters and good-sense. His features were tolerable; he was well proportioned, well formed, and possessed alacrity of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remembrance of various things to which he was addicted, and particularly in preventing the king from being as able to law, as if he had been already restrained from the evil by the force of the law, that he had procured the customs to be formed at under rates for the exportation of certain things, and for the encouragement of the consumption by allowing them to enhance the price of wares, that he had in a short time caused the country to be cleared of the remains of his old company, and passed a bill of conscription, on the points of his office, that he had introduced an arbitrary system into his majesty's plantation, that he had solicited a proposal for the preservation of the . . . In the year of . . . to be in possession; and proceeded alacrity of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remembrance of various things to which he was addicted, and particularly in preventing the king from being as able to law, as if he had been already restrained from the evil by the force of the law, that he had procured the customs to be formed at under rates for the exportation of certain things, and for the encouragement of the consumption by allowing them to enhance the price of wares, that he had in a short time caused the country to be cleared of the remains of his old company, and passed a bill of conscription, on the points of his office, that he had introduced an arbitrary system into
prince, and seemed to promise him easy and extensive conquests. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill governed, were astonished at the greatness of his rising empire, and all of them cast their eyes toward Spain, as the great power that could save them from that subjection with which they seemed to be so nearly threatened.

The animosity which had anciently subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century by the terms of Spanish greatness, began to revive and to exert itself. The glory of preserving the balance of Europe, a glory so much founded on justice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England, and seemed to overlook the facts of Spanish greatness. With the prospect of opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had contributed, among other reasons, to render the peace of Breda so universally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip IV. King of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and some very slender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis espoused the Spanish princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the most accurate and most precise terms that language could afford. But on the death of his father, he repudiated the renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain, and the Queen of England, a female marrying a foreign prince, she had claimed a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother. By the customs of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage was preferred to a mate of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and Lewis hence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important duchy.

A claim of this nature was more properly supported by military force than by letters of protestation. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of 40,000 men, commanded by the best generals of the age, and provided with every thing necessary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreseen this measure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, fortifications, or garrisons, fell into the hands of the French king, as soon as he presented himself before them. Ath, Lisle, Tourcoing, and Avesnes, fell in a few days; and the French army immediately took: and it was visible that no force in the Low Countries was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms.

The transaction, executed with such celerity and success, gave great alarm to almost every court in Europe. It had been observed with such dignity, or even haughtiness, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever employed all his right in Rome; but, of his ambassador, D'Estrades, the French ambassador, and Watteville, the Spanish, having quarrelled in London, on account of their claims for precedence, the French monarch was not satisfied till Spain sent to Paris a solemn embassy, and promised never more to revive such contests. Crequi, his ambassador at Rome, had met with an affront from the Pope's guards: the Pope, Alexander VII., had been constrained to break his guards, to send his nephew to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome in consequence of this affront. The King of England too had experienced the high spirit and unsustaining temper of Lewis. A pretension to superiority in the English flag having been a frequent means of remonstrance, with such vigour, and prepared himself to resist with such courage, that Charles found it more prudent to desert from his vam and antiquated chariot. "The King of England," said Lewis to his ambassador, D'Estrades, "may know my own minister; but I am determined to take the first step. If he demands a treaty, let me be offered the opportunity of settling all things. Every thing appears to me contemptible in comparison of glory." These measures of conduct had given strong indications of his character: but the invasion of Flanders discovered an ambition which, being supported by such overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no state lay nearer to the danger, none was seized with more terror, than that of England. The Dutch were still engaged, together with France, in a war against England, and Lewis had promised them that he would take no step against Spain without previously informing them: but, contrary to this assurance, he kept a total silence, till on the very point of executing his projects. The remonstrances made at the treaty of the Pyrenees was not valid, it was presumed, that upon the death of the King of Spain, a sickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis, and that the war would be engaged against his pretensions. Charles, acquainted with these well-grounded apprehensions of the Dutch, had been the more obstinate in insisting on his own conditions at Breda; and by delaying to sign the treaty, had imprudently exposed himself to the signal disgrace which he received at Chatham. De Wit, sensible that a few weeks' delay would be of no consequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of striking an important blow, and of finishing the war with honour to himself and to his country.

Negotiations, meanwhile, commenced for the saving of Flanders; but no resistance was made to the French arms. The Spanish ministers informed every where against the flagrant injustice of Lewis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every power in Europe, even more than of Spain itself, to prevent his conquest of the Low Countries. The emperor was unable to prevent the German princes from aiding themselves in his design, and the emperor, by his Diestrian, showed the right of Charles to the republic from making him any open advances, by which she might lose the friendship of France, without requiring any new ally. And though Lewis, drawing a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended, lest these, either from the obstinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, should never be carried into execution.

Charles resolved, with great prudence, to take the first step towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of surrounding, engaging, and compelling Charles to come to terms. But the honest and upright conduct of Charles kept that republic from making him any open advances, by which she might lose the friendship of France, without requiring any new ally. And though Lewis, drawing a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended, lest these, either from the obstinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, should never be carried into execution.

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it might still be unsafe, in a business of such consequence, to put entire confidence in them: that the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated so imperiously as a manner, would not choose himself to the greater extremes rather than submit: that it was sufficient, if he could be constrained to adhere to the offers which he himself had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby secured, with which they were at present threatened: and that the other powers, in Germany and the north, whose assistance they might expect, would be satisfied with putting a stop to the French conquests, without pretending to recover the places already lost.

The English minister was content to accept of the terms proposed by the peninsular. Lewis had offered to relinquish all the queen's rights, on condition either of keeping the conquests which he had made last campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this proposal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refused, they agreed, that France should not prosecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effective. The remainder of the Low Countries were thenceforth guaranteed to Spain. A defensive alliance was likewise concluded between Holland and England.

The articles of this confederacy were soon adjusted by such able negotiators, as on the greatest difficulty still remained. By the constitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces must give their consent to every alliance; and besides that formality could not be dispensed with in less than two months, it was justly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obstruct the passing of the treaty in some of the smaller cities. D'Estrées, the French ambassador, a man of abilities, hearing of the league which was on the carpet, treated it lightly; "Six weeks hence," said he, "we shall speak to it." To obviate this difficulty, De Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in so fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States-general at once to sign and ratify the league: though they acknowledged that, if that measure should displeasure their constituents, they risked their heads by this irregularity. After sealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. Temple cried out, At Breda, as friends: here, as brothers. And De Wit added, that now the matter was finished, it looked like a miracle.

Room had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal surprise and approbation by the world. Notwithstanding the unfortunate conclusion of the last war, England now appeared in her proper station, and, by this wise conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewise received great applause; but to all the complaints made lamen on the occasion, he modestly replied, that to remove things from their centre, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themselves they easily returned to it.

The French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure. Not only bounds were at present set for his ambition: such a barrier was also raised seems suited for ever improbable. Though his own offer was made to secure the foundation of the treaty, he had prescribed so short a time for the acceptance of it, that he still expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find some opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid showed equal displeasure. To relinquish any part of the Spanish provinces, in lieu of claims so apparently unjust, and these urged with threats of vengeance and haughtiness, inspired the highest expectations of disgust. Often did the Spaniards threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries, rather than submit to so cruel a mitigation; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the most powerful into more vigorous measures for their support. But Temple and De Wit were better acquainted with the views and interests of Spain. They knew, that she must still retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connection with the other European powers, who alone, besides the motive of interest, could, in such a case, insures her independence against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in case of refusal. The pretended consequences of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle, Temple was minister for England; Van Beuningen for Holland; D'Ohima for Sweden.

Spain at last, pressed on all hands, accepted of the submitted offer; but in her very compliance, she gave strong symptoms of ill humour and discontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollandoers, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spanish monarchy, had been anxious only for their own security; and, provided, they could remove Lewis to a distance from their frontier, were more indifferent what progress he made in other places. Sensible of these views, the queen-regent of Spain resolved still to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at present to enter into. Franche-comté, by a vigorous and well-concerted plan of the French king, Aix-la-Chapelle had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous season, and in the midst of winter. She chose, therefore, to require in return the conquest of Flanders. Spain, during the last campaign, by this means Lewis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish dyke.

But notwithstanding the advantages of his situation, the French monarch could entertain small hopes of ever extending his conquests on that quarter which lay the most exposed to his ambition, and where his acquisitions were of most importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces of Spain; and the emperor and other powers of Germany, whose interest seemed to be intimately concerned, were invited to enter into the same confederacy. Spain herself, having about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour and opposition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The great satisfaction expressed in England, on account of the counsels now embraced by the court, promised the hearty concurrence of parliament in every measure which could be proposed for opposition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe seemed to rejoice herself with security under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had been so happily formed for her protection. It is now time to give some account of the state of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

The Scottish nation, though they had never been subject to the arbitrary power of their prince, had hot very imperfect notions of law and liberty: and scarcely in any age had they ever enjoyed an administration which had confined itself within the proper boundaries. By their final union alone with England, they once hated adversary, they have happily attained the experience of a government perfectly regular, and exempt from all violence and injustices. Charles, from his aversion to business, had intrusted the affairs of that country to his ministers, particularly Middleton; and these could not forbear making very extraordinary stretch of authors.

There had been much, much more, to the-like of Lord Lorne to Lord Duffus, in which a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavoured by falsehood to propound the king against him. But he said, that he had now discovered them, he had appeased them, and had gained the benefit, meaning the Earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old, tyrannical, absurd law and Leas, the clause in which was supposed to oblige the subjects to the king, or create in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die; but Charles was much displeased with the sentence, and granted him a pardon.

A Bill was carried in parliament, that twelve persons with-
out crime, witness, trial, or accuser, should be declared incapable of all trust or office; and to render this injustice more egregious, it was agreed, that these persons should be named by ballot; a method of voting which several republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could serve only as a cover to malice and iniquity in the inflicting of punishments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray, among others, were named; but the king, who disapproved of this injustice, refused his assent. An act was passed against all persons, who should move the king for restoring the children of those who were attainted by parliamentary or obstinate opinions.

An act was passed against all persons, who should move the king for restoring the children of those who were attainted by parliamentary or obstinate opinions, for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was but the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had established it as a maxim, that the assigning of a punishment was a limitation of the crown; whereas a law, forbidding anything, though without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that case, they determined, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commissioner passed this act; though he had no instructions for that purpose.

An act of indemnity passed; but at the same time it was voted, that all those who had offended during the late disorder, should be subjected to fines; and a new parliament was appointed for imposing them. These proceeded without any regard to some equitable rules, which the king had prescribed to them. The most obnoxious constructions of this act were, to take away the whole wealth of men's riches, or of the degrees of their guilt: no proofs were produced: inquiries were not so much as made: but as fast as information was given in against any man, he was marked down for a particular fine; and all was translated in a secret committee. When the list was read in parliament, exceptions were made to several: some had been under age during the civil wars; some had been abroad. But it was still replied, that a proper time would come, and every name would be heard in their own defence. The only intention it was, said, of setting the fines was, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the sum demanded: every one to stand upon his own foot; in which, the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril. It was well known, that no one would dare so far to set at defiance so arbitrary an administration. The king wrote to the council, ordering them to supersede the levying of these fines. But now the reason which found means, during some time, to elude these orders. And at last, the king obliged his ministers to compound for half the sums which had been imposed. In all these transactions, and in most of those which proceeded from the mediating of the king, interpolated to protect the Scots from the oppressions which their own countrymen, employed in the ministry, were desirous of exercising over them.

But the chief circumstance, whence were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the establishment of episcopacy; a measure of government, to which a great part of the nation had entertained an insurmountable aversion. The rights of patrons had for some years been abolished; and the power of electing ministers had been vested in the kirk-session, and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted into this title, should receive a presentation from the patron, and should be instituted anew by the bishop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid presbyterians concerted measures among themselves, and refused obedience: they imagined that their number would be reduced. Three hundred and fifty parishes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The western counties chiefly were obstinate, who on this occasion, and on the appeal against these intruders, who were their living under such invidious circumstances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to soften the prejudices entertained against them. Even most of those who retained their livings by compliance, fell under the imputation of hypocrisy, either by their speeches, or by their votes and acts. Wallois, as was natural, gave his assent to the new model of ecclesiastical government, which they had acknowledged; or, on the other hand, by declaring that their former abstinence in presbytery and the covenant had been the result of violence and necessity. And as Middleton and the new ministry indulged themselves in great riot and disorder, to which the nation had been little accustomed, an opinion universally prevailed, that any form of worship, offered by such hands, must be profane and impious. The people, notwithstanding their discontents, were resolved to give no handle against them, by the least symptom of mutiny or sedition; but this submissive disposition, instead of procuring a mitigating of the rigours, was made use of as an argument for continuing the same measures, which, by their vigour, it was pretended, had produced so prompt an obedience. The king, however, was disgusted with the violence of Middleton; and he made Rothines commissioner in his place. This nobleman was already president of the council; and soon after was made lord-keeper and treasurer. Lauderdale still continued secretary of state, and his brother commissioner of the great Seal.

Affairs remained in a peacable state, till the severe law was made in England against conventicles. The Scottish parliament imitated that violence, by passing a law. A council provided for the prosecution of any attempt, which was appointed by the privy-council, for executing this rigorous law, and for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let loose by the council. Wherever the people had generally broken their churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whose natural temper of severity was often inflamed by the use of strong liquors. He went about among them from one end of the kingdom to another; he spread abroad the fear of those who absented themselves from church, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them, and quartered soldiers on the suspected delinquents, till he received payment. As an insurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and intrusted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond; two officers who had served the king during the civil wars, and had afterwards been appointed to the council; to whom the king had increased the native cruelty of their disposition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scottish ministry. Representations were made to the king against these enormities, which were repeated till the king was alarmed by the moderation of the king, interposed to protect the Scots from the oppressions which their own countrymen, employed in the ministry, were desirous of exercising over them.

This licentiousness of the king's came too late to remedy the disorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were instigated by Guthrie, Semple, and other preachers. They surprised Turner in Dumfries, and resolved to have him put to death; but finding that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they spared his life. At Lanercost, when many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and engaged in the service of Russia, when they professed all submission to the king; they desired only the re-establishment of presbytery and of their former ministers. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on suspicion; Wallow and Lord Galloway, who had served, but in no high rank, were intrusted by the populace with the command. Their force never exceeded two thousand men; and though the country in general bore them favourably, and the common people resided at Lanercost, that the rebels could expect no further accession of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose their progress. Their number was now diminished to 800; and these having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the west by Pentland Hills. They were astonished
by the king's forces. Finding that they could not escape, they stopped their march. Their clergy endeavoured to
infuse courage into them. After singing some psalms, the rebels turned on the enemy; and being assisted by the
advantage of the ground, they received the first charge very
resolutely. But that was all the action: immediately they
fell into disorder, and fled for their lives. About forty
were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty taken
prisoners. But, as they were favoured by the light, and by the
weakness, and even by the pty, of the king's troops, made
their escape.

The oppressions which these people had suffered, the
debacles into which they were driven from their innocent
behaviour during the massacre, made them the objects of
compassion. Yet were the king's ministers, particularly
Sharpe, resolved to take severe vengeance. Ten were
hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh; thirty-five before their
own doors in different places. These criminals might
all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced
the covenant. The executions were going on, when the
king put a stop to them. He said, that blood enough had
already been shed; and he wrote a letter to the privy
council, in which he ordered that such of the prisoners as
should simply promise to obey the laws for the future,
should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be
burnt at the stake. This letter brought in Lord Bertie,
Archbishop of Glasgow: but not being immediately
received by the council he Sharpe the president, one
Macaulay in the interval been put to the torture, under
which he confessed. He beheld this, and, with a cheval
Tarell, supper, and stars; farewell, world, and
fear; farewell, weak and frail body; farewell, eternity;
and farewell, angels and saints; farewell, Saviour of the
world, and farewell, God, the judge of all!" Such were
his last words; and these animated speeches he uttered
with an accent and manner, which struck all the bystanders
with astonishment.

The settlement of Ireland after the re-
monstrance, was a work of greater difficulty
than that of England, or even of Scotland. Not only
the power, during the former usurpations, had there been
vested in the king's enemies: the whole property, in a
manor of the kingdom had also been changed; and it
became necessary to redress, but with as little violence as
possible, many grievous hardships and inconveniences, which
were complained of.

The Irish catholics had, in 1649, concluded a treaty
with Ormond, the king's lieutenant, in which they had
stipulated pardon for their past rebellion, and had engaged,
der certain conditions, to assist the royal cause: and
though the violence of the priests and the bigotry of the
people, generally, had, in a great measure, nullified this
treaty; yet were there many, who, having straitly,
at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, seemed on that
account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty.
Unfeigned, having without distinction expelled all the
native Irish from the three provinces of Munster, Leinster,
and Ulster, had confined them to Connacht and the
county of Clare; and among those who had thus been
forfeited, were many whose innocence was altogether
questionable. Several protestants, likewise, and Ormond
among the rest, had all along opposed the Irish rebellion;
and yet having afterwards embraced the king's cause against
the parliament, they were all of them attained by Crom-
well. The king may at certain times have, from the
commencement of the insurrection, served in Ireland, and
who, because they would not desert the king, had been
refused all their arms by the English commonwealth.

To all these unhappy sufferers some justice seemed
to be due: but the difficulty was to find the means of
dressing such great and extensive iniquities. Almost all
the valuable parts of Ireland had been measured out and
divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to
the parliament for the suppression of the Irish rebellion, or
to the soldiers who had received land in lieu of their
arms. These could not be disposed of, because they
were the most powerful and only armed part of Ireland;
and because it was requisite to favour them in order to sup-
port the protestant and English interest in that kingdom;
and because they had generally, with a seeming zeal and
alacrity, concurred in the king's restoration. The
king, therefore, issued a proclamation, in which he pro-
mised to maintain their settlement, and at the same time
engaged to give redress to the innocent sufferers. There
was a quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and
from this and some other funds, it was thought possible
for the king to fulfill his engagements, and thereby
receive satisfaction. A court of claims was erected, consisting altogether of English commissioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties, into which Ireland was divided. Before last these were rewarded by a most extensive restitution on account of their innocence; and the com-
mmissioners had found leisure to examine only six hundred.
It already appeared, that, if all these were to be restored,
the funds, whence the adventurers and soldiers must get
rewards, would fall short of giving them any tolerable
satisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety seized all ranks
of men: the hopes and fears of every party were excited:
these eagerly grasped at recovering their paternal inher-
ances. These were requisite to maintain their new acquisi-
tions.

The Duke of Ormond was created lord-lieutenant:
being the only person, whose prudence and equity could
be placed in the situation, it was but natural to place him
in a seat, which had been vacant at Dublin; and as the lower House was almost entirely chosen by the soldiers and adventurers, who still kept possession, it was extremely favourable to that inter-
est. The king gave this restorator of the constitution
great importance.

An insurrection was projected, together with the fall of
the castle of Dublin, by some of the disbanded sol-
diers; but this design was happily defeated by the vigi-
lance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were punished.
Blood, however, was shed, and many of them, escaped into
England.

But affairs could not long remain in the confusion and
uncertainty into which they had fallen. All parties seemed
willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order
to attain something. But the king interfered with the author-
ity for that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed
to relinquish a third of their possessions; and as they
had purchased their lands at very low prices, they had
reason to think themselves favoured by this concession.
All those, who had been attainted on account of their
alliance to the king, were restored, and some of the inno-
cent Irish. It was a hard situation, that a man was obliged
himself innocent in order to recover possession of the estate which he and his ancestors had enjoyed; but the hardship was augmented, by the difficult con-
ditions annexed to this proof. If the person had ever
lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted
to attain his possession. Ireland had a new title, which
was supposed to have been a rebel. The heinous guilt of
the Irish nation made men the more readily overlook any
iniquity, which might fall on individuals; and it was con-
cluded, that, though it be always the interest of all good
governments to prevent injustice, it is not always possible
to remedy it, after it has had a long course, and has been
attended with great successes.

Ireland began to attain a state of some compomise
when it was disturbed by a violent act, passed by the
English parliament, which prohibited the importation of
Irish cattle into England. Ormond represented strongly
against the law. He said, that the present trade, carried
on between Ireland and England, was the advantage of the
former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufac-
ture: that if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the
inhabitants of that island had no other commodity by
which they could pay England for their importations, and
must have recourse to other nations for a supply: that
the industrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish
provisions, would, in a short time, grow cheap, would be obliged
to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their
manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets:
that the indolent inhabitants of Ireland, finding provisions
fall almost to nothing, would never be induced to labour,
but would perpetuate to all generations their native sloth

w Weems's History, vol. i. p. 258. 8 In 1666.
and barbarism: that by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bonds of union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty but force and violence: and that, by reducing that kingdom to their own poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well-grounded discontents, it must necessarily be retained in subjection.

The king was so much impressed with the justness of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the Commons were resolved in their determination; and the mandates of England, which had fallen of late years, which had been ascribed entirely to the importation of Irish cattle: several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly those of Buckingham and Ashley, who were desirous of giving Ormonde disturbance in his government: and the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their superiority over their dependent state. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the Commons. They even went so far in the preamble of the bill, as to declare the importation of Irish cattle to be a nuisance. By this expression they gave scope to their passion, and at the same time buried the king's prerogative, by which he might himself elected to dispense with a far so full of injustice and bad policy. The Lords expounded the word; but as the king was sensible that no supply would be given by the Commons, unless they confined himself within the limits of law, he obliged both to employ his interest with the Peers for making the bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not, however, forbear expressing his displeasure at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention which the Commons discovered of rethrenching his prerogative.

This law brought great distress for some time upon the Irish; but it had the advantage of applying with greater industry to manufactures, and has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom.


A D. 1669.

Since the restoration, England had attained a situation which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which seemed the only one that could fully satisfy, at once, her tranquillity and her liberty: the king was in continual want of supply from the parliament; and he seemed willing to accommodate himself to that dependent situation. Instead of reviving those claims of prerogative, so strenuously insisted on by his predecessors, Charles had strictly confined himself within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affection of his subjects. Even the severities, however blameable, which he had exercised against nonconformists, are to be considered as expedients by which he strove to ingratiate himself with that party which predominated in parliament. But notwithstanding these promising appearances, there were many circumstances which kept the government from resting steadily on that bottom on which it was placed. The crown, having lost almost all its ancient dependents, relied entirely on voluntary grants of the people; and the Commons, not fully accustomed to this new situation, were not yet disposed to supply with sufficient liberality the necessities of the crown. They insisted too strongly on the example of their predecessors in a rigid frugality of public money; and neither sufficiently considered the indigent condition of their prince, nor the general state of Europe; where every nation, by its increase both of magnificence and force, had made great additions to all public expenses. Some considerable sums, indeed, were bestowed on Chatham, and the patronage of the regent was an important advantage to Charles; though the consciousness of ancient maxims, loudly upbraided the Commons with prodigality: but if we may judge by the example of a later period, when the government has become more regular, and the luxuriance of its parts has been more happily adjusted, the parliaments of this reign seem rather to have merited a contrary reproach.

The natural consequence of the poverty of the crown was, besides feeding the transactions of the courtiers, a continual uncertainty in his domestic administration. No one could answer with any tolerable assurance for the measures of the House of Commons. Few of the members were attached to the court by any other hand than that of inclination. Royallists, indeed, in their principles, but unexperienced in business, they lay exposed to every rumour or insinuation; and were driven by momentary gusts or currents, no less than the populace themselves. Even the attempts made to gain an ascendant over them by offices, and, as it is believed, by bribes and pensions, were apt to operate in a manner contrary to what was intended by the ministers. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general distrust, and, just alarm; while, at the same time, the poverty of the crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

The character of Charles was all fitted to remedy those defects in the constitution. He acted in the administration of public affairs as if he were a sovereign, rather than a minister; and in the carriage of his conduct, he lost that authority which could alone bestow constancy on the fluctuating resolutions of the parliament. His expenses too, which sometimes, perhaps, exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy; and while they increased his dependence on the parliament, they were not calculated so as to satisfy either the interested or disinterested part of that assembly.

The parliament met, after a long adjournment of February, and Charles promised himself every parliament, thing from the attachment of the Commons. All his late measures had been calculated to acquire the good will of his people; and, above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to effect all the disagreeable impressions left by the unhappy conclusion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a laudable one, to us, lost him, for a time, the effect of all these endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favour with the king, and carried on many intrigues among the Commons, had also endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and those nonconformists; and he now formed a scheme, in concert with the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the chiefjustices, Sir Matthew Hale, two worthy patriots, to put an end to those severities under which these?religionists had so long laboured. It was proposed to reconcile the presbyterians by a comprehension, and to grant a toleration to the independents and other sectaries. Favour seems not, by this scheme, as by others embraced during the present reign, to have been intended the Catholics: yet were the zealous Commons so disgusted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the king thanks for the triple league, however laudable that measure was then, and has ever since been. They immediately voted an address for a proclamation against conventicles. Their request was complied with; but as the king still dropped some hints of his desire to reconcile his protestant subjects, the Commons passed a very undiscriminated, that no man should bring into the House any bill of that nature. The king in vain reiterated his solicitations for supply; represented the necessity of equipping a fleet; and even offered, that the money which they should grant should be collected and issued for that purpose by commissioners appointed by the House. Instead of complying, the Commons voted an inquiry into all the miscarriages during the late war; the shackling of sail after the duke's victory from false orders given by Tilly, and the disbanding of the forces at Bergen, the division of the fleet under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, the disgrace at Chatham. Brounker was
expelled the House, and ordered to be impeached. Commissioner Pet, who had neglected orders issued for the security of Chatham, met with the same fate. These impeachments were never prosecuted. The House at length, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the king three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

16th of May. But the king, besides being retarded by the disgust of the Commons against the tolerating maxims of the court, met with obstructions this session from a quarrel between the two Houses. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having suffered some injuries from the conduct of the Indian company, and the matter by petition before the House of Lords, by whom he was relieved in costs and damages to the amount of five thousand pounds. The Commons voted, that the Lords, in taking cognizance of this affair, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the subject of the right, ease, and benefit due to him by these laws; and that Skinner, in prosecuting the suit after this manner, had infringed the privileges of the Commons: for which offence they ordered him to be taken into custody. Some conferences ensued between the Houses: where the Lords were tenacious of their rule of judicature, and maintained that the method in which they had exercised it was quite regular. The Commons rose into a great ferment; and went so far as to vote, that "whoever should be aiding or abetting in putting in execution any order or sentence of the Lords, commissioners of the East India company, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of the House of Commons." They resolved also, that it would be his duty to vote, to find any one who would venture to incur their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the Lords seem in this case to have been unusual, and without precedent. But the motion of the king necessitated him again on 9th of October, to assemble the parliament, who showed some disposition to relieve him. The price, however, which he must pay for this indulgence, was his yielding to new laws against conventicles. His compliance in this particular contributed more to gain the Commons, than all the pompous pretences of supporting the triple alliance, that popular measure by which he expected to remove the danger of his party. The quartering of the French on the houses was revoked; and as the Commons had voted only four hundred thousand pounds, with which the king was not satisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them. The only business which was then hinted was the receiving of the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the first inspection of this report, there appears a great sum, no less than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the king had much abused the trust reposed in him by parliament. But a more accurate inspection of particulars serves, in a great measure, to remove this imputation. The king, indeed, went so far as to tell the parliament from the throne, 4 That he had fully informed himself of that matter, and did affirm, that no part of those monies which they had given him had been diverted to others, but, on the contrary, besides having a very great sum had been raised out of his standing revenue and credit, and a very great debt contracted; and all for the war." Though artifical pretences have often been employed by kings in their speeches to parliament, and by the Commons, to give them a kind of confidence to suspect him of a direct lie and falsehood. He must have had some reasons, and perhaps not unpleasable ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had

the accounts lying before them, were at that time competent judges. 5

The method which all parliaments had hitherto followed was, to vote a particular sum for the supply, without any distinction, or any appropriation to particular services. So long as the demands of the crown were small and casual, no great inconveniences arose from this practice. But as all the measures of government were now changed, it must be acknowledged, that a certain degree of accuracy in the method of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by exposing him to suspicion, was prejudicial to him. If he were inclined to act otherwise, it was equally burdensome to the people. For these reasons, a contrary practice, during the late reigns, has been constantly followed by the Commons.

When the parliament met after the prorogation, they entered anew upon the business of supply, and granted the king an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each ton of Spanish wine imported, eight on each ton of French. A law also passed, empowering him to sell the fish-farm rents; the last remnant of the prerogatives, by which the ancient kings of England had been supported. By this expedient, he obtained some supply for his present necessities, but left the crown, if possible, still more dependent than before. How much money might be raised by these sales, is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thousand pounds; the sum assigned by some writers. 6

The act against conventicles passed, and received the royal assent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former severity of that law, by establishing a spirit, which had broken almost every session during this parliament, it was not intended as any favour to the nonconformists. Experience probably had taught, that laws of this kind were easy, after they were once established, to be executed. By this act the hearer in a conventicle (that is, in a dissenting assembly, where more than five were present, besides the family) was fined five shillings for the first offence in his family, and the penalties against the bounds for the first offence, forty for the second. The person, in whose house the conventicle met, was amerced a like sum with the preacher. One clause is remarkable; that, if any dispute should arise with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges should always explain the doubt in the sense least favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of parliament to restrict them. Such was the zel of the Commons, that they violated the plainest and most established maxims of civil policy, which require that, in all criminal prosecutions, favour should always be given to the prisoner.

The king had so well remained a ground of quarrel between the two houses; but the king prevailed with the Peers to accept of the expedient proposed by the Commons, that a general raze should be made of all the transactions with regard to that disputed question.

Some attempts were made by the king to effect a union between England and Scotland; though they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties which obstructed that useful and important undertaking. Commissioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions; but the design, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, soon after came to nothing.

The king, at this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the House of Peers. He said, that they amused him, and that he found them no less entertaining than a play. But deeper designs were suspected. As he seemed to interest himself extremely in the Reign of Lord Roxburghe, who had obtained a divorce from his wife on the accusation of adultery, and applied to parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles intended to make a precedent of the case, and that some other people

4 The Abstract of the report of the House committee (on that committee was called) was first published by Mr. Ralph, vol. 1. p. 277. from Lord Rochford's prayer to the House, on this matter. Where we find the substance of the whole affadgment of the committee. For on which day, the king, in the handwriting of the day, said, in effect, that the king should not be left in ignorance of any proceedings whatever, and that he would not suffer the Commons to make any attempts to obstruct the king in the execution of his authority. 5 He was pleased to add, that the king had employed certain persons very well conversant in business, who had acquitted themselves with much satisfaction to the House. 6 Mr. Carter, in his Vindication of the Act of the First of Bynander 1670. where Launder Burnet, p. 49. says that the annual revenue of England was above one hundred thousand pounds, and his reasons appear well founded.
tence would be found for getting rid of the queen. Many proposals to this purpose, it is said, were made by Buckingham; but the king, how little scrupulous soever in some respects, was incapable of any action harsh or barbarous; and he always rejected every scheme of this nature. A defunct department of such intentions was observed, had, at this time, begotten a coldness between the two royal brothers.

We now come to a period, when the king's counsels, which had hitherto, in the main, been good, though segre-
gent and fluctuating, became, during some time, remark-
ably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealousies in all men, were followed by such consequences as had almost destroyed the confidence of all prudent people. Happily, the same negligence still attended him; and, as it had lessened the influence of the good, it also diminished the effect of the bad, measures which he embraced.

It was remarked, that the committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, Secretary Trevor, and Lord-keeper Bridgeham, men in whose honour the nature of his motions, and his incapacity, was confessed, were too little reflection to any deliberations. The whole secret was intrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. These men were known by the name of the cabal, a name which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counsels.

Their characters. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of Earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the most remarkable characters of the age, and the chief spring of all the succeeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late king's party; but being disgusted with some measures of Prince Maurice, he soon deserted to the parliament. He insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwell; and, as he had great influence with the presbyterians, he was serviceable in supporting his policies, with his secret influence. He employed the same credit, in promoting the restoration, and on that account both deserved and acquired favour with the king. In all his changes, he still maintained the character of never betraying those friends whom he des-
sired; and whichever party he joined, his great capacity and singular talents soon gained him their confidence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. No station could satisfy his ambition, no fatigue were insuperable to his task. Notwithstanding his great and solid acquirements of fact, he surmounted all sense of shame: and relying on the subtility of his contrivances, he was not startled with enterprises the most hazardous and most criminal. His body framed for the great, shone out in an eminent degree; and amidst all his furious passions, he possessed a sound judgment of business, and still more of men. Though fitted by nature for beginning and pushing the greatest undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent abilities, by reason of his insatiable desires, were equally dangerous to himself, to the prince, and to the people.

The Duke of Buckingham possessed all the advantages, which a graceful person, a high rank, a splendid fortune, and a lively wit could bestow; but by his wild conduct, unrestrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himself in the end odious and even insignificant. The least interest could make him abandon his honour; the smallest pleasure could seduce him from his interest; the most frivolous caprice was sufficient to counterbalance his pleasure. By his want of secrecy and constancy, he destroyed his character in public life; by his contempt of order and economy, he dissipate his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at last as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little desirous of doing good, to mankind.

The Earl, soon after created Duke, of Lauderdale, was not defective in nature, and still less in acquired, talents; but neither was his address graceful for his understanding just. His principles, or more properly speaking his prejudices, were obstinate, but usable to restrain his ambition; his ambition was still less dangerous than the tyranny and violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; insatiable to his inferiors, but affected to his superiors; though in his whole character there was an almost disdainful air of dispute about him, the king, he had the fortune, beyond any other minister, to maintain, during the greater part of his reign, an ascendant over him.

The talents of the parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raised Sir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous spirit gave him weight in the king's councils. Of the whole cabal, Arlington was the least dangerous, either by character or institutions, for his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity to perse-
vive in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeham, he had been a great promoter of the triple league; but he threw himself, with equal alacrity, into opposite measures, when he found them agreeable to his master. Clifford and he were secretly catholics: Shaftesbury, though addicted to astrology, was reckoned a deist: Buckingham had been a great lord-keeper, and great zealot for the government; Lauderdale had long been a bigoted and furious pres-
byterian; and the opinions of that sect still kept possession of his mind, how little soever they appeared in his conduct.

The dark counsels of the cabal, though, from the first they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thoroughly known but by the event. Such seem to have been the views which they, in concurrence with some catholics, to whom the earl of their sovereign, suggested to the king and the duke, and which these princes too greedily embraced. They said, that the parliament, though the spirit of party, for the present, attached them to the crown, were still of the party to those powers and privileges which their predecessors had usurped from the sovereign: that after the first flow of kindness was spent, they had discovered evident symptoms of discontent; and that he, if he wished to maintain all the authority which they yet retained, and still more; those pretensions which it was easy for them in a moment to revive: that they not only kept the king in dependence by means of his precarious revenue, but had never dis-
covered a suitable generosity, even in those temporary supplies which they granted him: that it was high time for the prince to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to re-
cover that authority which his predecessors, during so many years, had principally enjoyed; that the misfortune of his father was the not having formed any close connection with foreign princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their interest in supporting him; that he, on his part, had the means of integrat-
ing into so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the king's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less augment, the royal authority; that the French monarch alone, so generous a prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the king, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects; that a war, undertaken against Holland by the united force of two such mighty potentates, would prove an easy enterprise, and would serve all the purposes which were aimed at: that, under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would only expect to defend his prerogative: that his naval power might be maintained, partly by the supplies, which, on other pretences, would previously be obtained from parliament; partly by subsidies from France; partly by caprures, which might easily be made on that oppulent re-
public: that, in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the crown would be attended with suc-
cess; nor would any malcontents dare to resist a prince so fortified by so powerful an alliance; or, if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause: and that, by subduing the States, a great step would be made towards a reformacion of the government; since it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in its factious subjects, their attach-
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ment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties.

These suggestions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the king; his desire of more extensive authority, his propensity to the catholic religion, his jealousy for money. He seemed like to have a second reign with him, without opposition, to conquer Flanders, provided that prince would engage to furnish him with ten thousand infantry, and a suitable number of cavalry, in case of any rebellion. As no danger forebodes at this time appeared, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious disposition of his people.

Even during the time when the triple alliance was the most zealously cultivated, the king never seems to have been entirely cordial in those salutary measures, but still to have cast a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had much of his confidence, said imprudently, "I understand all this joy, we must have a second reign with Holland." The accession of the emperor to that alliance had been refused by England on frivolous pretences. And many unfriendly civilities were raised against him which were referred to Burton and the conduct of the East India company.1 But about April, 1669, the strongest symptoms appeared of those fatal measures which were afterwards more openly pursued.

The king's secretaries of state, came to Temple, and told him, that he paid him a visit as a friend, not as a minister. The occasion was, to acquaint him with a conversation which he had lately had with Puffendorf the Swedish agent, who had passed quite away from Paris to his way in London. The French ministers, Puffendorf said, had taken much pains to persuade him, that the Swedes would very soon find their account in those measures which they had lately embraced; that Spain would fail them in all her promises of subsidies; nor would Holland alone be able to support them: that England would certainly fail them, and had already adopted counsels directly opposite to those which by the triple league she had bound herself to pursue; and that the resolution was out the less fixed and certain, because the secret was as yet communicated to very few, either in the French or English court. When Puffendorf seemed incredulous, Turrene showed him a letter from de Croux, the French minister at London; in which, after mentioning the success of his negotiations, and the favourable disposition of the chief ministers there, he added, "And I have at last made them sensible of the full extent of his majesty's bounty." From these communications, that the ministering themselves to foreign princes, a practice which, notwithstanding the malignity of the vigilant, is certainly rare among men in high office, had not been scrupled by Charles's ministers, who even obtained their master's consent to this dishonourable corruption.

But while all men of penetration, both abroad and at home, were alarmed with these incidents, the visit which the king received from his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, was the foundation of still stronger suspicions. Lewis, knowing the address and insinuation of that amiable princess, and the great influence which she had gained of her brother, consulted her at her court, in order to detach Charles from the triple league, which, he knew, had fixed such insurmountable barriers to his ambition; and he now sent her to put the last hand to the plan of their conjoint operations. That he might the better cover this negotiation, he pretended to visit his frontiers, particularly the great works which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the queen and the whole court along with him. While he returned from Dunkirk, the Duchess of Orleans went over to England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they passed ten days together in great mirth and festivity. By her artifices and careness, Lewis with his sister set himself to relax the king into a change of maxim and policy, and to finish his engagements with Lewis for the destruction of Holland; and Lewis made all the preparations and entered into all the negotiations for the execution of this dangerous scheme, in a view of after affairs finding an opportunity.

1 D'Estrées, 16th July, 1667. e Sir W. Temple's notes; see Memoirs, vol. i. p. 14. 67. That Charles was never sincere in the triple alliance; and that, having entertained a violent suspicion of the intentions of his sister and brother-in-law, he determined to detach them from the French alliance, with a view of after affairs finding an opportunity to salutize his vengeance upon them. This account, though very little honourable to the Duke of Orleans, seems probable from events, as well as from the authority of the author.

king about some business, where his negotiation had met with obstructions. De Wit made the Dutch resident inform the English court, that he should consider the recall of Temple as an express declaration of a change of measures in England; and that he could even know what interpretation he might put upon any delay of his return.

29th Oct. While these measures were secretly in
A parliament. agitation, the parliament met according to

27th Nov. adjournment. The king made a short speech, and left the business to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That minister much insisted on the king's great want of supply; the mighty increase of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the last war with Holland; the decay of the house of commerce, the protector's, had been ruinous for ten years; a fleet of fifty sail; the obligations which the king lay under by several treaties to exact for himself the common good of Christendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defensive league with the States.

The artifice succeeded. The House of Commons, entirely satisfied with the king's measures, voted him considerable supplies. A land tax for a year was imposed of a shilling a pound, and a period a pound on two-thirds of the salaries of offices; fifteen shillings on every hundred pounds of bankers' money and stock; an additional excise upon beer for six years, and certain impositions upon law promulgated. The king was to be holden by those obligations before been in a more liberal humour; and never surely was it less merited by the counsels of the king and of his ministers.  

A. D. 1671. The Commons passed another bill for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch salt, glass, and some other commodities. Against this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the House of Lords. The Lords entered into their reasons, and began to make amendments on the bill sent up by the Commons. This attempt was hastily resented by the lower House, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to possess alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonstrances passed between the two Houses, and by their alterations the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament; and he thereby lost the money which was intended him. This is the last time that the Peers have revived any pretensions of that nature. Ever since, the privilege of the Commons, in all other places except in the House of Peers, has passed for uncontroverted.

There was a private affair, which, during this session, disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Henry, prince of Orange, whose old claim to the crown of England was renewed, and who was the husband of James's daughter, and the son-in-law of the Duke of York, had been publically engaged to make a descent in England. He had been impressed by the prospect of the estates of his wife, the Duke of York, and the design of his son, Prince William, to make another descent in Ireland. He was urged in this design by the artifice of the French ambassador, and by the prospect of being furnished with an insurrection in Ireland; and on account of this crime he himself had been attainted, and some of his accomplices capitally punished. The daring villain medi-  

Buckingham was at first, with some appearance of reason, suspected to be the author of this business, and was apprehended. But his drollery, his character, and his enmity against Ormond, exposed him to that imputation. Bassor soon after came to court; and seeing Buckingham stand by the king, his face of such a colour and carriage, that he forbore expressing himself to this purpose: "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father: but I give you warning; if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat you as such; and when I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in my majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance." The king had caused the two ambassadors to be confided in a generous youth, when his father's life was exposed to danger. A little after, Buckingham formed a design of carrying off the crown itself from the Tower. He had approached his venture with so much success, that he was promised his pardon; but he failed of accomplishing it. The king was made to reflect the time of his design, and what it would have been to accommodate it. The usual method of those who opposed the court in the money bills was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the supply, to levy the money upon such acts as the French were not be incapable without proof. It was proposed to lay an imposition upon playhouses; the cour-  

ers objected, that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, asked, "whether the king's pleasure lay among the male or the female players?"  

This stroke of satire was aimed at Charles, who, besides his mistresses of higher quality, entertained at that time two actresses, Darya and Nell Gwyn. The king received not the naylery with the good humour which might have been expected. It was said, that this being the first time that respect to majesty had been publicly violated, it was rec-  

British Museum
been engaged, with others, in a design to kill him with a carbine above Battersea, where his majesty often went to bathe: that the cause of this resolution was the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining their ecclesiastical liberty. The minister, when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their design. It is not certain that he had brought himself to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for lost; yet could he not forbear warning the king of the danger which might attend his execution: that his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge his death; and that every precaution or power could secure one from the effects of their desperate resolutions. Whether these considerations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his resolutions of granting a pardon to Bloo; but he thought it a point of decency first to obtain the Duke of Ormond's consent. Arlington came to Ormond in the king's name, and desired that he would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that his majesty's commands were the only reasons that could be given; and being sufficient, he might therefore spare the rest. Charles excused his kindness to Blood still further: he granted him an audience, with his attended guards; he encouraged his attendance upon his person; he showed him his great countenance; and many applied to him for promoting their pretensions at court. And while old Edwards sat, and deplored his fate, and had been wounded in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who desired only to be stared at and detested as a monster, became a kind of favourite.

Errors of this nature in private life have often as much influence as miscarriages in which the public is more immediately concerned. Another incident happened this year, which infused a general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions, into all men. The Duchess of York died; and as her death was distressing, she made open profession of the Romish religion, and finished her life in that communion.

This put an end to that thin disguise which declared him the duke had hitherto worn; and he now openly declared his conversion to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever since the accession of the house of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but these had formerly been so groundless, and had been employed to so many and various ends, that surmises of this nature were likely to meet with the least credit among all men of sense; and nothing but the duke's imputed bigotry could have conviced the whole nation of his change of religion. Popery, which had hitherto been so little suspected, now became a new ground of terror; being openly and seriously embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of industry and enterprise; while the king himself was not entirely free from like suspicions.

It is probable, that the new alliance with France inspired the duke with the courage to make open profession of his religion, and rendered him more careless of the affections and esteem of the English. This alliance became every day more apparent. Temple was declared to be no longer ambassador to the States; and Downing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate enemy of their republic, was sent over in his stead. A ground of quarrel was sought by means of a yacht, despatched for Lady Temple. The captain sailed through the Dutch fleet which lay on their own coasts; and he had orders to make them strike, to fire on them, and to preserve till they should return his fire. The Dutch Admiral, Van Ghent, surprised at this bravo, came on board the yacht, and expressed his willingness to pay respect to the British flag, according to former practice: but that a fleet, on their own coasts, should strike to a yacht, was neither a statesman nor a shipwright; such an innovation, that he durst not, without express orders, agree to it. The captain thinking it dangerous, as well as absurd, to renew firing in the midst of the Dutch fleet, continued his course; and, for that neglect of orders, was committed to the Tower.

This incident, however, furnished Downing with a new article to increase the vaine pretences, on which it was launched against the English nation. The court delayed several months before they complained; lest, if they had demanded satisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even when Downing delved, and. carried his point, there was nothing but an assurance not to accept of any satisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays absolutely unavoidable. An answer, however, this estimation to the Dutch envoy; and that that envoy was proceeding to the court of England. That court replied, that the answer of the Hollanders was ambiguous and obscure; but they would not specify the articles or expressions which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambassador desired the English ministry to draw the answer in terms they pleased, and he was resolved to sign it. The English ministry replied, that it was not their business to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambassador brought them the draft of an article, and asked them whether it were satisfactory: the English answered that, when he had signed and delivered it, he should have been satisfied; but the Dutchman resolved to sign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new audience, an hour was appointed for that purpose; but when he attended, the English refused, and immediately told him, that the season for negotiating was now past. Long and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament; lest the Houses should declare themselves with vigour against counsels so opposite to the inclination as well as interests of the public. Could we suppose that Charles, in his alliance against Holland, really meant the good of his people, that measure must pass for an extraordinary, a very, a romantic strain of extravagance, and impracticability, in spite of all difficulties, and even in spite of themselves, to seek the welfare of the nation. But every step which he took in this affair, became a proof to all men of prudence, that the present war was intended against the religion and liberties of his own subjects, even more than against the Dutch themselves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an absolute monarch, and was never more to lie under the control of the other branches of the crown. The long prorogations of parliament, if they freed the king from the importunate remonstrances of that assembly, were, however, attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations. The most eligible proposals to compound with the triple league, which at that very time he had firmly resolved to break, Charles had obtained a large supply from the Commons; but this money was soon exhausted by debts and expenses. France had stipulated to pay one hundred thousand pounds a-year during the war; but that supply was inconsiderable, compared to the immense charge of the English navy. It seemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without consent of parliament; since the power of taxing themselves was the privilege of the English, of which the English were, with reason, particularly jealous. Some other resource must be fallen on. The king had declared, that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one that could find an expedient for supplying the present necessities. Shaftesbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately seized, and carried to the king, who granted him the promised reward, to either with a peerage. This expedition was the shutting up of the exchequer, and the retaining of all the payments which should be made into it. It had been usual for the banks to carry their money out of the country; and it was proposed that it upon security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes...
had orders to go on this command; and be passed Sprague in the channel, who was returning with a squadron from a cruise in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders, and had not Holmes, from a desire of engaging the honour and profit of the enterprise, kept the secret of his orders, the composition of these squadrons had rendered the success infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Ness, who commanded them, to come on board of him: one of his captains gave a like insidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But these officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hostile intentions of the English, and would have opened violation of the most solemn engagements, both foreign and domestic.

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**Declaration of War**

Another measure of the court contains something laudable, when considered in itself; but if we reflect on the motive whet it proceeded, as well as the time when it was embraced, it will furnish a strong proof of the arbitrary and dangerous counsels pursued at present by the king and his ministry. Charles resolved to make use of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters; a power, he said, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recognised by several acts of parliament. By virtue of this authority, he thought it would have been attended with great advantage to the public peace, if a few penal laws enacted against all nonconformists or recusants whatsoever; and granting to the Protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, to the catholics the exercise of theirs; and thus, by refusing the honour of the crown, opposed by the parliament, and retracted by the king, had already been made a few years after the restoration; but Charles expected, that the parliament, whenever it should meet, would now be tampered to greater submission, and would no longer dare to control his measures. Meanwhile, the dissenters, the most inveterate enemies of the court, were mollified by these indulgent maxims; and the catholics, under their shelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had allowed them before.

At the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by royal will and pleasure: a measure which, though a stretch of prerogative, seemed useful to commerce, while all the seamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like suspension had been granted, during the first Dutch war, and was not much remarked; because men had, at that time, entertained less jealousy of the crown. A proclamation was therefore issued, how little important soever in themselves, savoured strongly of arbitrary government, and were nowise suitable to that legal administration, which the parliament, after such violent contumacies in civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

It may be worth remarking, that the lord-keeper refused to affix the great seal to the declaration for suspending the parliament, and was for that reason, thouing the other pretences, removed from his office. Shaftesbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the cabinet received the reward of his counsels.

**Act of War**

The protestation had occasion. He protested in the name of the Smyrna fleet, that he was not anxious that it should be a principle of importance for supporting his military enterprises. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts,
into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter that France purposed to invade the United Provinces. The standing force of that kingdom amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand men; and the strength of one half of this French king now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, economy, and industry of Colbert, equally subservient to the ambition of the prince and happiness of the people, furnished unexhausted stores; these, acquired by the unremitting vigilance of Louvois, supplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterprises of the army: Condé, Turenne, seconded by Luxembourg,arges, and the most renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inspired courage into every one. The monarch himself, surrounded with a brave nobility, animated his troops by the prospect of reward, or, what was most valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety; its dangers furnished matter for glory; and in no enterprise did the genius of that gallant and polite people ever break out with more distinguished lustre.

Though De Witt's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domestic administration, he had, long before, received many assurances of this fatal consequence to be prepared for, not for defence so much as to cope with such industry, as the danger required. A union of England with France was evidently, he saw, destructive to the interests of the former kingdom; and therefore, overpowered by the humours of Charles, he concluded it impossible that such pernicious projects could ever really be carried into execution.

Weakness in the States. Secure in this fallacious reasoning, he allowed the republic to remain too long in that defenceless situation, into which many concurrend accidents had conspired to throw her.

By a continued and successful application to commerce, the States had some unalike, as a prepared defence for their defence in that mercantile arm, which they maintained. After the treaty of Westphalia, the States, trusting to their peace with Spain, and their alliance with France, had broken a great part of this industry, and did not support with sufficient vigilance the discipline of the troops which remained. When the aristocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to dismiss many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted in the house of Orange; and their place was supplied by raw youths, the sons or kinmen of burgomasters, by whose interest the party was supported. These new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and whatever was said to the contrary, they were employed by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of that nation had been disband ed: Lewis's invasion of Flanders, followed by the treaty of Westphalia, occasioned the dismission of the French regiments: and the place of these troops, which had ever had a chief share in the honour and fortune of all the wars in the Low Countries, had not been supplied by any new levies.

De Witt, sensible of this dangerous situation, alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, exorted himself to supply those defects, to which it was not easy of a sudden to provide a suitable remedy. But every proposal, which he could make, met with opposition from the Orange party, now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontrolled administration of this statesman had begotten envy; the present incidents roused up his enemies and opponents, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the bad situation of the republic: and, above all, the popular affection to the young prince, which had so long been broken in valuable constraint, and had thence acquired new accession of force, began to display itself, and to threaten the commonwealth with some great convulsion. William III., Prince of Orange, was in the twenty-second year of his age, and gave strong indications of those great qualities, by which his life was afterwards so much distinguished. De Witt himself, by giving him an excellent education, and instructing him in all the principles of government and sound policy, had generously contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious situation of his own party, he was always resolved, he said, by conveying to the prince the knowledge of affairs, to render him equal to the situation in which he might unexpectedly be placed. This solution should ever throw the administration into his hands. The conduct of William had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithstanding his powerful alliances with France, and his decline of the former policy of the Dutch in that solution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenor of his behaviour suited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to inquire; of a sound and steady understanding; firm in what he once resolved, or once denied; strongly intent on business, little on pleasure: by these virtues he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, sensible that they owed the liberty and existence of their ancestors, and hoped, from his valour and conduct alone, to receive protection against those imminent dangers with which they were at present threatened. While these two powerful factions struggled for supremacy, he shewed himself the equal of an able general in every project returned. What was determined with difficulty, was executed without vigueur. Levies indeed were made, and the army completed to seventy thousand men; the prince was appointed general or chief secret warrior of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But new troops could not of a sudden acquire discipline and experience: and the partisans of the prince were all unhappy, as the court of his father was calmed, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the statholdership, and from all share in the civil administration.

It had been the maxim of De Witt's party to cultivate national affairs with extreme care, and to give the fleet a preference above the army, which they represented as the object of an unrespective partiality in the princes of Orange. The French, who were seldom warred with England, had exercised the valour and improved the skill of the sailors. And, above all, De Ruyter, the greatest sea-commander of the age, was closely connected with the Louvain party; and every time he was disposed, with confidence and alacrity, to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore fastened by De Witt; in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might inspire courage into the distracted States, and support his despotism, which was allowed to serve in a peculiar manner, inscensed against the English; and he resolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, he himself and his country had such reason to complain. By the offer of a close alliance for mutual defence, they had seduced the republic to quit the alliance of France; but no sooner had she embraced these measures, than they formed leagues for her destruction, with that very power which they had theretofore engaged her to offend. In the midst of full peace, nav during an intimate union, they attacked her commerce, her only means of subsistence; and, moved by shameful rashness, had invaded that property, which, from a reliance on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceless. Contrary to their own manifest interest, as well as to their honour, they still retained a malignant resentment for her successful conclusion of the former war which had at first sprung from their own wanton insolence and ambition. To repress so dangerous an enemy, would, De Witt imagined, give peculiar pleasure, and contribute to the future security of his country, whose prosperity was so much the object of general envy.

Actuated by like motives and views, De Ruyter put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships of war and forty-four frigates. Command of De Witt was on board, as deputy from the States. They sailed in quest of the English, who were under the command of the Duke
of York, and who had already joined the
French under Mareschal d'Étrevé. The
combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very
nervigent posture; and Sandwich, being an experienced
officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but
received, it is said, such an answer as intimated, that there
was no necessity for it to come in at all. Upon the appearance
of the enemy, every one ran to his post with precipitation,
and many ships were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in
readiness. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or
be destroyed, he was sufficiently confirmed by the
appearance of the enemy, that the whole fleet was suitably inoted to him for its
safety. He hastened out of the bay, where it had been easy
for De Ruyter with his fire-ships to have destroyed the
destroyed fleet, which was crowded together; but by this
wise measure gave time to the Duke of York, who
commanded the main body, and to Mareschal d'Étrevé,
admiral of the rear, to disengage themselves. He himself
manoeuvred meanwhile into battle with the Hollanders; and
by presenting himself to every danger, had drawn upon
him all the bravest of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent,
a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship: be sunk another
ship, which ventured to try him aboard: be sunk three
fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him: and
though his vessel was torn in pieces with shot, and of a
thousand men she contained, near six hundred were
killed or wounded: but he was continued still in the action with all
his artillery in the midst of the enemy. But another fire-
ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold
of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Warned
by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he re-
covered his ship, for which he had
embraced death as a shelter from that ignominy, which a rash
expression of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, De Ruy-
ter, with his fleet, sailed for Amersfort, Camperduin, Van Nyk, and
fought him with such fury for about two hours, that
of two and thirty actions, in which that admiral had been
engaged, he declared this combat to be the most obstinately
sustained, and that he was so shattercd, that he was
oblige to leave her, and remove his flag to another.

His squadron was overpowered with numbers; till Sir
Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded to Sandwich's com-
mmand, came to his assistance, and the fight, being now
equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch
retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss
sustained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was
nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the English,
as they could not have been involved in as many actions as the
Dutch, or so closely engaged in the action; and as this back-
wardness is not their national character, it was concluded
that they had received secret orders to spare their ships, with
the design of returning to their own ports, and save
themselves by their mutual animosity. Almost all the other actions
during the present war tended to confirm this suspicion.

It might be deemed honourable for the Dutch to have
fought with some advantage the combined fleets of two
such powerful nations; but nothing less than a complete
victory could serve the purpose of De Wit, or save his
country from those calamities, which from every quarter
threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected that
the French would make their attack on the side of Maestricht,
which was well fortified, and provided with a good garri-
ton; but Lewis, taking advantage of his alliance with Col-
loyn, resolved to invade the enemy on that frontier, which
he knew to be more forcible his defections. The
armies of that elector and those of Munster appeared on the
other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and at-
tention of the States. The Dutch troops, too weak
to defend so extensive a frontier, were scattered in so many
towns, that no considerable body remained in the field;
and a strong garrison was scarce to be found in any for-
tress. Lewis pursued the Meuse at Vierset;
prevented the entrance of the
French. Elector of Brandenburgh's, but garrisoned by the
Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his
army, and invested at once Burc, Wesel, Emerich, and
Rhinsburg, four places fortified, and not un-
protected with troops: in a few days all these places were
surrendered. A general astonishment had seized the Hol-
landers, from the combination of such powerful princes
against the republic; and no where was resistance made
suitable to the ancient glory or present greatness of the
state. Governors without experience commanded troops
without discipline; and despair had universally exten-
uded itself, and of sense of honour, by which alone, men, in
such dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valourous
defence.

Lewis advanced to the banks of the Rhine,
which he prepared to cross. To all the
calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of
the season, by which the greatest rivers were much
diminished, and in some places rendered fordable. The
French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince,
full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung
themselves into the river: the infantry passed in boats: a
few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other side, who
were unable to make resistance. And thus was executed,
without danger, but not without glory, the passage of the
Rhine; so much celebrated at that time by the blunty of
the French courtiers, and transmitted to posterity by the
more durable flattery of their poets.

Each success added courage to the conquerors, and
struck the vanquished with dismay. The Prince of
Orange, though prudent beyond his age, was but newly
advanced to the command, unaccompanied with the army,
unknown to the enemy, and, with all the passions which prevailed, was uncertain of the authority
on which they must depend. It was expected, that the
fort of Skink, famous for the sieges which it had formerly
sustained, would make some resistance; but it yielded
to Turenne in a few days. The same general was sent by the
time the Marquis of Arnhem, Krestenenburg, and Nimgeuen,
as soon as he appeared before them. Doesburg at the same
time opened its gates to Lewis: soon after, Harderwic,
the seat of the governorship of Zealand, Rijn,
and the town of Calviers, surrendered. The two,
and Deventer surrendered to the Mareschal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of
Munster. And every hour brought to the town of
the rapid progress of the French, and of the cowardly de-
defence of their own garrisons.

The Prince of Orange, with so much and discouraged
army, retired into the province of Holland, where he
expected, from the natural strength of the country, since all
human art and courage failed, to be able to make some
resistance. The town and province of Utrecht, so famous,
and surrendered themselves to Lewis. Naorden, a
place within three leagues of Amsterdam, was seized by the
Marquis of Hochfort, and, bad be pushed on to Muy-
den, he had easily captured possession of it. Fourteen strag-
glers of his army having appeared before the gates of that
town, the magistrates and other inhabitants of the
city, which was now alone in the castle, having raised the
drawbridge, kept them from taking possession of that fortress.
The citizens afterwards, finding the party so weak,
made them drunk, and took the keys from them. Muy-
den is so near to Amsterdam, that its cannon may infest
the ships which enter that city.

Lewis with a splendid court made a so-
lemn entry into Utrecht, full of glory, be-
cause every where attended with success; though more
owing to the cowardice and misconduct of his enemies,
than to his own valour or prudence. Three provinces
were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overysell, and Utrecht;
and Groningen was threatened: Friesland was exposed; the
only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the
monarch deliberated concerning the proper measures for re-
ducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to dis-
mantle all the towns which he had taken, except a few; and
fortifying his main army by the garrisons, put himself in
a condition of pushing his conquests. Louvois, hoping
that the other provinces, weak and dismayed, would prove
an easy prey, advised him to pursue a more extended
route, which might afterwards serve to retain the people in sub-
jection. His counsel was followed; though it was found,
soon after, to have been the most imprudent.

Meanwhile the people throughout the Constamonat
public, instead of collecting a noble indig-
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tion against the haughty conqueror, discharged their rage upon their own unhappy minister, on whose prudence and integrity every one formerly bestowed the merited applause: the bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: the ill choice of governors was ascribed to his partiality: as instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected. The former comprises with France; the latter, perhaps, was more real to himself, and the people believed, that he and his partisans had now combined to betray them to their most mortal enemy. The Prince of Orange, notwithstanding his former experience, was looked on as the only saviour of the state; and men were violently driven by their fears into his party, to which they had always been led by favour and inclination. A discontent alone was left to retain some courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to inflame spirit into the other cities. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep a strict watch: the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the defence of the public.

Some ships, which lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and stationed to guard the city: and the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water.

All the provinces followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fruitful fields, which with great art and expense had been won from it.

As the first army was formed, care was taken to whether the means were left to save the remains of their lately flourishing, and now distressed, commonwealth. Though they were surrounded with waters, which barred all access to the land, the field-citizens were ordered to maintain that tranquillity, which could alone suggest measures proper to extricate them from their present difficulties.

The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and national dignity, could be retained, every thing else should without scruple be sacrificed to the conqueror.

Eleven towns concurred in the same sentiments. Amsterdam singly declared against all treaty with insolent and contemptible Lewis, and, notwithstanding that opposition, ambassadors were despatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was resolved to sacrifice to Lewis, Maestricht, and all the frontier towns which lay within the bounds of the seven provinces; and to pay him a large sum for the charges of the war.

Lewis deliberated with his ministers Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the measures which he should embrace in the present emergency; and fortunately for Europe, he still preferred the violent counsels of the former. He offered to evacuate his conquests, on condition that all duties lately imposed on the commodities of France should be taken off: that the public exercise of the Romish religion should be permitted in the United Provinces; that the churches shared with the catholics; and their priests maintained by appointments from the States: that all the frontier towns of the republic should be yielded to him, together with Nimeguen, Stenck, Kortenburem, and that part of Guelderland which lay on the other side of the Rhine; as likewise the isle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the fortress of St. Andrew, those of Louvestein and Cruys; that the States should pay him the sum of twenty millions of livres for the charges of the war: that they should every year send him a solemn embassy, and present him with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment that they owed to him the preservation of that liberty, which, by his timely and powerful counsels, he had preserved for the former.

He offered to send to London met with still worse reception: no minister was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But, notwithstanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the people were provoked by the sentiments of tender compassion, and even indignation, among the people in general, especially among those who could foresee the aim and result of those dangerous counsels. The states for two powerful monarchs, that said, in Europe, the one by land, the other by sea, have, contrary to the faith of solemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illus-
were the violent factions with which they continued to be everywhere agitated. De Witt, too pertinacious in defence of his own system of liberty, while the very being of the commonwealth was in opposing the repeal of the perpetual edict, now became the object of horror to the Dutch populace. Their rage at last broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They rushed in an insurrection at Dort, and by force constrained their burgomasters to sign the repeal so much demanded. This proved a signal of a general revolt throughout all the provinces.

At Amsterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and, trampling under foot the authority of their magistrates, obliged them to submit to the Prince of Orange. They expelled from their office such as displeased them; they required the prince to appoint others in their place: and, agreeably to the proceedings of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their superiors, they expressed great indignation for the protection of their civil liberties.

The superior talents and virtues of De Witt made him, on this occasion, the chief object of envy, and exposed him to the utmost rage of popular prejudice. Four assassins, armed with matches, entered the house of that magistrate, and, by the violence of their assault, obliged him to unrobe himself, and after having him severely wounded, left him for dead. One of them was punished: the others were never questioned for the crime. His brother, Cornelius, who had behaved with prudence and integrity, being on board the fleet, was obliged by sickness to come ashore; and he was now confined to his house at Dort. Some assassins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his family and servants could repel their violence. At Amsterdam, the house of the brave De Huyter, the sole resource of the distressed commonwealth, was surrounded by the enraged populace; and his wife and children were for some time exposed to the most imminent danger.

One Tchelher, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accused Cornelius de Witt of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the design of poisoning the Prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable and even absurd circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the same prejudices, or not daring to oppose the popular torrent, condemned him to suffer the question. This man, who had bravely served his country in war, and who had been invested with the highest dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torn in pieces by a remorseless populace, and the severe agonies which he endured, he still made protestations of his innocence, and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained sentiments suited to his deplorable condition:

*Jutum et teneacem propositis virum, &c.*

The judges, however, condemned him to lose his offices, and to be banished from the commonwealth. The pensionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother and faithful friend during this prosecution, resolved not to desert him on account of the unmerited infamy which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his termination, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to Massacre of the De Witts. They rose in arms: they broke open the doors of the prison; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thousand hands vie who should first be impaled in their blood. From their death did not satiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exercised on the dead bodies of those virtuous eti-
asked him, whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined? There is one certain means, replied the prince, by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin: I will die in the last ditch.

The prince had been much incited to espouse the prince's party, by the hopes that the King of England, pleased with his nephew's elevation, would abandon those dangerous engagements into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the distressed republic. But all these hopes were soon found to be fallacious. Charles still persisted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an English army on board, commanded by Count Schoone-berg. It is pretended that an unusual tide carried them off the coast; and that Providence thus interposed, in an extraordinary manner, to save the republic from the imminent danger to which it was exposed. Very tempestuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the rest of the season; and the combined fleets either were blown to a distance, or durst not approach a coast which might prove fatal to them. The eyes of all men were henceforth turned against the misunderstanding, and that no further success was likely for the present to attend his arms, he was obliged to retire to Versailles.

The states of Europe regarded the subjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own slavery, and retained no hopes of defending themselves, should such a mighty acquisition be made to the already exorbitant power of France. But though he hesitated at a distance, and was naturally slow in his undertakings, began to put himself in motion; Brandenburgh showed a disposition to support the States; Spain had sent some forces to their assistance, by the present exigencies of the Prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groningen was the first place that stopped the progress of the enemy; the Bishop of Munster was repulsed from before that town, and obliged to raise the siege with loss and dishonour. Naarden was attempted by the Prince of Orange; but Mareschal Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments, with a sudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterprise.

A.D. 1673.</p><p>The next step taken by the Commons had the appearance of some more complaints; but in reality proceeded from the same spirit of liberty and independence. They entered a resolution, that in order to supply his majesty's extraordinary occasions, for that was the expression of their desire, an assessment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the king, they would not expect a compliance with the demands of the Commons, and thus give him the prospect of this supply, only that they might have permission to proceed peaceably in the redress of the other grievances, of which they had such reason to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the secret views from which it proceeded, and the consequences which might attend it, than the declaration of independence. A resolution was immediately found against that exercise of prerogative. The king defended his measure. The Commons persisted in their opposition to it; and they represented that such a practice, if attempted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two Houses. All men were in expectation with regard to the issue of this extraordinary power. The Commons seemed to consider their authority as so frail, and it was resolved to stick to his declaration; and would be much offended at any contradiction: and that though a rumour had been spread, as if the naval armed army had been intended to control law and property, he would be more disposed to believe it than affirm it; that he was resolved to augment his forces next spring, and did not doubt but they would consider the necessity of their supplies. The rest of the business he left to the chancellor.

The chancellor enlarged on the same topics, and added many extraordinary positions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchical States, and that by the influence of England, the protector for commercial and naval power, and the sole obstacle to their views of attaining an universal empire, as extensive as that of ancient Rome; that, even during their present distress and danger, they were so intoxicated with these ambitious projects, as to slight all treaty, or to refuse all proposition of hostilities: that the Dutch had been much incited to espouse the Prince's party, by the hopes that the King of England, pleased with his nephew's elevation, would abandon those dangerous engagements into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the distressed republic. But all these hopes were soon found to be fallacious. Charles still persisted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an English army on board, commanded by Count Schooneberg. It is pretended that an unusual tide carried them off the coast; and that Providence thus interposed, in an extraordinary manner, to save the republic from the imminent danger to which it was exposed. Very tempestuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the rest of the season; and the combined fleets either were blown to a distance, or durst not approach a coast which might prove fatal to them. The eyes of all men were henceforth turned against the misunderstanding, and that no further success was likely for the present to attend his arms, he was obliged to retire to Versailles.

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A.D. 1673. A parliament met at this period, to consider of the measures for new elections; but the business was then arrested by the execution of the revolution. The eyes of all men were consequently turned against the monarchy, and their relations with their foreign allies were so strained as to render any dissolution of the States impracticable. The feeble and vacillating character of the combined forces of the republic was the subject of frequent reflections. The Dutch court, indeed, with some success, raised a fleet to the number of seven thousand men, under the command of Admiral de Winter, who, before that time, had had some precedents in his favour, had ever afterwards abstained from all exercise of that authority. This indeed was one of the first steps which the court has taken to effect its designs; but it is not probable that the army will ever be able to take possession of the citizens. The army of the states was composed of between twenty thousand and thirty thousand men, but it is not probable that the army will ever be able to take possession of the citizens. The army of the states was composed of between twenty thousand and thirty thousand men, but it is not probable that the army will ever be able to take possession of the citizens. The army of the states was composed of between twenty thousand and thirty thousand men, but it is not probable that the army will ever be able to take possession of the citizens.
in such an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Besides his usual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath, under the command of Mareschal Schomberg, a foreigner; and many of the officers were of the Protestant religion. His ally, the French king, he might expect, would second him, if force became requisite for restraining his discontented subjects, and supporting the measures which, by common consent, they had agreed to renew. The House of Commons, however, had approached so dangerous a precipice as that which lay before them. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he saw, to mutual confidence and trust with his people; the recall attending foreign succours, especially from the mighty power of France; the risk of the success which his own arms had met with in the war, was not so great as to increase his authority, or terrify the malcontents from opposition. The desire of power, likewise, which had engaged Charles in these precipitate measures, had less proceeded, we may observe, from ambition, than from love of ease. Strict limitations of the constitution rendered the conduct of business complicated and troublesome; and it was impossible for him, without much contrivance and intrigue, to procure the money necessary for his pleasures, or even for the regular support of government. When the prospect, therefore, of such dangerous advances on the throne increased the ease inclined him to retract what it seemed so difficult to maintain; and his turn of mind, naturally plant and careless, made him find little objection to a measure which a more haughty prince would have embraced with the utmost relish. Resolution, therefore, was necessary. He asked the opinion of the House of Peers, who advised him to comply with the Commons. Accordingly the king sent for the declaration, and, as he took the precedence of the court, in which he himself had borne so deep a share. He was received with open arms by that party, who stood in need of so able a leader; and no questions were asked with regard to his past apology. The various factions into which the nation had been divided, and the many sudden revolutions to which the public had been exposed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to destroy the sense of honour and decorum in their public conduct.

But the parliament, though satisfied with the king's compliance, had not lost all those apprehensions, to which the measures of the court had given so much foundation. A law passed for imposing a tax on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament in the established church, they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrines of persecution. At first, the same love for the seconded the efforts of the Commons against the king's declaration of indulgence, and seemed resolute to accept of no toleration in any illegal manner, they had acquired great favour with the parliament; and a project was adopted to march the whole protestant forces against the common enemy, who now began to appear formidable. A bill passed the Commons for the ease and relief of the protestant nonconformists; but met with some difficulties, at least delays, in the House of Peers.

The resolution for supply was carried into a law; as a recompense to the king for his concessions. An act, likewise, of general pardon and indemnity was passed, which screened the ministers from all further inquiry. The parliament probably thought, that the best method of reclaiming the criminals was to show them that their case was not despaired of, and that the king was willing, for the cause of his kingdom, to purchase their pardon. The Commons voted, of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for the time, somewhat appeased. None of the capital points are there touched on; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, or the interrupting of any important duty. The second act of the Commons, voted, was an arbitrary imposition on coats for providing convouts, the exercise of martial law, the quartering and pressing of soldiers; and they prayed, that, after the conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The king gave them a gracious, though an evasive, answer.

When business was finished, the two Houses adjourned themselves.

Though the king had receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquished the dispensing power, he was still resolved, notwithstanding his success both at home and abroad, to persevere in his alliance with France; and in the Dutch war, consequently in all those secret views, whatever they were, which depended on those fatal measures. The money, granted by parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, of which Prince Rupert was declared admiral: for the duke was set aside by the king. Some of the commissioners for the navy were ordered to command the under the prince. A French squadron joined them, commanded by D'Estrées. The combined fleets set sail towards the coast of the Bay of Dordrecht, in Holland, and from the masts of the ships, when everything was completed, there was a general confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions, derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the enemies' secret despatches. But whether all that was there involved. No wonder, therefore, that accounts of those battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when delivered by writers of the hostile nation, who are not pleased in denouncing the advantages of their own countrymen, and deplored those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may hence infer, that the event was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, returned into their harbours. In a week they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, not more decisive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great advantage on either side, and to give a clear opposition to it. Never turn was more sudden, or less calculated to save appearances. Immediately, he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and discovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary designs of the court, in which he himself had borne so deep a share. He was received with open arms by that party, who stood in need of so able a leader; and no questions were asked with regard to his past apology. The various factions into which the nation had been divided, and the many sudden revolutions to which the public had been exposed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to destroy the sense of honour and decorum in their public conduct.

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jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would, with much more pleasure, have destroyed, than even the enemy themselves.

If Prince Rupert was not favourable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at least from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing necessary, powder, shot, provender, beer, and even water; and when he went into harbour, that he might rest his ships, and supply their numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted, and again put to sea. The hostile fleets met off the Texel, and fought the last battle, which, during the course of so many years, these neighbouring maritime powers have disputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: for the Prince of Orange had reconciled these gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animosity, except that emulation, which made them exert themselves with more distinguished bravery against the enemies of their country. Blankert was opposed to D'Etretes, De Ruyter to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is to be remarked, that in all actions these brave admirals last mentioned had still selected each other as the only antagonists worthy their valour; and the Dutch, no decisive advantage as had yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle as if there were no mean between death and victory.

But of the Dutch squadron, except Rear-Admiral Martel, kept at a distance, and Blankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of De Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with Prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more decisive conduct, as well as valour, than now with signal lustre. Having disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies with whom he was everywhere surrounded, and having joined Sir John Chevley, his rear-adjutant, who had been separated from him, he made haste to the relief of Sprague, who was hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague first engaged, was so disordered, that he was obliged to leave his flag on board St. George; while Tromp was for a like reason obliged to quit his ship, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these valourous rivals, and by the rear-adjutant of their seconds. Occor, rear-admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Sprague was leaving her, in order to hoist his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge, when a shot, which had passed through the ship, wounded both her, and killed her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself, who bestowed on his valour the deserved praise.

Prince Rupert found affair in this dangerous situation, and saw most of the ships in Sprague's squadron disabled from fight. The engagement however was renewed, and became very close and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into disorder. To increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down; which if they had done, a decisive victory must have ensued; but the prince, when he saw that they neglected his signal, and observed that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, wisely provided for their safety by making easy sail towards the English coast. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the present war.

The turn which the affairs of the Hollander took by land, was more favourable. The Prince of Orange besieged and took Nuren; and from this success gave his country reason to hope for still more prosperous enterprize. The general demand for the imperialists on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the most artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and making a sudden march, set down before Bonne. The Prince of Orange made his approach, was no less master of the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to that of the imperialists. Bonne was taken in a few days: several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies: and the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces, and to retreat. Thus all his conquests were expunged, as he had at first made them. The taking of Mannheim was the only advantage which he gained this campaign.

A congress was opened at Cologne, under Charles of Lorraine, who was mediator of Sweden; but with small hopes of success. The contested kings were such as must have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual servitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States rose, the kings sank in their demands; but the States still held their footing, and it was found impossible for parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congress broke up; and the sense of Prince William of Furstenburg by the imperialists afforded the French and English a good pretence for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambassadors, in their memorials, expressed all the haughtiness and disdain, so natural to a free state, which had met with such unmeant ill usage.

The parliament of England, was also assembled, and the gloom of all honour that had appeared in the last session. They had seen for some time a negotiation of marriage carried on between the Duke of York and the Archbishops of Ireland, a project that had been made no opposition. But when that negotiation failed, and the duke applied to a princess of the house of Modena, then in close alliance with France; this circumstance, the jealousy of so many others, made it raise the Commons into a flame, and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and preceding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to the Commons into a flame, and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and preceding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to the Commons into a flame, and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and preceding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to the Commons into a flame, and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and preceding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that a fund was raised to
counsels they imputed all their present grievances. Clifford was dead: Shaftesbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader; Buckingham was the envoys brought to intimate Shaftesbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the House of Commons for his impeachment; he desired to be heard at the bar; but expressed himself in so confused and ambiguous a manner, as gave little satisfaction; many persons were secretly anxious to secure queries which they proposed to him. These regarded all the articles of misconduct above mentioned; and, among the rest, the following query seems remarkable:

"By whose advice was the act brought up to overawe the debates and resolutions of the House of Commons?"

This shows to what length the suspicions of the House were at that time carried. Buckingham, in all his answers, endeavoured to exculpate himself, and to load Arlington. He succeeded not in the former intention: the Commons voted an address for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the House, was attacked. Articles were drawn up against him, though the intention was never prosecuted.

The king plainly saw that he could expect no supply from the Commons for carrying on a war so odious to them. He resolved therefore to make a separate peace with France, the power that had passed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. With a cordiality, which in the present disposition on both sides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he asked advice of the able and praiseworthy navigators, who concurred, both in thanks for his gracious concession, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded to the Dutch in the most extensive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: the English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure: and the States agreed to pay to the king the sum of three hundred thousand pounds. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared that she could no longer remain neuter, if hostilities were continued against Holland; and a sensible decay of trade was foreseen, in case a rupture should ensue with that kingdom. The prospect of this loss contributed very much to increase the national aversion to the present war, and to elucidate the joy for its conclusion.

There was in the French service a great body of English, to the number of ten thousand men, who had acquired honourable commissions and profitable situations, in the successes of Lewis. These troops Charles said be was bound by treaty not to recall; but be obliged himself to the States by a secret article, not to allow them to be re- cruited. His partiality to France prevented a strict execution of this engagement.

CHAP. LXVI.


A.D. 1674.

If we consider the projects of the famous

Schemes of the cabal, it will appear how difficult, whether the end which those ministers pursued were not as dangerous to the public as the means by which they were to effect it more impudent and imprudent.

Though they might talk only of recovering or fixing the king's authority; their intention could be no other than that of making him absolute; since it was not possible to regain or maintain, in opposition to the people, any of those powers of the crown abolished by late law or custom, without subduing the people. The greater part of the people of England, which was so easy and inexpugnable, became in the great prosperity, as they imagined, of the tenant and church party in power: the treaty with Lewis was concluded at Vervailles on the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by Lord Aretin's of Warwick, whom no histor
England, and that the king and the ministry were in reality conspirators against the people. What is most probable in human affairs, is not always true; and a very minute circumstance, overlooked in our speculations, serves often to explain events, which may seem the most surprising and unaccountable. Though the king possessed penetration and a sound judgment, his capacity was chiefly fitted for smaller matters, and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he ever given any evidence of being capable of distant consequences, or to digest and adjust any plan of political operations. As he scarcely ever thought twice on any one subject, every appearance of advantage was apt to seduce him; and many of his projects were confounded by unlooked for difficulties; he readily turned aside into the first path, where he expected more to gratify the natural indolence of his disposition. To this versatility or phlegm of genius, he himself was inclined to trust; and he thought, that after trying an experiment for enlarging his authority, and altering the national religion, he could easily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But the suspicions of the people, though they burst not forth at once, were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable; and the more they reflected on the circumstances attending it, the more resentment and jealousy were apt to entertain. They observed, that the king never had any far-reaching schemes; that was never предусмотрed by his masterly judgment, scarcely even by his mistresses, and that he himself was the chief spring of all public counsels. Whatever appearance, therefore, of a change might be assumed, they still supposed the same project was results in agitation; and they deemed no precaution too great to secure them against the pernicious consequences of such measures.

The king, sensible of this jealousy, was inclined thenceforth not to trust his people, of whom he had even before entertained a great dislike; and, though obliged to make a separate peace, he still kept up connexions with the French monarch. He apologized for deserting his ally, by representing to him all the real undissembled difficulties under which he laboured; 1 and, with the most complaisance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuses. The duke likewise, conscious that his principles and conduct had rendered him still more obnoxious to the people, maintained on his own account a separate correspondence with the French court, and entered into particular connexions with Lewis, which these princes dignified with the name of friendship. The duke had only in view to secure his succession, and favour the catholics; and it must be acknowledged to his praise, that though his schemes were, in some particulars, dangerous to the people, they gave the king no just ground of jealousy. A man, who was an affectionate brother, he knew, would not, of another rule of conduct than obedience; and the same unlimited submission, which afterwards, when king, he expected of his people, he was ever willing, before he ascended the throne, to accept of his sovereign.

As the king was at peace with all the world, and almost the only prince in Europe placed in that agreeable situation, he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compose their differences. France, willing to negotiate under so favourable a mediator, readily accepted of Charles's offer; but it was apprehended, that, for a like reason, the allies would be inclined to refuse it. In order to give a sanction to his new measures, the king invited Temple from his retreat, and appointed him ambassador to the States. That wise minister, realizing the unhappy issue to his former of Sir W. 1emunderkings, and the fatal turn of councils, which the king had conceived it necessary to embark anew, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the real intentions of the king, in those popular measures which he seemed again to have adopted. After blaming the dangerous schemes of the cabal, which Charles was desirous to embark on, he proposed a project, which the king approved. He said, "I find it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to introduce into England the same system of government and religion which was established in France: that the universal belief of popery, and universal abhorrence of turbulent and reusable ages to change the genius and sentiments of a people: that many, who were at bottom indifferent in matters of religion, would yet oppose all alterations on that head; because they considered that nothing but force of arms could subdue the reluctance of the people against popery: after which they knew there could be no security for civil liberty: that in France, every circumstance had long been adjusted to the system of government, and tended to its establishment and support: that the commonsality, being poor and dispirited, were of no account; the nobility, engaged by the prospect or possession of numerous offices, civil and military, were entirely attached to the court; the ecclesiastics, desirous to have it returned to the Roman faith, would maintain the rights of religion to the principles of civil policy: that in England a great part of the landed properties belonged either to the yeomanry or middling gentry; the king had few offices to bestow on them; and he had no means of maintaining an army, except by the voluntary supplies of his parliament: that if he had an army on foot, yet, if composed of Englishmen, they would never be prevailed on to engage in a war to promote ends which the people so much feared and hated; that the Roman catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two-hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense to hope, by one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of a different persuasion. He said, 1 I am not inclined to enter into that war, which would be a war of foreigners, if few, would tend only to inflame hatred and discontent; and how to raise and bring over at once, or to maintain many, it was very difficult to imagine. To these reasons Temple added the authority of Gouvrielle, a Frenchman, for whom he knew the king had entertained a great esteem. 2 "A king of England," said Gouvrielle, "who will be the man of his people, is the greatest king in the world: but if he will be any thing more, he is nothing at all." The king heard, at first, this discourse with some impatience: but being a dexterous dispenser, he seemed moved at last, and, laying his hand on Temple's, said, with a winning cordiality, 3 "And I will be the man of my people."

Temple, when he went abroad, soon found, that the scheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove abortive. The allies, besides their jealousy of Francis's mediation, expressed the greatest ardent for the continuance of the war; Holland had stipulated with Spain never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were restored to the condition in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The emperor had high pretensions in Alsace; and as the greater part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped that France, so much overmatched in force, would soon be obliged to submit to the terms demanded of her. The Dutch, indeed, oppressed by heavy taxes, as part in it, a very refined and a very warm article was written upon the king. And, from a king who had a year, or commonly, a very few, tolerably paid in foreign affairs, to desire the people that he had pretended to these three measures, that he wished to have a treaty of alliance with the king of France, and to return to the former state of things, was but one more of those absurd pretensions, which we have read of, of absolute power pretended, that the French king on the throne, and for the support of France, and a war was already in progress among the catholics: it was to be observed, that in the number of the people, could mean nothing else. Our cannot sufficiently admire the absolute state, and that of Lewis, who, in gaining his own purposes, would not expose himself to himself. The French had been in the absolute state, and that of Lewis, who, in gaining his own purposes, would not expose himself to himself. The French had been in the absolute state, and that of Lewis, who, in gaining his own purposes, would not expose himself to himself. 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well as checked in their commerce, were desirous of peace; and had few or no claims of their own to retard it: but they could not in a gratitude, or even in good policy, abandon the Parliament, that the peace had been achieved for their safety. The Prince of Orange likewise, who had great influence in their counsels, was all on fire for military fame, and was well pleased to be at the head of armies, from which he might obtain personal emolument. Under these pretences, he eluded, during the whole campaign, the meeting with Temple; and after the troops were sent into winter-quarters, he told that minister, in his first audience, that till greater impression were made on them, he could not be hoped for; and it was therefore vain to negotiate.

Campaign of The success of the campaign had not answered expectation. The Prince of Orange, with a superior army, was opposed in Flanders to the Prince of Condé, and had hoped to penetrate into France by that quarter, where the frontier was then very feebly. After long endeavours, though in vain, to bring Condé to a battle, he rashly exposed, at Nanteuil, a wing of his army; and that active prince failed not at once to see and seize the advantage. But this imprudence of the Prince of Orange was amply compensated by his behaviour in that obstinate and bloody action which ensued. He rallied his dispersing army, and pushed the veteran and martial troops of France; and he obliged the Prince of Condé, notwithstanding his age and character, to exert greater efforts, and to risk his person more than hitherto. For the Prince of Orange, having found that the youth, he had ever commanded. After sunset, the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkness at last, not the weariness of the combatants, which put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. "The Prince of Orange," said Condé, with candour and generosity, "has acted in every thing like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier." Oudenarde was afterwards invested by the Prince of Orange; but he was obliged by the necessity of his situation to raise the siege on the approach of the enemy. He afterwards besieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the allied armies broke up, with great distress and complaints on all sides.

The allies were not more successful in other places. Lewis, in a few weeks, reconquered Franche-comté. In Alaisce, Turvaine displayed, against a mob superior enemy, all that military skill, which had long rendered him the most renowned captain of his age and nation. By a sudden and forced march, he attacked and beat at Sintheim the Duke of Lorrain, and Caprara, general of the imperialists. Several detachments were sent to Alaisce, and took up their quarters in that province, which had retired into Lorrain, returned unexpectedly upon them. He attacked and defeated a body of the enemy at Mulhausen. He chased from Colmar the Elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the German troops. He gained a new advantage at Turckheim. And having dissolved all the allies, he obliged them to repass the Rhine, full of shame for their multiplied defeats, and still more of anger and complaints against each other.

In England all these events were considered by the people with great anxiety and concern; though the king and his ministers affected great indifference with regard to them. Considerable discussions were about this time made in the English ministry. Buckingham was dismissed, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humour, possessed the king's favour. Arlington, now chamberlain, and Danby the treasurer, possessed chiefly the king's confidence. Great laurels and jealousy took place between these ministers; and public affairs were somewhat disturbed by their quarrels. But Danby daily gained ground with his master; and Arlington declined in the same proportion. Danby, who, after the departure of Marlborough, and his distribution among education and industry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured so to conduct himself as to give offence to no party; and the consequence was, that he was all the more as a minister to the king, who had been of the French alliance; but never possessed authority enough to overcome the prepossession which the king and the duke retained towards it. It must be ascribed to the prevalence of that interest, aided by money remitted from France, the Duke of Monmouth was able to carry off at last; and they should attempt to engage the king in such measures against France, during the ensuing campaign. They met not till the approach of summer.

Every step, taken by the Commons, discovered that ill-nature and ill-will to A parliament, by which the late open measures of the king, and his present secret attachments, gave but too just foundation. They drew up a new bill against popery, and resolved to insert in it many severe clauses, for the detection and punishment of priests: they presented addresses a second time against Lauderdale; and when the king's answer was not satisfactory, they seemed still determined to persevere in their applications: an accusation was moved against Danby; but upon examining the several articles, it was not found to contain any just reasons of a prosecution; and was therefore dropped: they applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French service, and as he only promised that they should not be recreant, they appeared to be much dissatisfied with the answer: a bill was brought in, making it treason to levy money without authority of parliament; another, vacating the seats of such members who were dier, to secure the liberty of the subject, and to prevent sending any person prisoner beyond sea.

That the court party might not be idle during these attacks, a bill for an introduction of the House of Peers by the Earl of Lindsey. All members of either House, and all who possessed any office, were by this bill required to swear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; that they abjured the tyrannous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Protestant religion, or of the established government either in church or state.

Great opposition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the present disposition of the nation. During seventeen days, the debates were carried on with much zeal; and all the reason and learning of both parties were displayed on the occasion. The question, indeed, with regard to resistance, was a point which entered into the controversies of the old parties, cavalier and roundhead; as it made an essential part of the present disputes between court and country. Few neutrals were found in the nation: but among such as could maintain a calm indifference, those prevalent sentiments made of those which were adopted by either party. Such persons thought, that all general, speculative declarations of the legislature, either for or against resistance, were equally impolitic, and could serve to no other purpose, than to signalize in their turn this triumph of one faction over another; that the simplicity retained in the ancient laws of England, as well as in the laws of every other country, ought still to be preserved, and was best calculated to prevent the extremes on either side: that the absolute exclusion of resistance, in all possible cases, was founded on false principles; its express admission might be attended with dangerous consequences; and there was no necessity for exposing the public to either inconvenience: that if a choice must necessarily be made, in the case, the preference of utility to truth in public institutions was apparent; nor could the supposition of resistance beforehand, and in general terms, be safely admitted in any government: that even in mixed monarchies, where that supposition seemed most requisite, it was yet entirely superfluous; since no man, on the approach of extraordinary necessity, could be at a loss, though not directed by legal declarations, to find the proper remedy: that even those who advanced the notion of exclusion, all resistance, would yet hearken to the voice of nature; when evident ruin, both to themselves and to the public, must attend a strict adherence to their pretended principles, that the question ought to be entirely excluded from all determinations of the
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[A.D. 1675.—CHAP. LXVI.] 716

Legislature, was, even among private reasoners, somewhat frivolous, and little better than a dispute of words: that one party could not pretend that resistance ought ever to become a familiar practice; the other would sorely have recourse to it in great extremities: and thus the difference could only turn on the degrees of danger or oppression, which would warrant this irregular remedy; a difference which, in a general question, it was impossible, by any means, to fix or to prevent.

There were many other absurdities in this test, particularly of that kind of speech on oath not to alter the government either in church or state; since all human institutions are liable to correction, and require various amendments, which are, in reality, so many alterations. It is not indeed possible to make a law which does not innovate, more or less, in the government. These difficulties produced such obstructions to the Bill, that it was carried only by two voices in the House of Peers. All the popular Lords, headed by the Earl of Bristol, voted against it. It was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was likely to undergo a scrutiny still more severe.

But a quarrel, which happened between the two Houses, prevented the passing of every bill proposed during the present session. One Dr. Shirley, being cast in a law-suit before chancery against Sir John Fag, a member of the House of Commons, preferred a petition of appeal to the House of Peers. The Lords received it, and summoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower House, who espoused his cause. They not only maintained the number of their House; but would not hear before the Peers: they also asserted, that the upper House could receive no appeals from any court of equity; a pretension which extremely retrenched the jurisdiction of the Peers, and which was contrary to the practice which had prevailed the whole century. The Commons now Shirley to prison; the Lords assert their powers. Conferences are tried; but no accommodation ensues. Four lawyers are sent to the Tower by the Commons, for transgressing the House of Lords, and offending in this cause, before the Peers. The Peers deem this arbitrary commitment a breach of the great charter, and order the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners: he declines obedience; they apply to the king, and desire him to punish the lieutenant for his contempt. The king summons both Houses; excuses them to unanimity; and informs them that the present quarrel had arisen from the controvrsy of the two Houses on their enemies, who expected that measure would be a dissolution of the parliament. His advice has no effect: the Commons continue as violent as ever; and the king, finding that no business could be finished, at last prorogued the parliament.

Oct. 15. A parliament is assembled. The king desired supplies, as well for the building of ships, as for taking of anticipations which lay upon his revenue. He even confessed, that he had not been altogether so frugal as he might have been, and as he resolved to be for the future; though he asserted, that, to his great satisfaction, he had found his expenses by no means so exorbitant as some had represented them. The Commons took into consideration the subject of supply. They voted 300,000 pounds for the building of ships; but they appropriated the sum by very strict rules of precedence, and in such a manner, as not to grant any supply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue. This vote was carried, in a full House, by a majority of four only; so nearly were the parties balanced. The quarrel was removed, to which Dr. Shirley's cause had given occasion. The proceedings of the Commons discovered the same violence as during the last session. A motion was made in the House of Peers, but rejected, for addressing the king to dissolve the present Parliament. The king contented himself with proroguing them to a very long term. Whether these quarrels between the Houses arose from controvrsy or accident was not certainly known. Each party might, according to their different views, esteem themselves either gainers or losers by them. The court might desire to obstruct all attacks from the Commons, by giving them other employment. The country party might desire the dissolution of a parliament, which, notwithstanding all disputes, still contained too many royalists, ever to serve all the purposes of the malcontents.

Soon after the prorogation, the quarrel appeared, which, now obscure and indistinct, but tends already to mark the genius of the English government, and of Charles's administration during this period. The liberty of the constitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had been greatly increased. Many of the houses, even as the coffee-houses in particular were the scenes, where the conduct of the king and the ministry was canvassed with great freedom, a proclamation was issued to suppress these places of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the necessity; and before the accession of the house of Stuart, no scruple would have been entertained with regard to that exercise of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to arise upon his government, had recourse to the judges, who supplied him with a censure, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might justify his proceedings. The law, which settled the excuse, enacted, that licenses for retaining houses of entertainment were to be granted by the King himself, for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor subjected to excise; and even this power of refusing licenses was very limited, and could not reasonably be extended. The proclamation was therefore, after some time, revoked, observing the people to be much distressed, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promised for the future to restrain all seditious discourse to their houses; and the proclamation was revoked whole.

This campaign proved more fortunate to the campaign of the confederates than any other during the earlier part of the war. The French took the field in Flanders with a numerous army; and Lewis himself served as a volunteer under the command of his brother Louis, during all this campaign. Lewis was still under great preparations, he could gain no advantages but the taking of Huy and Limbourg, places of small consequence. The Prince of Orange, with a considerable army, opposed him in all his motions; and neither side was decisive, without a visible advantage, to hazard a general action, which might be attended either with the entire loss of Flanders on one hand, or the invasion of France on the other. Lewis, on the other hand, thought of no immediate campaign, returned to Ver-sailles; and the whole summer passed in the Low Countries without any memorable event.

Turenne commanded on the Upper Rhine, in opposition to his great rival Montecuccoli, general of the imperialists. The only object the former was to pass the Rhine, whence he entered into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy, and to fix his quarters in these provinces: the aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to disappoint all the schemes of his enemy. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides; and if any superiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was chiefly ascribed to his greater vigour of body, by which he was enabled to inspect all the posts in person, and could on the spot take the justest measures for the execution of his designs. By posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuccoli from passing that river: he had also laid his plan in so mosty a manner, that, in a few days, he must have obliged him to retreat. This was a most consummate and security siderable advantage over them; when a period was put to his life, by a random shot, which struck him on the breast as he was taking a view of the enemy. The consternation of his army was insuperable. The French troops, who, at a moment before, were assured of victory, now considered themselves as entirely vanquished; and the Germans, who would have been glad to compound for a safe retreat, expected the severest vengeance. But de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, succeeded him in the command, and possessed a great share of the genius and capacity of his predecessor. By his skilful operations the French were enabled to repass the Rhine, without com-

Several historians have affirmed, that the Commons found, this season, the government, in the revenues arising from the taxes, amounting to 700,000 pounds a year; that the necessary expense was but 70,000, and have appealed to the Journal for a proof. But there is not the least appearance of this in the Journal, and the fact is impossible.
siderable loss; and this retreat was deemed equally glorious with the greatest victory. The valour of the English troops, who were placed in the rear, greatly contributed to save the French army. They had been seized with the same passion as the native troops of France, for their brave general, and fought with ardour to revenge his death on the Germans. The Duke of Marlborough, then Captain Churchill, here learned the rudiments of that art, which he afterwards practised with such fatal success against France.

The Prince of Condé left the army in Flanders under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying with him a considerable reinforcement, succeeded to Turenne's command. He defended Alsace from the Germans, who had passed the Rhine, and invaded that province. He obliged them first to raise the siege of Hagenau, then that of Sals-berge. He secured all their attempts to bring him to a battle; and, having dexterously prevented them from establishing themselves in Alsace, he forced them, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, to repass the Rhine, and to take up winter-quarters in their own country.

After the death of Turenne, a detachment of the German army was sent to the siege of Treves: an enterprise, in which the imperialists, the Spaniards, the Palatines, the Duke of Lorraine, and many other princes, passionately concerned for their own interest, or otherwise actuated, engaged with vigour. Mareschal Crequi, on the other hand, collected an army, and advanced with a view of forcing the Germans to raise the siege. They left a detachment to guard the passes of the Rhine, and then attacked the army of the Duke of Zell and Ossemburg, marched in quest of the enemy. At Conarbric, they fell unexpectedly, and with superior numbers, on Crequi, and put him to rout. He escaped with a small body of horse, and having digested himself into Treves, resolved, by a vigorous defence, to make stone-ment for his former error or misfortune. The garrison was brave, but not abandoned to that total despair by which they resolved to impede upon her. The Dutch could not refuse the king's mediation, and the Congress of Nimeguen, after many difficulties, was at last fixed on as the place of congress; yet, under one head it could not be carried. He was to be in the hands of ambassadors, and no progress was made in the negotiation. Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were the English ministers at Nimeguen. The French were represented by M. de K. who, knowing how Lewis, who hoped to divide the allies, and who knew that he himself could neither be seduced nor forced into a disadvantageous peace, sent ambassadors: the Swedes, who hoped to recover the north, which they had lost by the arm, were also forward to negotiate. But as these powers could not proceed of themselves to settle terms, the con-}
emperor and Spain, two powers strictly coquined by blood and alliance, at last appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they abstained themselves any longer, to proceed to a separate treaty with France. In the consequences and negotiations, the disposition of the parties became every day more apparent.

The Hollanders, loaded with debts and harasses with taxes, were destrous of putting an end to the war, in which, besides the disadvantages attending all leagues, the weakness of the Spaniards, the divisions and delays of the German, prognosticated nothing but trouble and misfortunes to their commerce. They, therefore, in the first instance, laid it to the charge of the commerce of England, by reason of her neutrality, flourished extremely; and they were apprehensive, lest advantages once lost, would never thoroughly be regained. They had themselves no further motive for continuing the war, than to secure a good frontier to Flanders: but gratitude to their allies still engaged them to try whether another campaign might procure a peace, which would give general satisfaction. The States of Orange, urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animosity against France, endeavoured to keep them steady to this resolution. The Spaniards, not to mention the other incurable weakness of the Hollanders, and their chances of falling, were disheartened with domestic dissensions between the parties of the queen-regent and Don John, natural brother to their young sovereign. Though unable of themselves to defend Flanders, they were ready to conclude a peace which would leave it exposed to every assault or inroad; and while they made the most magnificent promises to the States, their real trust was in the protection of England. They said that, if that small but important territory were once delivered by France, the Hollanders, exposed to so terrible a power, would fall into dependence, and would endeavour, by submissions, to ward off that destruction to which a war, in the heart of their state, must necessarily expose them. They believed that Lewis, sensible how much greater advantages he might reap from the alliance than from the subjection of the republic, which must scatter its people and depress its commerce, would be satisfied with very moderate conditions, and would turn his enterprises against his other neighbours. They thought it impossible but the people and parliament of England, foreseeing these obvious consequences, must at last force the king to take care of the safety of his dominions. They had found themselves entangled in such opposite motives and engagements, as he had not resolution enough to break, or patience to unravel. On the one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as the only support of his kingdom among his own subjects, and whatever schemes he might still retain for enlarging his authority, or altering the established religion, it was from that quarter alone he could expect assistance. He had actually in secret sold his neutrality to France, and he received remittances of a million of livres a-year, which was afterwards increased to two millions; a considerable supply in the present embarrassed state of his revenue. And he dreaded lest the parliament should treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, should take advantage of his necessities, and make him purchase supplies by sacrificing his prerogative and abdicating his ministers.

On the other hand, the cries of his people and parliament, seconded by Danby, Arlington, and most of his ministers, incited him to take part with the allies, and to correct the unequal balance of power in Europe. He might apprehend danger from opposing such earnest desires; he might hope for large supplies if he concurred with them; and however inglorious and indolent his disposition, the renown of acting as aifter of Europe would probably have preserved him from his character, and move him to support the character with which he stood invested.

It is worthy of observation, that, during this period, the king was, by every one, abroad and at home, by France and by the allies, allowed to be the undisputed arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace, which he would have prescribed, could have been refused by either party. Though France afterwards found means to resist the same alliance, joined with England; yet was she then obliged to make such violent efforts as quite exhausted her; and it was the utmost necessity which pushed her to all resources, far surpassing her own expectations. Charles was sensible, that so long as the war continued abroad, he should never enjoy ease at home, from the impatience and anxiety which it occasioned; nor could he not resolve an impose a peace by openly joining himself with either party. Terms advantageous to the allies must lose him the friendship of France; the contrary would enrage his parliament. Between these views he perpetually fluctuated; and from his conduct, it is observable, that a carelessness in his situation, agitated by opposite motives, is capable of as great inconsistencies as are incident even to the greatest imbecility and folly.

The parliament was assembled; and the 15th. Feb. king made them a plausible speech, in which he endeavoured to persuade them that the war was to be continued, and that the public peace could not be established, without the aid of foreign assistance.

The parliament were unwilling to hear this. A parliament. They declared it was to the interest of every prudent person to sue on the government for the conclusion of a peace; and that they would not consent to any laws for the further security of their religion, liberty, and property. The parliament was dissolved.

Before the parliament entered upon business, they were stopped by a riot of the people; when, at last, they were permitted to proceed. But nothing was done. It was only by means of the substance of the crown, that the restorers to the crown could avoid the imminent danger of the subject. It was determined to restore the crown to the absence of the king, and to take measures for the assistance of his personal estate. The king being in great need of money, was unwilling to impounce towards answering those questions, which might happen in all kingdoms, and which have been a considerable burden on me this last year.

The Commons at first seemed to proceed with temper. They granted the sum of 386,000 pounds, for building thirty ships; though they strictly appropriated the money to that service. They estimated the crown to be worth 270,000l. but it was afterwards found that they fell short near 100,000l. They also voted, agreeably to the king's request, the continuance of the additional excise for three years. This excise had been granted for nine years in 1666. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and an easy session.

But the parliament was roused from this tranquillity by the news of the war abroad. The French king had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid siege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by storm. He next invaded both Cambray and St. Omer. The Prince of Orange, alarmed with his progress, hastily assembled an army, and marched to the relief of St. Omer. He was encountered by the French under the Duke of Orleans and Mareschal Luxembourg. The prince possessed great
talents for war; courage, activity, vigilance, patience; but still he was inferior in genius to those consummate men who opposed him by Lewis; and though he always found the French ambition, and contrary to his interests, a little time against the victors, he was, during his whole life, unsuccessful. By a masterly movement of Luxembourg, he was here defeated, and obliged to retreat to Ypres. Courtrai and 54 Omer were soon after surrendered to Lewis.

This success, derived from such great power and such wise conduct, infused a just terror into the English parliament. They addressed the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France, and praying that his majesty, by such alliances as he should think fit, would both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king, desirous of eluding thisapplication, which he considered as a kind of attack on his measures, replied to general terms, that he would use all means for the preservation of Flanders, consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdom. This answer was an evasion, or rather a denial. The Commons, therefore, thought proper to be more explicit. They entreated him not to defer the entering into such alliances as might attain that great end: and in case war with the French king should be the result of his refusal, to grant to him all the aids and supplies which would enable him to support the honour and interest of the nation. The king was also more explicit in his reply. He told them, that the navy was exhausted by a war with France, and the king in a condition to make preparati ons for their security. This message was understood to be a demand of money. The parliament accordingly empowered the king to borrow on the additional excuse 200,000 pounds at seven percent: a very small sum indeed; but which they deemed sufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a good squadron, and thereby put the nation in security, till further resolutions should be taken.

But this concession fell far short of the king's expectations. He therefore informed them, that, unless they granted him the sum of 600,000 pounds upon new funds, it would not be possible for him, without exposing the nation to manifest danger, to speak or act those things, which would answer the end of their several addresses. The House took this message into consideration: but before they came to any resolution, the king sent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a king, that they should not repent any trust which they would repose in him for the safety of his kingdom; that he would not for any consideration break credit with them, or employ any artifice to draw the nation into a condition to make preparations for their security. This speech brought affairs to a short issue. The king required them to trust him with a large sum; he pawned his royal word for their security: they must either run the risk of losing all their money, or fail of those alliances which they had projected, and at the same time declare to all the world the highest distrust of their sovereign.

Parliament's distrust of the king. But there were many reasons which determined the House of Commons to put no trust in the king. They considered, that the pretence of danger was obviously groundless, while the French were opposed by such powerful alliances on the continent, while the king was master of a good fleet at sea, and while all his subjects were so heartily united in opposition to foreign enemies. That the only justifiable reason, therefore, of Charles's backwardness, was not the apprehension of danger from abroad, but a diffidence, which he might have perhaps entertained of his parliament; lest, after engaging him to put the nation to a great charge, he should take advantage of his necessities, and extort from him concessions dangerous to the royal dignity. That this parliament, by their past conduct, had given no foundation for such suspicions; and, above all, that, in order to the satisfaction of the nation, that they had granted supplies for the first Dutch war; for maintaining the triple league, though concluded without their advice; even for carrying on the second Dutch war, which was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the safety and interest of England. That, on the other hand, the king bad, by former measures, excited very reasonable jealousies in his people, and did, with a bad grace, require at present their trust and confidence. That he had, without scruple, demanded supplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very time he was concert ing measures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpose the supplies which he had obtained by those delusive pretences. That his union with France, during the war against Holland, must have been founded on projects the most dangerous to his people; and as the same union was still secretly maintained, it might justly be feared that the same projects were not yet entirely abandoned. That he could not seriously intend to prosecute vigorous measures against France; since he had so long remained entirely unconcerned during such obvious dangers; and, till prompted by his parliament, whose proper business it was not to take the lead in those parts of administration, had suspended all his activity.

That if he really meant to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the first step, and have engaged them to prosecute their own ends, by putting up with it, to restore that confidence, which he had lost, by his rash and delusive measures. That it was in vain to ask so small a sum as 600,000 pounds, in order to secure him against the future attempts of the parliament; since that sum must soon be delivered to France, and be expended in maintaining his union with that kingdom, which was become, in some degree, essential to the constitution. That if he would form the necessary alliances, that sum or a greater would instantly be voted; nor could there be any reason to dread, that the parliament would immediately desert measures, in which they were engaged by their honour, their inclination, and the public interest. That the real ground, therefore, of the king's refusal, was either apprehension of danger from foreign enemies, or jealousy of parliamentary encroachments; but a desire of obtaining the money which he intended, notwithstanding his royal word, to employ to other purposes. And that, by using such dishonourable means to so ignoble an end, he rendered himself still more unworthy the confidence of his people.

The House of Commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Some were enlisted in the court party by offices, or a few by bribes secretly given them; a practice first begun by Clifford, a dangerous minister: but great numbers were attached merely by inclination; so far as they esteemed the measures of government to be the best which the king and his ministers had either employed or suggested; and faction had likewise drawn several into the country party: but there were also many of that party, who had no other object than the public good. These disinterested members on both sides fluctuated between the factions; and gave the superiority sometimes to the court, sometimes to the opposition. In the present emergency, a general distrust of the king prevailed; and the parliament resolved not to hazard their money in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein they "besought his majesty to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States general of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end." They supported these advice with good reasons; and promised speedy and effectual supplies, for preserving his majesty's honour, and ensuring the safety of the public. The king pretended the highest anger at this address, which he represented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the Commons in strong terms; and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment when the king both might with ease have preserved the majesty of power in the whole of Europe, which it has since cost this island a great expense of blood and
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

A. D. 1677.—CHAP. LXVI.

treasure to restore, and might by perseverance have at last regained, in some tolerable measure, after all past errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithstanding his momentary appearances of vigour against France and popery, and their momentary inclinations to rely on his faith; he was still believed to be at bottom engrossed in the same interest, and they soon relapsed into distrust and jealousy.

The secret memoirs of this reign, which have since been published, prove, beyond a doubt, that the king had, at this time, concerted measures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the discontents, which happened, which promised a more prosaical issue to the quarrel with France, and revived the hopes of all the English who understood the interests of their country.

The king, saw, with regret, the violent discontent which prevailed in Europe, and which seemed every day to augment upon him. Desirous by his natural temper to be easy himself, and to make every body else easy, he sought expedients to appease those marmurs, which, as they were very disagreeable for the present, might, in their consequences, prove extremely dangerous. He knew that, during the late war with Holland, the malcontents at home had made applications to the Prince of Orange; and he continued still to neglect the prince's interest, and to thwart the inclinations of his own people, he apprehended lest their common complaints should cement a lasting union between them. He saw that the religion of the Dutch, and the nation with dissial apprehensions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princes to be educated in the protestant faith, something further, he thought, was necessary, in order to satisfy the nation. He entertained, therefore, proposals for marrying the Prince of Orange to the Lady Mary, the elder princess, and hair apparent to the crown, (for the duke had no male issue,) and he hoped, by so tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his interests. A peace he purposed to make, and which satisfied France, to remove his connexion with that crown: and he intended to sanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and respected throughout Europe.

All the recommendations of this alliance were seconded by the solicitations of Dunky, and also of Temple, who was at that time in England; and Charles at last granted permission to the prince, when the campaign should be over, to pay him a visit.

The king very graciously received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon business; but the prince desired first to be acquainted with the Lady Mary; and he declared, that, contrary to the usual sentiments of persons of his rank, he placed a great part of happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. He therefore introduced to her, who was found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her person and her behaviour. The king now thought that he had a double tie upon him, and might safely expect his consent. The engagement was proposed to the prince to find the prince decline all discourse of business, and return to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage should be finished. He foresaw, he said, from the situation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expose himself to the reproach of having sacrificed their interest to promote his own purposes. Charles still believed, notwithstanding the cold, severe manner of the prince, that he would abate of that rigid punctilio of honour; and he procrastinated the time, hoping, by his own inaction and address, as well as by the allurements of liberal terms, to win him to compliance. One day, Temple found the prince in very bad humour, repenting that he had ever come to England, and resolve in a few days to leave it: but before he went, the king, he said, must choose the terms on which he should be contented. He therefore, he told him, when he pawned his royal word to his people, than to procure a grant of money; and he trusted, that while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want presents for satisfying his conduct.

Negotiations meanwhile were carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were adjusted, provided they could afterwards satisfy their allies on both sides. This work, though in appearance difficult, seemed to be extremely forwarded by further bad successes on the part of the confederates, and by the great impatience of the Hollanders, to new expeditions, which promised a more prosaical issue to the quarrel with France, and revived the hopes of all the English who understood the interests of their country.

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in case of refusal, the king promised to enter immediately into the confederacy. To carry so imperious a message, and so little expected from the English court, Temple was the person pitched on, whose declared aversion to the French, and who was possessed of the most forcible and vigorous and promptitude in the execution of his commission. But Charles next day felt a reticence in this assumed vigour. Instead of Temple he despatched the Earl of Feversham, a creature of the duke's, and a Frenchman by birth; and he thought it wise to send to general, in case it was needless to aggravate it by a disagreeable messenger. The prince left London; and the king, at his departure, assured him that he never would abate in the least point of the scheme conceived, and would enter into war with Lewis, if he rejected it.

Negotiations. Lewis received the message with seeming gentleness and complacency. He told Feversham, that the king of England well knew that he might always be master of the peace; but some of the towns in Flanders it seemed very hard to demand, especially Tournay, upon whose fortifications such immense sums had been expended; he would therefore take some short time to consider of an answer Feversham said, that he was limited to two days' stay: but when that time was elapsed, he was prevailed on to remain some few days longer; and he came away at last without any positive answer. Lewis was not to be outdone by the French, and he did not break with him for one or two towns; and with regard to them, too, he would send orders to his ambassador at London to treat with the king himself. Charles was softened by this; and the whole was the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambassador, Barillon, owned at last, that he had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about some equivalent for that fortress, if the king absolutely insisted upon it. The prince was gone who had given spirit to the English court; and the negotiation began to draw out into messages and returns from Paris.

By intervals, however, the king could rouse himself, and show still some firmness and resolution. Finding that affairs were not likely to come to any conclusion with France, he summoned, notwithstanding the long adjournment, the parliament, on the fifteenth of January; an unusual measure, and capable of giving alarm to the French court. Temple was sent for to the council, and the king told him that he intended he should go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the States; and that he supposed, if of it, it would be like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept of the terms proposed. Temple was sorry to find this act of vigour qualified by such a regard to France, and by such an appearance of solicitude for the interests of his sovereign. He told the king, that the resolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France; that this measure would satisfy the prince, the allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from such an alliance with Holland alone: that France would be disoblige, and Spain likewise; nor would the Dutch be satisfied with such a faint imitation of the triple league, a measure concerted when they were equally at peace with both parties. For these reasons, Temple declined the employment; and Lawrence Hyde, second son of Chancellor Chirendon, was sent in his place.

A.D. 1675. Temple of Orange, did not regard without contempt such symptoms of weakness and vigour conjoin the English councils. He was resolved, however, to make the best of a measure which he did not approve; and as Spain secretly consented that her ally should form a league, which was seemingly directed against her as well as France, but which was to fall only on the latter, the States concluded the treaty in the terms proposed by the king.

Meanwhile the English parliament met, after some new adjournments; and the king was astonished, that notwithstanding the resolve measures which he thought he had taken, great distrust and jealousy and discountenance were apt, at intervals, still to prevail among the members. Though in his speech he had allowed that a good peace could no longer be expected from negotiation, and assured them that he was resolved to enter into the war for that purpose, he was afraid to insert in their reply several harsh and even unreasonable clauses. Upon his reproving them, they seemed penitent, and voted, that they would assist his Majesty in the prosecution of the war. A fleet of ninety sail, an army of thirty thousand, and a million and a half of money, they voted. Great difficulties were made by the Commons with regard to the army, which the House, judging by past measures, believed to be intended more against the liberties of England, than against the progress of the French monarch. To this perilous situation had the king reduced both himself and the nation. In all debates, severe speeches were made, and were received with seeming approbation: the duke and the treasurer began to be apprehensive of impeachments: many motions against the king's ministers were lost by a small majority: the Commons appointed a day to consider the state of the kingdom with regard to popery; and they even went so far as to vote, that, whatever sooner the occasion, they would lay no further charge on the people, till secured against the prevalence of the Catholic party. In short, the parliament was impatient for war whenever the king seemed averse to it; he could not express a wish for peace; as soon as he complied with their requests, and seemed to enter into their measures.

The king was enraged at this last vote: he approached Temple with his usual severity of manner, and asked him how he thought the House of Commons could be trusted for carrying on the war, should it be entered on, when in the very commencement they made such declarations? The uncertainties indeed of Charles's conduct were so multiplied, and the jealousies on both sides so inculcable, that even those who approached nearest the scene of action could not determine, whether the king ever seriously meant to enter into a war, or whether, if he did, the House of Commons would not have taken advantage of his necessities, and made him purchase supplies by a great sacrifice of his authority.

The king of France knew how to avail himself of all the advantages which these distractions afforded him. By his emissaries, he represented to the Dutch the impudence of their depending on England, where an indolent king, averse to all war, especially with France, and irresolute in his measures, was actuated only by the usual breath of a factitious parliament. To the aristocratical party, he remarked the danger of the prince's alliance with the royal family of England, and revived their apprehensions: lest, for the sake of a temporary peace, they should be thus distinguished by the same alliance, he would violently attempt to enlarge his authority, and enslave his native country. In order to enforce these motives, Campan of 1678, with further terrors, he himself took the field very early in the spring; and after threatening Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, he suddenly sat down before Ghent and Ypres, and in a few weeks made himself master of both places. This success gave great alarm to the Hollanders, who were nowise satisfied with the conduct of England, or with the ambiguous treaty lately concluded; and it quickened all their advances towards an accommodation.

In March, after the parliament had voted the supply, the king began to enlist forces; and such was the ardour of the English for a war with France, that an army of above 20,000 men, to the astonishment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks. Three thousand men, under the Duke of Monmouth, were sent over to secure Orleans; and some regiments were recalled from the French service; a fleet was fitted out with great diligence: and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the emperor.

But these vigorous measures received a sudden damp from a passionate address of the lower House; in which they justified all their past proceedings that had given disgust to the king; desired to be acquainted with the
measures taken by him; prayed him to dismiss evil counsellors; and named in particular the Duke of Lauderdale, on whose removal they strenuously insisted. The King told them, that their address was so extravagant, that he was afraid to receive any answer to it, which he perceived to be the case.

And he began again to lend an ear to the proposals of Lewis, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to France's making an advantageous peace with the enemy.

Temple, though pressed by the King, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negotiation; but he informs us, that the king said, there was one article proposed, to which he assented, that he should never be afraid to forget it. William goes no further; but the editor of his works, the famous Dr. Swift, says, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the king should engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in Great Britain. 1 Charles broke into a passion.

"Cod's fish," said he, his usual oath, "does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to me absolute, or are my people come to this! Or does he think that a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"

Van Beverning was the Dutch ambassador at Nimeguen, a man of great authority with the States. He was eager for peace, and was persuaded, that the salvation of the king, and the jealousies of the parliament, would for ever disappoint the allies in their hopes of succour from England. Orders were sent him by the States to go to the French court, to obtain a new blockade of the terms of the general treaty, as well as procure a present truce for six weeks. The terms agreed on were much worse for the Spaniards than those which had been planned by the King and the Prince of Orange. Six towns, some of them of no great importance, were to be restored to them: but Ypres, Conde, Valenciennes, and Tournay, in which consisted the chief strength of the frontier, were to remain with France.

Great expectations arose in England when it was known that Flanders was to be left in so defenceless a condition. The chief complaints were levelled against the king, who, by his concurrence at first, by his favour afterwards, and by his delays at last, had raised the power of France to such an enormous height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneasy under these imputations, dreading the consequence of losing the affections of his subjects, and perhaps disgusting them by the secret article proposed by the Duke of Buckingham, and other projects, where he heartily disapproved, would have restor'd him to his ancient popularity.

An opportunity unexpectedly offered itself for his display of the new disposition. While the ministers of Nimeguen were concerting the terms of a general treaty, the Marquis de Balbecres, the Spanish ambassador, asked the ambassadors of France, at what time France intended to restore the six towns in Flanders. They made no difficulty in declaring that the king, their master, being obliged to see an entire restitution made to the Swedes of all they had lost in the war, could not evacuate these towns till that crown had received satisfaction; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the powers of the north to accept of the peace.

The States immediately gave the king intelligence of a pretention which might be attended with such dangerous consequences. The King was both surprised and angry. He immediately despatched Temple to concert with the

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1 To wit, 30,000 men for Scotland, and the usual guards and garrisons in England, amounting to near 2,000 men. See J. Dalrymple's App. p. 161.

2 Sir John Dalrymple, in his Appendix, has given us, from Balbecres's despatches, some particulars of what passed between these intrusted. They were joined on Lord Russell, Lord Holland, Lord Ilchester, the Duke of Buckingham, and men of the court, Monmouth, Richmond, St. John, Sir Edward Harley, Sir John Farmer, Sir Roger Hill, Beverning, Van Beverning, and other great people. One of these last, Sir Edward Harley, was left to his own discretion, and the duke, engaged him, independently of the money, into the same novation, provided he would intimate to them by the Duke of Berwick, that France, therefore, with the parliament, were a roughly small expedition. These words, however, were not known, were of infinitely greater consequence. The sums distributed to all these men, excepting Montague, did not exceed 15,000 pounds in
Lewis, and was bribed into an interest contrary to that of his people. His active schemes, in conjunction with
France, were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally
ignominious; and the jealous refractory behaviour of the
parliament, the Jacobites, and the disaffected citizens of
himself, to judge by the late printed accounts, was
to many greater ills, with which the public, from the
misguided counsels of the king, was so nearly threatened.
Such were the dispositions of men's minds at the conclu-
sion of the peace of Nieuwpoort: and these dispositions nat-
urally prepared the way for the reverses which were to
follow.

We must now return to the affairs of State of affairs
Scotland, which we left in some disorder, in
Scotland,
the suppression of the insurrection in 1666. The
Next day Temple received an express from England,
which informed him that the treaty lately con-
cluded with the States, together with orders immediately
to proceed to the exchange of th m. Charles was now
returned to his former inclinations for war with France.

Van Beverning was loudly exclaimed against by the
ambassadors of the allies at Nieuwpoort, especially those at
Brandenburg and Denmark, whose masters were obliged,
by the treaty, to restore all their acquisitions. The minis-
ters of Spam and the emperor were sullen and disgusted:
and all men hoped that the States, unperturbed and en-
couraged by continual solicitations from England, would
dissavow their ambassador and renew the war. The Prince
of Orange even took an extraordinary step in order to en-
gage the English and in order to have his own spleen and resentment. The day after signing the
peace at Nieuwpoort, he attacked the French army at St.
Denis, near Monn; and gained some advantage over
them, which, however, they, concluded to the latter
and concluded the war to be finished. The prince knew,
at least had reason to believe, that the peace was signed,
though it had not been formally notified to him, and he
here, sacrificial wantly, under a proper motive, the
lives of many brave men on both sides, who fell in this
sharp and well contested action.

Hyde was sent over with a view of persuading the States
to disavow Van Beverning; and the king promised, that
England, if the peace, which was signed at Nieuwpoort, would imme-
diately declare war, and would pursue it, till France were
reduced to reasonable conditions. Charles at present went
further than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his
army for Flanders; and all his preparations were a hostile
appearance. But the States had been too often deceived
to trust him any longer. They ratified the treaty signed
at Nieuwpoort; and all the other powers of Europe were at
last, after many, many months' disgusts, obliged to
accept of the terms prescribed to them.

Peace of
Nieuwpoort. glory which ambition can afford. His minis-
ters and negociators appeared as much superior to those of all
he had experienced the same time and the field. A successful war had been
carried on against all an alliance, composed of the greatest
potencies in Europe. Considerable conquests had been
made, and his territories enlarged on every side. An ad-
vantageous peace was at last concluded, where he had
given the law. The allies were so enraged against each
other, that they were not likely to cement soon in any new
confederacy. And thus he laid, during some years, a real
prospect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of ex-
ceeding the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equaling that of
ancient Rome. Had England continued much longer in
the same condition, and under the same government,
it is not easy to conceive that he could have failed of his
purpose.

In proportion as these circumstances exalted the French,
they excited indignation among the English, whose ani-
mousity, raised by terror, mounted to a great height against
that rival nation. Instead of taking the lead in the affairs of
Europe, Charles, they thought, had, contrary to his own
honour and interest, acted a part entirely subservient to the
yelling of his Jacobite, the combing the establishment for
project at all, or such as was highly criminal and danger-
ous. While Spain, Holland, the emperor, the princes of
Germany, called aloud on England to lead them to victory
and glory, and conspired to raise her to a station more
glorious than her subjects thought; while this grand
mean pecuniary motives, had secretly sold his alliance to

3 2
nation; but laid claim to an entire superiority, and to the exercise of extreme rigour against their adversaries. The covenant, which they idolized, was a persecuting as well as a sedulous bond of confedera ery; and the government, instead of treating them like madmen, who should be soothed, and flattered, and deceived into tranquillity, thought themselves entitled to a rigid obedience, and were too apt, from a mistaken policy, to retaliate upon the dis- dained from the Scotch from the spirit of persecution. Amidst these disturbances, a new parliament was assembled at Edinburgh; and Lauderdale was sent down commissioner. The zealous presbyterians, who were the chief adherents of the covenant, were, as of old, to resist, with any success, the measures of government; and in parliament the tide still ran strongly in favour of monarchy. The commissioner had such influence as to get two acts passed, which were of great consequence to the ecclesiastical and civil liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the settling of all things, with regard to the external government of the church, was a right of the crown: that whatever related to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, was to be ordered according to such directions as the king should send to his privy council: and that these, being published by them, should have the force of laws. The other act regarded the militia, which the king, by his authority, had previously established, instead of the army, which was disbanded. By this act the militia was settled to the number of 22,000 men, who were to be constantly armed and regularly disciplined. And, if any rebels should be found, they were to be held in readiness to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the king's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness, was concerned; on receiving orders, not from the king himself, but from the privy council of parliament. Lauderdale boasted extremely of his services in procuring these two laws. The king, by the former, was rendered absolute master of the church, and might legally, by the latter, do what he pleased, and, if thought fit, the establishment of religion in Scotland. By the latter, he saw a powerful force ready at his call: he had even the advantage of being able to disguise his orders under the name of the privy council; and in case of failure in his enterprise, could, by such a pretence, apologize for his conduct to the parliament of England. But in proportion as these laws were acceptable to the king, they gave alarm to the English Commons, and were the chief cause of the re- cision of that act which they made against the King's forces. These attacks, however, served only to fortify him in his interest with the king: and though it is probable that the militia of Scotland, during the divided state of that kingdom, might have been of some use to the government, had it been in a condition of little service against England; yet did Charles regard the credit of it as a considerable support to his authority: and Lauderdale, by degrees, became the prime, or rather sole, minister for Scotland. The natural indolence of the king disposed him to place entire confidence in a man who had so far extended the royal prerogative, and who was still disposed to render it absolutely uncontrollable.

In a subsequent session of the same parliament, a severe law was enacted against conventicles. Rigorous fines were imposed both on the preachers and bearers, even if the meetings had been in houses, but field conventicles were subjected to the penalty of death, and confiscation of goods. The commissioners, for which they made the reward to those who should seize the criminals; and they were indemnified for any slaughter which they might commit in the execution of such an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence against these conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that whoever, being required by the council, refused to give information upon oath, should be punished by an imprisonment. Thus all persecution naturally, or rather necessarily, adopts the iniquities, as well as rigours, of the inquisition. What a considerable part of the society consider as their duty and honour, and even many of the opposite party are apt to regard with compassion and
dulgence, can by no other expedient be subjected to such severe penalties as the natural sentiments of mankind appropriate only to the greatest crimes.

Though Lauderdale found this ready compliance in the parliament, he did not forget to recommend himself to the king, who, during the present depression and insufficiency of the revenue, was not able to repay the expenses of Lauderdale's administration. But even their complaints to him might be dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the throne were barred by the ridiculous law against conventicles. Any malcontents who had been extorted by the ancient nobility, in order to protect their own tyranny, oppression, and injustice. Great precautions therefore, were used by the Scottish malcontents in their representation to the king; but no redress was obtained. Charles leaned them with caresses, and continued Lauderdale in his authority.

A very bad, at least a severe, use was made of this authority. The privy council dispatched twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houses; which were converted into so many garrisons, established for the suppression of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was really, on account of these religious assemblies, in a state of war; and by the king's orders, all who were not in the army were required to place a garrison in any house where he should judge it expedient.

It was endless to recount every act of violence and arbitrary law against the adversaries of the state. Any proposal to retract the former, was at the moment of its adoption, and its representation to the state. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay, banished, by the king's order, twelve miles from the capital, and by that means the whole justice of the kingdom was suspended for a year; till these lawyers were brought to declare, as their opinion, that all the laws on which they were grounded were illegal. A letter was procured from the king, for expelling twelve of the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public office, though their only crime had been their adherence of obedience with Lauderdale. The boroughs of Scotland have a privilege of meeting once a-year by their deputies, in order to consider the state of trade, and make bye-laws for its regulation: in this convention petition was voted, complaining of some late acts, which obstructed commerce, and praying the king that he would empower his commissioner, in the next session of parliament, to give his assent for repealing them. For this presumption, as it was called, several of the members were fined and imprisoned. The king, as a member of parliament, having moved to the House, that, in imitation of the English parliament, no bill should pass except after three readings; he was, for this pretended offence, invited to the bar of the House, there to be tried by the commissioner.

The private department of Lauderdale was as insolent and provoking as his public administration was violent and tyrannical. Justice likewise was universally perverted by faction and interest: and from the great capacity of that duke, and still more of his duchess, all offices and favours were openly put to sale. No one was allowed to approach the throne who was not dependent on him; and no remoter could be hoped for or obtained against his manifold oppressions. The case of Mitchel shows that this minister was as much destitute of truth and honour, as of lenity and justice.

Mitchel was a desperate fanatic, and had entertained a resolution of taking arms to defend religion. Archbishop of St. Andrews, who, by his former apostasy and subsequent rigour, had rendered himself extremely odious to the covenanters. In the year 1668, Mitchel fired a pistol at the prince, as he was sitting in his coach; but the Bishop of Orkney, stepping into the coach, happened to stretch out his arm, which intercepted the ball, and was much shatter y by it. This happened in the principal street of the city; but so generally was every act of annoyance to the prince allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a street or two, and thrown off a wig, which disguised him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unsuspected. Some years after, Sharpe remarked one, who seemed to eye him very eagerly; and being still
and to humble them against the established hierarchy.

The commotions were ever so numerous, and early in the western counties, frequent conventicles without reserve; and the gentry, though they themselves commonly abstained from these illegal places of worship, condescended at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to interest the forms and proceedings of the law, a convention or contract was, by order of the privy council, tendered to the landlords in the west, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in case of any tenant frequenting conventicles, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine, as could by law be exacted from the delinquent. It was ridiculous to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts; it was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another, and to impose such hard conditions upon men, who had no wise offended. For these reasons the greater part of the county refused to sign these bonds; and Lauderdale, engaged at this opposition, endeavored to break their spirit by expedients which were still more unusual and more arbitrary.

The law enacted against conventicles, had called them seminaries of rebellion. This expression, which was nothing but a reproach of the other side, Lauderdale and the privy council were willing to understand in a literal sense; and because the western counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwise in profound peace, they pretended to bring in the spirit of a state of open war into these free counties. They made therefore an agreement with some highland chieftains to call out their clans, to the number of 8000 men: to these they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus: and they sent the whole to live at free quarters upon the lands of such as had refused the bonds illegally required of them. The obnoxious counties were the most populous and most industrious in Scotland. The highlanders were the people the most disordered and the least civilized. It is easy to imagine the havoc and destruction that would have ensued. A multitude, not accustomed to discipline, averse to the restraint of laws, trained up in rapine and violence, were let loose amidst those whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their prince and to their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: by menaces, by violence, and sometimes by terrors, men were obliged to discontinue their unremitted wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence, afforded protection; and the gentry, finding that even those who had been most compliant, and who had subscribed the bonds, were equally exposed to the rapacity of those barbarians, confirmed themselves still more in the resolve of refusing them. The voice of the nation was raised against the council in this affair: and after a free quarter, the highlanders were sent back to their hills, loaded with the spoils and executions of the west.

Those who had been engaged to subscribe the bonds, finding themselves could find no security, by turning themselves to the law, they suspected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their estates. To increase the misery of these unhappy farmers, the council enacted, that none should be received any where, or allowed a habitation, who brought not a certificate of his conformity from the parish minister. That the obstinate and refractory might not escape further persecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, every man, who should go before a magistrate, and swear that he thought himself in danger from another, might obtain a writ of law-breaking, as it is called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of imprisonment and outlawry, to find security for his good behaviour. Lauderdale entertained the absurd notion of making the squire out writs of law-breakers against his subjects. On this pretence, the refusers of the bonds were summoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themselves, under the penalty of two years' retd, neither to frequent conventicles themselves, nor allow their family and tenants to be present at these unlawful assemblies. Thus chicanery was joined to tyranny; and the majesty of the king instead of being revered, was in reality prostituted; as if he were obliged to seek the security of his own subjects, which one neighbour might require of another.

It was an old law, but seldom executed, that a man who was accused of any crime, and did not appear, in order to stand his trial, might be intercompelled, that is, he might
be publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards, either on account of business, relation, or charity, had the least intercourse with him, was subjected to the same penalties as could by law be inflicted on the criminal himself. Several persons, not communicating were not indicted against the hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by this severe and even absurd law, crimes and guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical proportion. Where laws themselves are so violent, it is no wonder that an administration should be growing hard and intolerable.

Lest the ery of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbade, under severe penalties, all noblemen or gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom: a severe edict, especially where the sovereignty itself resided in a foreign country. Notwithstanding this act of council, Cassillis first, afterwards Hamilton and Tweddale, went to London and had their complaints before the king. These violent proceedings of Lauderdale were opposed to the natural temper of Charles; and he immediately issued orders for discontinuing the bonds and the writs of law-boroughs. But as he was commonly little touched with what lay at a distance, he entertained not the proper indignation against those who had abused his authority: even while he retracted these oppressive measures, he was prevailed with to arrow and praise them, in a letter which he wrote to the privy council. This proof of confidence might fortify his hatred. Sir George Hamilton, the learned physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by Doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his majesty. Tongue for some time, against the advice and wishes of his active, restless, full of projects, void of understanding. He brought papers to the king, which contained information of a plot, and were dug into forty-three articles.

The king, not having leisure to peruse them, sent them to the treasurer Danby, and ordered the two informers to lay the business before that minister. Tongue confessed to Danby, that he himself had not drawn the papers, that they had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he did not certainly know, who was the author. After a few days he returned, and told the treasurer, that his suspicions, he found, were just; and that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the street, had acknowledged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular account of the conspiracy, but desired that his name might be concealed, being apprehensive lest the papists should murder him.

The minister was requested to demand of the impostors and Tongue the intentions of shooting the king; and Tongue even pretended that, at a particular time, they were to set out for Windsor with that intention. Orders were given to bring the person engaged in the plot to Windsor; but no papers, no confessor, no confession, appeared in that place: but though this alarm was more than once renewed, some frivolous reasons were still found by Tongue for their having delayed the journey. And the king concluded, both from these erasions, and from the mysterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was an imposture.

Tongue came next to the treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to Benfield, a Jesuit, confessor to the duke. When this intelligence was conveyed to the king, he replied, that the packet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the duke by Benfield; who said, that he suspected some bad design upon him; that the letters seemed to contain matters of a dangerous import; and that he knew them not to be the handwriting of the persons whose names were subscribed. He could not imagine the incident still further confirmed the king in his incredulity.

The matter had probably slept for ever, had it not been for the anxiety of the duke; who, hearing that priests and Jesuits, who had been at a meeting with himself, had been accused, was desirous that a thorough inquiry should be made by the council into the pretended conspiracy. Kirby and Tongue were inquired after, and were now found to be living in close conjunction with Tiques; and the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. Gates affirmed, that he had fallen under sus-
picion with the Jesuits; that he had received three blows with a stick, and a box on the ear from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conspiracy; and that, overpowered with his pain and the severity of his treatment, he had withdrawn and concealed himself. This man, in whose breast was lodged a secret, involving the fate of kings and kingdoms, was allowed to remain in such seclusion, that no person was allowed to supply him with food daily; and it was a joyful surprise to him, when he heard that the council was at last disposed to take some notice of his intelligence. But as he expected more encouragement from the public, than from the king or his himself, unable to plead good cause, he retired from the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Ed- monsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conspiracy.

The wonderful intelligence, which Oates's narrative conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the parliament, was to this purpose. The Pope, he said, on examining the matter in the con- gregation de propaganda, had found himself entitled to the possession of England and Ireland on account of the heresy of prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This supreme power he declared to have undergone the great fire, that the fire of Jesuitical superstition and De Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had exerted every act of regal authority, and particularly had supplied, by commissions under the seal of the regal authority, all the mandates and military orders. Lord Arundel was created chancellor, Lord Powis treas- urer, Sir William Godolphin privy seal, Coleman secretary of state, Langhome attorney general, Lord Bellasis general of the papal army, Lord Peters lieutenant-general, Lord Stafford paymaster; and inferior commissions signed by the provincial of the Jesuits, were distributed all over England. All the dignities, too, of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The provincial had filled a council of the Jesuits under his authority; where the king, whom they opprobriously called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried and con- demned as a heretic; and a resolution taken to put him to death. Father le Shee (for so great a plotter and in- former called Father la Chaise, the noted confessor of the French king) had consigned in London ten thousand pounds, to be paid to any man who should merit it by this assassination. A Spanish provincial had expressed like liberality towards the English catholics was willing to the length of six thousand: the Dominicans approved of the action; but pleaded poverty. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to stir him up to fire a design against the king; for so great a service his demand was complied with: and five thousand had been paid him by advance. Lest this means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been hired by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to stab the king at Windsor; and Coleman, secretary to the late Duchess of York, had given the messenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the king with silver bullets; the former was to receive the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thousand masses, which, estimating masses at a shilling a-piece, amounted to a like value. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint at one time drop out of his pistol, at another time the priming. Comer, the Jesuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten shillings, which he thought was not dear, consi- dering the purpose for which he intended it, to stab the king. Letters of subscription were circulated among the catholics all over England, to raise a sum for the same purpose. No less than fifty Jesuits had met in May last, at the White-horse tavern, where it was unanim- ously resolved to murder the king himself. This plot did afterwards, for more convenience, divide themselves into many lesser cabals or companies; and Oates was em- ployed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the same end, of murdering the king. He even

cured by the intrigues of the Catholic and French party, who thereby intended to show the Dutch and their con-

ced to the execution of the Catholic designs. The king asked him, what sort of a man Don John was; he an-

swered, a tall lean man; directly contrary to truth, as the king well knew. He totally mistook the situation of the Spanish ambassador at Paris, and pretended great in-

timacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed 

very near him; and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad in candle-light. He fell into like mistakes with 

regard to himself, and the favours of the king, had inspired the Catholic 

priests with new hopes of recovering in these islands their lost dominion, and gave fresh vigour to that impertinent 

zeal by which they are commonly actuated. Their first aim was to obtain a toleration; and such was the evidence, 

they believed, of their theological tenets, that could they 

but procure entire liberties, they must infallibly in time 

open the eyes of the people. After they had converted 

considerable numbers, danger was threatened, to 

reinsure themselves in full authority, and entirely to 

suppress that heresy, with which the kingdom had so long 

been infected. Though these dangers to the Protestant 

religion were great, they appeared not such as to make 

it necessary to find that the heir of the crown was so blinded 

with bigotry, and so deeply engaged in foreign interests; 

and that the king himself had been prevailed on, from fear 

and anxiety, to hearken to his dangerous insinuations. 

Very great consequences might ensue from such pernicious 

and attachments; nor could the nation and parliament 

guard against them with too anxious a precaution. But 

that the Roman pontiff could hope to assume the sove-

reignty of these islands, is by no means probable; as, even 

during the darkness of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would 

have appeared chimerical; that he should delegate this 

authority to the Jesuits, that order in the Roman church, 

which was the most hated; that a massacre could be 

attempted of the Protestants, who surpassed the Catholics 

a hundred fold, and were invested with the whole autho-

rity of the state; that the king himself was to be assassin-

ated, and even the duke, the only support of the party; these were things so extraordinary and impolitic, 

sufficient to prove; much less the evidence of one man, 

who was noted for infamy, and who could not keep him-

self, every moment, from falling into the grossest incompet-

encies. In other passages the king's confidence in the 

picture of Aligamp's, the salvation of his own soul, and 

the conversion of our poor kingdom. In other passages 

the interest of the crown of England, those of the French 

king, and those of the Catholic religion, are spoken of as 

impossible. The duke is also said to have connected his 

interests unalterably with those of Lewis. The king him-

self, he affirms, is always inclined to favour the Catholics, 

when he may do it without hazard. "Money," Coleman 

adds, "cannot fill of persuading the king to any thing. 

There is nothing which cannot make him do, were it ever so 

much to his prejudice. It has an absolute power over 

him, that he cannot resist it. Logic, built upon money, 

that in our country more important considerations than any 

other sort of argument." For these reasons, he proposed 

to Father In Chasse, that the French king should remit 

the sum of 300,000 pounds on condition that the parlia-

ment be dissolved; a measure to which, he affirmed, the king 

was, of himself, sufficiently inclined, were it not for his 

hopes of obtaining money from that assembly. The par-

liament, he said, had already constrained the king to make 

peace with Africa, which was contrary to the views of the 

catholic religion, and of his most Christian majesty; and if 

they should meet again, they would surely engage him further, 

even to the making of war against France. It appears 

also from the same letters, that the assembling of the par-

lement so late as April in the year 1675, had been pro-

Burnet, North. d Burnet, North, Trislo.
self: he had rings on his fingers, and money in his pocket: it was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without further reasoning, the cry rose, that he had been assassinated by the papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with universal belief. The public were conscious to the inextricable complexity of the whole conspiracy, and all men, astonished with fear, and animated with rage, saw in Godfrey's fate all the horrible designs ascribed to the catholics, and no further doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The claptrap heard about the irritated sect; and, notwithstanding that the bloody conspiracy was supposed to be now detected, men could scarcely be persuaded that their lives were yet in safety. Each chiefs seemed with new rumours and dangers. In general, visions from abroad, insurrections at home, mutual jealousies, even private murders and poisonings, were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot was to be an accomplice: to hesitate was criminal: royalist, republican, churchman, secretary, courtier, patriot; all parties concurred in the illusion. The city prepared for its defence, as if the enemy were at its gates: the chains and posts were put up: and it was a noted saying at that time of Sir Thomas Player, the charlemagne, that were it not for these precautions, all the citizens might rise next morning with their throats cut.

In order to propagate the popular frenzy, several artisans were employed to keep the streets and the corners of the city filled with their spectator. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. The corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city: seventy-two clergymen marched before: above a thousand persons a procession followed after. The funeral cortège, two hundred strong, mounted the pulpit, and stood on each side of the preacher, lest, in paying the last duties to this unhappy magistrate, he should, before the whole people, be murdered by the papists.

In this disposition of the nation, reason could no more be heard than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane. Even at present, Godfrey's murder can scarcely, upon any system, be rationally accounted for. That be was assassinated by the catholics, seems utterly improbable. These religionists could not be engaged to commit that crime from policy, in order to deter other magnates from acting against them. They were many wise capable of producing that effect, unless it were publicly known, that the catholics were his murderers; an opinion which, it was easy to foresee, must prove the ruin of the pause. These magnates, during more than a century, had acted in this manner, towards one another against the catholics, without its ever been suspected that any one had been cut off by assassination! Such jealous times as the present were surely ill fitted for beginning these dangerous experiments. Shall we therefore say, that the catholics were pushed on, not by policy, but by blind revenge against Godfrey! But Godfrey had given them little or no occasion of offence in taking Oates's evidence. His part was merely an act of form, belonging to his office; nor could he, ur any man in his station, possibly refuse it. In the rest of his conduct, he lived on good terms with the catholics, and was far from distinguishing himself by his severity against that people. It is even certain that he had contracted no intimacy with Cole- man, and took care to inform his friend of the danger to which, by reason of Oates's evidence, he was at present exposed.

There are some writers, who, finding it impossible to account for Godfrey's murder by the machinations of the catholics, have recourse to the opposite supposition. They lay hold of that obvious presumption, that those commit the crime who reap advantage by it: and they affirm that it was Shaftesbury, and the heads of the popular party, who perpetrated that deed, in order to throw the odium of it on the papists. If this supposition be received, it must also be admitted, that the whole plot was the contrivance of those politicians of that time, who were ardent under their direction. But it appears that Oates, dreaded probably the opposition of powerful enemies, had violently and solemnly purchased the duke, Danby, Ormond, and all the ministry; persons who were certainly the most ob- stinate to the popular leaders. Besides, the whole texture of the plot contains such low absurdity, that it is impossible to have been the invention of any man of sense or education. It is true, the more monstrous and horrible the conspiracy, the better it was fitted to terrify, and hence to convince, the populace: but this effect, we may safely say, no one could beforehand have expected; and a fool was in this case more likely to succeed than a wise man.

But Lord Shaftesbury laid the plan of a popish conspiracy, he had probably rendered it moderate, consistent, credible; and on that very account had never met with the prodigious success, with which Oates's tremendous fictions were attended.

We must, therefore, be contented to remain for ever ignorant of the actors in Godfrey's murder; and only pronounce in general, that that event, in all likelihood, had no connexion, one way or other, with the popish plot. Any man, especially so active a magistrate as Godfrey, much in such a city as London, has many enemies, of which his friends and family had no suspicion. He was a melancholy man; and there is some reason, notwithstanding the public confidence of the contrary, to believe that he fell by his own hands. The affair was never examined with tranquillity, or even with common sense, during the time; and it is impossible for us, at this distance, certainly to account for it.

No one doubted but the papists had assassinated Godfrey; but still the particular actors were unknown. A proclamation was issued by the king, offering a pardon and reward of five hundred pounds to any one who should discover them. As it was a sermon, and unexchangeable, that the theme of a like assassination would prevent discovery, a new proclamation was issued, promising absolute protection to any one who should reveal the secret. Thus were indemnity, money, and security offered to the fairest holder: and no one needed to fear, during the present fury of the people, that his evidence would undergo too severe a scrutiny.

While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled. In his speech, the king told them, that, though they had given money for disturbing the army, he had found Flanders so exposed, that he had thought it fit to resist. He was, at the same time, and doubted not but this measure would meet with their approbation. He informed them, that his revenue lay under great expectations, and at best was never equal to the constant expense of the popish conspiracy; as would appear from the state of it, which he intended to lay before them. He also mentioned the plot formed against his life by Jesuits; but said, that he would forbear delivering any opinion of the matter, lest he should seem to say too much or too little; and that he would leave the scrutiny of it entirely to the law.

The king was anxious to keep the question of the popish plot from the parliament; where, he suspected, many design- ing people would very much abuse the present credibility of the nation; but Danby, who hated the catholics, and courted popularity, and perhaps hoped that the king, if his life were believed in danger from the Jesuits, would be more cordially disposed to the contrary, of the two, had adopted opposite designs; and the very first day of the session, he opened the matter in the House of Peers. The king was extremely displeased with this temerity, and told his minister, 'Though you do not believe it, you will find, that you have given the parliament a handle to run upon, as well as to disturb all my affairs; and you will surely live to repent it.' Danby had afterwards sufficient reason to applaud the sagacity of his master.

The cry of the house was immediately echoed from one House to the other. The authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury, with which the people were already agitated. An address was re-throwing the charges of his naval armament, and for paying the Princess of Wales's portion.
voted for a solemn fast; a form of prayer was contrived for that solemnity; and because the popish plot had been omitted in the first draft, it was carefully ordered to be inserted; lest Ominousness should want intelligence; to use the word of the King.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, addresses were voted for laying before the House such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of popish prejudices; for making manifest every degree where the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; for denying access to court to all unknown or suspicious persons; and for appointing the trans-stands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The Lords Powis, Stafford, Arran, Peters, and Bellaun, were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached for high treason. And both Houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the Lords and Commons are of opinion, that there has been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the protestant religion.

So vehement were the Houses, that they sat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the subject of the plot: for no other business could be attended to. A committee of Lords was appointed to examine prisoners and witnesses: blank warrants were put into their hands, for the committee might be ascended. Of the whole, no, though his evidence were true, must, by his own account, be regarded as an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, caressed, and called the saviour of the nation. The Government was repeated by the House of Commons. He was lodged in Whitchall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of 1200 pounds a-year.

Bedloe's warrant, concerning the supposed new witnesses William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and even thieves, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, had frequently posed himself for a man of quality, and had endeavoured, by a variety of lies and contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder only, which he said, he had been perpetrated in Somerset-house, where the queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He was questioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted that he had no acquaintances with Oates. Next day, when examined before the committee of Lords, he betook himself better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found so anxiously inquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with the account which had been given: but being he could make him self acceptable by new matter, he added some other circumstances, and these still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Day, and immediately to seize Hull: that Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest; and that a French fleet was, all last summer, hovering in the channel for that purpose: that the Lords Powis and Peters were to form an army in Radnorshire, to be joined by another army, consisting of twenty or thirty thousand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Iago in Spain; that there were forty thousand men ready in London; besides those, who would, on the alarm, be posted at every alehouse door, in order to kill the soldiers, as they came out of their quarters: that Lord Stafford, Coleman, and Father Ireland, had money sufficient to defray the expenses of all these armaments: that he himself was to receive four thousand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as also a commission from Lord Bellaun, and a benefaction from the Pope: that the king was to be assassinated; all this time the Pope, who would not seriously be converted; the government offered to ore, if he would consent to hold it of the church, but if he should refuse that condition, as was suspected, the supreme authority would be given to certain lords under the nomination of the Pope. In a subsequent examination before the Commons, Bedloe added, (for these men always brought out their intelligence successively and by piece-meal,) that Lord Carrington was to be assassinated also in the capacity for raising money for the government; as was likewise Lord Brunedel. These noblemen, with all the other persons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to custody by the parliament.

It is remarkable, that the only resource of Spain, in her present decayed condition, lay in the assistance of England; and so far from being in a situation to transport ten thousand men for the invasion of that kingdom, she had solicited and obtained English forces to be sent into the garrisons of Flanders, which were not otherwise able to defend themselves against the French. The French too, we may observe, were at that very time in open war with Spain, and yet are supposed to be engaged in the same design against England; as if religious motives were become the sole actuating principle among sovereigns. But none of these circumstances, however obvious, were able, when set in opposition to multiplied agitations, and pleadings, and prejudices, to engage the least attention of the populace; for such the whole nation were at this time become. The popish plot passed for uncontestable: and had not men been expected with certainty the legal punishment of those criminals, it might have been a great hazard of an universal massacre. The terror indeed of national prejudices ran so high, that no one, without the most imminent danger, durst venture openly to oppose it; nay, several persons were next year executed on the judgment of such multitudes, that some of them have esteemed themselves sufficiently moderate, when they affirmed that many circumstances of the plot were true, though some were added, and others much magnified. But it is an obvious principle, that a witness, who purports himself in, one circumstance, is credible in none: and the authority of the plot, even to the end of the prosecutions, stood entirely upon witnesses. Though the Catholics had been suddenly and unexpectedly detected, at the very moment when their conspiracy, it is said, was ripe for execution; no arms, no ammunition, no money, no commissions, no papers, no letters, after the most rigorous examination were ever produced to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Yet still the nation, though often frustrated, went on in the eager pursuit and confident belief of the conspiracy: and even the manifold inconsistencies and absurdities, contained in the narratives, instead of discarding the committee, afforded them motives to discover the bottom of the plot, and were considered as slight objections, which a more complete information would fully remove. In all history, it will be difficult to find such another instance of popular frenzy and bigoted delusion.

In order to support the panic among the people, especially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was published with this title: "A narrative and impartial discovery of the horrid popish plot, carried on for burning and destroying the cities of London and Westminster, with their suburbs; setting forth the several consents, orders, and resolutions of the Jesuits, concerning the same: by William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid design, and one of the popish committee for carrying on such fires." Every fire which had happened for several years past, is there ascribed to the machinations of the Jesuits, who purposed, as Bedloe saith, by such attempts to obtain an opportunity for the general massacre of the protestants; and in the mean time, were well pleased to enrich themselves, by pillaging goods from the fire.

The king was informed of this discovery, wherever he could speak freely, to throw the highest ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion before the parliament. The torrent, he saw, ran too strong to be controlled; and he could
only hope, by a seeming compliance, to be able, after some time, to guide and direct and elude its fury. He made, therefore, a speech to both Houses; in which he told them, that he would take the utmost care of his person during the next session. The speech being heard, their hearts could wish, to join them in all means for establishing the Protestant religion, not only during his own time, but for all future ages; and that, provided the right of succession were preserved, he would consent to any laws for restraining a popish successor; and, in conclusion, he exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of popish recusants; and he highly praised the duty and loyalty of all his subjects, who had disregarded the former. These gracious expressions abstained nothing of the vehemence of parliamentary proceedings. A bill was introduced for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refused this test, were excluded from both Houses. The bill passed the Commons without much opposition; but in the upper House the duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he said he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern which he could have in the world; and he protested, that whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between himself and God. The House then adjourned to examine his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong effort, in so important a point, he prevailed only by two voices; a sufficient indication of the general disposition of the people; his own language was perceived in the debate on this bill, as much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch; not so much as a popish cat to pur or meow about the king. What more extraordinary, this speech met with praise and approbation.

Encouraged by this general fury, the witnesses went still a step further in their accusations; and though both Oates and Bedloe had often declared, that there was no other person of distinction whom they knew to be concerned in the plot, they were now so audacious as to accuse the queen herself of entering into the design against the life of her husband. The Commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; but the Lords would not be prevailed with to join in the address. It is here, in any where, that we may suspect the suggestions of the popular leaders to have had place. The king, it was well known, bore no great affection to his consort; and now, when he was so much hated, had reason to be desirous of issue, which might quiet the jealous fears of his people. This very hatred, which prevailed against the duke, would much facilitate her designs, as though he needed any further excuse for the exclusion of that prince; and nothing further seemed requisite for the king, than to give way in this particular to the rage and fury of the nation. But Charles, notwithstanding all allurements of pleasure, or interest, or safety, had the generosity to protect his injured consort. They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not see an innocent woman abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants; and this daring informer was obliged to make applications to parliament, in order to recover his liberty.

During this agitation of men's minds, the parliament gave new attention to the militia; a circumstance which, even during times of greatest tranquillity, can never prudently be neglected. They passed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia should be kept in arms, during the six weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight at that time. The popular leaders were intended to make use of the general prejudices, and even to turn the arms of the people against the prince. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the parliament, that he would not continue it, unless it half an hour in part so far with the power of the sword: but if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal assent. The Commons, dissatisfied with this negative, though the king had never before employed that prerogative, immediately voted that all the new levied forces should be disbanded. The next day the queen, in her presence, gave the reasons of her dissent: but to show their extreme jealousy of the crown, besides appropriating the money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid, not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The Lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the king's ministers, and even on himself, and by that means the act remained in suspense. It was no wonder, that the present ferment and confusion should be the panic of the nation; for men of infamous character and indigent circumstances to become informers, when persons of rank and condition could be tempted to give in to that scandalous practice. Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower House; and without obtaining or asking the king's leave, he suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this message, had foreseen it, and provided for it; and immediately went before the House of Commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, written in the beginning of the year, during the negociations at Nimoguen for the general peace. Montague was of the opinion, that it was suspected that he had borrow'd five hundred pounds from France; or, in other words, the king was willing secretly to sell his good offices to Lewis, contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even to those of the letter. Among other things, Danby's letter contains these words: In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects to have six millions of livres a-year for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the King of France; because it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in humour to give him any supplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum; but not for so long a time." Danby was so unwilling to engage in this negociation, that the king, to satisfy him, subjoined, with his own hand, these words: This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Montague, who revealed this secret correspondence, had even the baseness to sell his base treachery at a high price to the French monarqu'a.

The Commons were inflamed with this intelligence against Danby; and carrying their suspicions further than the truth, they concluded, that the king had all along proceeded with the design to make war; and now, that what he had taken in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. Desirous of getting to the bottom of so important a secret, and being pushed by circumstance, he immediately proceeded. Danby's number of votes had already proved, that he immediately voted an impeachment of high treason against that minister, and sent up six articles to the House of Peers. These articles were, That he had traitorously engaged to himself regal power, by giving instructions to his majesty's ambassadors, with the participation of the secretaries of state, or the privy council: that he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power; and to that end had levied and continued an army, contrary to act of parliament; that he had traitorously endeavoured to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects, by negotiating a disadvantageous peace with France, and procuring money for that purpose, that he was popishly affected, and had traitorously concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papists against his majesty's person and government; that he had wasted the king's treasure; and that he had, by indirect means, obtained several exorbitant grants from the crown.

It is certain that the treasurers, in giving instructions to an ambassador, had exceeded the bounds of his office; and as the genius of a monarchy, strictly limited, requires that the proper means should be used for every abuse of power, the Commons, though they here advanced a new pretension, might justly themselves by the utility, and even necessity, of it. But in other respects their charge

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1 North's Insurrections, p. 169.
against Danby was very ill grounded. That minister made it appear in the House of Lords, not only that Montague, the informer against him, had all along promoted the money-negotiations with France, but that he himself was ever extremely averse to the interests of that crown, which he considered as his master. This was evidently the French nation, he said, had always entertained, as he was certainly informed, the highest contempt, both of the king's person and government. His diligence, he added, in tracing the popish plot, was generally known; and if he had common sense, not to say common honesty, he would surely be anxious to preserve the life of a master, by whom he was so much favoured. He had wanted no treasure, because there was no treasure to waste. And though he had reason to be grateful for the king's bounty, he had made more moderate acquisitions than were generally imagined, and than others in his office had often done, even during a shorter administration.

The House of Peers plainly saw, that allowing all the charges of the Commons to be true, Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward III.; and though the words treason and treason were had been carefully inserted in several articles, this appellation could not change the nature of things, or subject him to the penalties annexed to that crime. They refused, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge: the Commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise, when the king, who had himself certified, in the presence of the whole chamber, his contrary declaration, was likely to come up. The alarm of the parliament, thought proper to procrastinate them. This postponement was soon after followed by a dis junction; a desperate remedy was taken in the present disposition of the nation. But though the disease, it must be owned, the king had reason to esteem desperate. The utmost rage had been discovered by the Commons, on account of the popish plot; and their fury began already to point against the royal family, if not against the throne itself. The duke had been struck at in several motions: the treasurer had been impeached: all supply had been refused, except on the most disgraceful conditions: fears, jealousies, and animosities, were every day multiplying in parliament: and though the people were strongly infected with the same prejudices, the king hoped, that, by dissolving the presentcabals, a set of men might be chosen more moderate in their pursuits, and less tainted with the vulgus of faction.

Thus came to a period a parliament, which, in its character, had sat during the whole course of this reign, one year excepted. Its conclusion was very different from its commencement. glittering in the glorious and festive restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royals; who were disposed to support the crown by all the liberality which the habit of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence, and all the king; and finding him still to persevere in a foreign interest, they proceeded to discover symptoms of the most refractory and most jealous disposition. The popish plot pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their dissolution they seemed to be treading fast in the footsteps of the last long parliament, on whose conduct they then at first such violent blame. In all their variations, they had still followed the opinions and prejudices of the nation; and ever seemed to be more governed by humour and party views than by public interest, and more by public interest than by any corrupt or private influence.

During the sitting of the parliament, and after its proceeding and dissolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on, and the courts of judicature, places which, if possible, ought to be kept more pure from injustice than even national assemblies themselves, were strongly infected with the same party rage, and begot prejudices.

Coleman, the most obstreperous of the conspicuous
Trials of Coleman's
Terrorists, was first brought to his trial. His letters were produced against him. They contained, as he himself was surprised to hear, not his own, but the whole conspiracy, so far as it is illegal to a zealous catholic, they seemed to prove nothing criminal, much less reasonable, against him. Oates and Bedloe deposed, that he had received a com-

mission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, to be papal secretary of state, and had consented to the poisoning, shooting, and stabbing of the king; he had even, according to Oates's deposition, advanced a guinea to promote these bloody purposes. These wild stones were consequently thrown away; and the checks which were put on them by Coleman received sentence of death. The sentence was soon after executed upon him. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of innocence. Coleman's execution was succeeded by the trial of Father Ireland, who, it is pretended, had signed, together with fifty Jesuits, the great resolution of murdering the king. grove and Pickering, who had undertaken to shoot him, were tried at the same time. The only witnesses against the prisoners were still Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August last, a time when Oates's evidence made him in London. He proved his assertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted, had he not most mistakenly been detained, while in prison, from all use of pen, ink, and paper, and denied the liberty of attending for his own defence. All the witnesses, were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and spectators; and to he a Jesuit, or even a catholic, was of itself a sufficient proof of guilt. The chief justice, in particular, gave a reason why the sentences and judgments of the popish plots, and of the Jesuits, were fixed on the papal. Instead of being capricious for the prisoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cause against them, browbeat their witnesses, and on every occasion represented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. He even went so far as publicly to affirm, that the papists had not the same principles which protestants have, and therefore were not entitled to that common creed, which the principles and practices of the latter call for. And when the jury brought in their verdict against the prisoners, he said, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good protestants: and now much good may their 30,000 masses do them!" alluding to the masses by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the king. All these unhappy men went to execution, protesting their innocence; a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators. The opinion that the Jesuits were allowed of lies and mental reservations, for that reason, promoting a good cause, was at this time so universally received, that no credit was given to testimony delivered either by that order or by any of their disciples. It was regarded as an instrument of the king's and the pope's powder treason, and Garnet, the Jesuit, among the rest, had freely, on the scaffold, made confession of their guilt.

Though Bedloe had given information of Goffrey's murder, he still remained a single evidence against the persons accused; and all the king's reasons and honour had not hitherto tempted any one to confirm the testimony of that informer. At last means were found to complete the legal evidence. One Prince, a silversmith and a catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in the murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of insat-
for silversmiths. All this information, with regard to the plot, as well as the murder of Godfrey, France solemnly retracted, both before the king and the secret committee; but the other two belonged to the popish chapel at Somerset house. It is needless to run over all the particulars of a long trial: it will be sufficient to say, that Bedloe's evidence and France's were, in many circumstances, too plausible not to make both her stories and those of others unanswerable difficulties, so not to say gross absurdities, and that they were invalidated by contrary evidence, which was altogether convincing. But all was in vain: the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable: but, instead of its giving some check to the general credulity of the people, men were only surprised, that a protestant could be induced, at his death, to persist in so manifest a falsehood.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor disbanded, without money, the king, how little hopes soever he could entertain of bringing over the Papists, at last summoned a new parliament. The blood, alredy shed on account of the popish plot, instead of satiating the people, served only as an incentive to new crimes. Each conviction, each execution, the people regarded as an aggravation of those horrible designs imputed to the papists. This election is perhaps the first in England, which, since the commencement of the monarchy, had been carried on by a violent contest between the parties, and where the court interested itself, to a high degree, in the choice of the national representatives. But all its efforts were fruitless, in opposition to the torrent of prejudices which prevailed. Religion, liberty, property, even new elections, were at stake, and no security, it was thought, except in a vigilant parliament, could be found against the impious and bloody conspirators. Were there any part of the nation to which the ferment, occasioned by the popish plot, had not as yet propagated itself; the new elections, by interesting the whole people in public concerns, tended to diffuse it into the remotest corner; and the consternation universally excited, proved an excellent engine for influencing the electors. The most of the former parliament were re-chosen; new ones were added; the presbyterians, in particular, being transported with the most inveterate un-animity against popery, were very active and very successful. The king, who, as usual, had interfered in the election, did this time the abuse of splitting their freeholds, in order to multiply votes and electors. By accounts which came from every part of England, it was concluded, that the new representatives would, if possible, exceed the old, in their refractory opposition to the court, and furious persecution of the catholics.

The king was alarmed, when he saw so dreadful a tempest arise from such small and unaccountable beginnings. His life, if Oates and Bedloe's information were true, had been aimed at by the catholics: even the duke's was in danger: the higher, therefore, the rage mounted against popery, the more should the nation have been reconciled to these princes, in whom, it appeared, the church of Rome had none found himself object to sophistry which attends all the passions; especially those into which the populace enter. Men gave credit to the informers, so far as concerned the guilt of the catholics. But they still retained their old suspicions, that those religious were secretly favoured by the king, and had obtained the most entire ascendant over his brother. Charles had too much penetration not to see the danger, to which the public had exposed, that his own, and his own, to be stood exposed. A numerous party, he found, was formed against him; on the one hand, composed of a populace, so credulous from prejudice, so blinded with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the most palpable absurdities; and conducted, on the other hand, by leaders so little scrupulous, as to endeavour, by encouraging perjury, subordination, lies, impostures, and even by shedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and subvert all legal authority. Roused from his lethargy by so imminent a prospect, he now resolved to proceed in a manner, of which, on great occasions, he was not destitute; and without quitting, in appearance, his usual facility of temper, he collected an industry, firmness, and vigilance, of which he was believed altogether incapable. These qualities, joined to dexterity and prudence, conducted him happily through the many shoals which surrounded him; and he was at last able to make the storm fall on the heads of those who had blindly raised or artfully conducted it.

One chief step, of which the king took, towards gratifying and appeasing his people and parliament, was desiring the duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no further suspicion might remain of the influence of popish counsels. The duke readily complied; but first required an order for that purpose, signed by the king, lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He also desired that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth.

James, Duke of Monmouth, was the king's natural son by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities which could possibly be needed, to oblige the people, and to command a distinguished vallor, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. He rose still higher in the public favour, by reason of the universal hatred to which the duke, on account of his extreme Romanism, Monmouth's capacity was mean; he tempered his plans, that notwithstanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly resigned himself to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of such a restless temper, such subtle wit, and such abandoned selfishness, as during political bad flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage, passed between the king and Monmouth's mother, and secreted from the nation to be at stake, and no security, it was thought, except in a vigilant parliament, could be found against the impious and bloody conspirators. Were there any part of the nation to which the ferment, occasioned by the popish plot, had not as yet propagated itself; the new elections, by interesting the whole people in public concerns, tended to diffuse it into the remotest corner; and the consternation universally excited, proved an excellent engine for influencing the electors. The most of the former parliament were re-chosen; new ones were added; the presbyterians, in particular, being transported with the most inveterate un-animity against popery, were very active and very successful. The king, who, as usual, had interfered in the election, did this time the abuse of splitting their freeholds, in order to multiply votes and electors. By accounts which came from every part of England, it was concluded, that the new representatives would, if possible, exceed the old, in their refractory opposition to the court, and furious persecution of the catholics.

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principles upon which it could be decided.\(^5\) By way of compromise, it was agreed to set aside both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer, was chosen; and the election was rated for his vote, and his understanding not to deliver the choice of the speaker lies in the House; but that the king retains the power of rejecting any person disagreeable to him.

Seymour was deemed a great enemy to Danby; and it was the influence of that nobleman, as commonly supposed, which had engaged the king to enter into this ill-timed controversy with the Commons. The impeachment therof of Danby was, on that account, the most urgent of all. But it was maintained by the Commons, that notwithstanding the intervening dissolution, every part of that proceeding stood in the same condition in which it had been left by the last parliament: a pretension, which, though unusual, seems tacitly to have been yielded them. The king had, before hand, had the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and, in order to screen the chancellor from all attacks by the Commons, he had taken the great seal into his own hands, and had himself affixed it to the parchment. He told the parliament, that, as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was in no respect criminal; that his pardon, however, he would insist upon; and if it should be found any way defective, he would request it again and again, till it should be rendered entirely complete; but that he was resolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court.

The Commons were now satisfied with this concession. They pretended, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the Commons. The prerogative of mercy had hitherto been understood to be altogether unlimited in the king; and this pretension of the Commons, it must be confessed, was entirely new. It was however not unsuitable to the genius of a monarchy strictly limited; where the king's ministers are supposed to be for ever accountable to national assemblies, even for such actions as his ministers have been guilty of on their master. The present emergence, while the nation was so highly infamed, was the proper time for pushing such popular claims; and the Commons failed not to avail themselves of this advantage. They still insisted on the impeachment of Danby. The Peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby absconded. The Commons passed a bill, appointing him to surrender himself before a certain day, or in default of it, attainting by law for treason. A bill had passed the upper House, mitigating the penalty to banishment; but, after some conferences, the Peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the Commons, and they agreed to stand by the bill as it stood then. The Commons then underse such penalties, Danby appeared, and was immediately committed to the Tower.

While a Protestant nobleman met with such violent prosecution, it was not likely that the Catholics would be overlooked by the zealous Commons. The Popish plot, the credit of the popish plot still stood upon the oaths of a few infamous witnesses. Though such immense preparations were supposed to have been made in the very bowels of the kingdom, no traces of them, after the most rigorous inquiry, had as yet appeared. Though so many thousands, both abroad and at home, had been engaged in the dreadful secret; neither hope, nor fear, nor remorse, nor levity, nor suspicions, nor prejudice, in short, had been able to confirm the evidence. Though the Catholics, particularly the Jesuits, were represented as guilty of the utmost indiscretion, inasmuch that they talked of the king's murder as common news, and wrote of it in plain terms by the common post, yet, among the great number of letters seized, no one contained any part of so complicit a confederacy. Though the informers pretended that, even after they had resolved to betray the secrets of the plot, formidable confessions, and papers had passed through their hands; they had not had the precaution to keep any one of them in order to fortify their evidence. But all these difficulties, and a thousand more, were not found too hard of digestion by the nation and parliament. The prosecution and further discovery of the plot were still the object of general concern. The Commons, having voted, or rather confirmed, the unpardonable felony, they would revenge his death upon the papists; not reflecting that this sect were not his only enemies. They promised rewards to new discoveries; not considering the pretenders, of great importance, of which there were many, and already engaged in perjury. They made Bedloe a present of 500 pounds, and particularly recommended the care of his safety to the Duke of Monmouth. Colonel Sackville, a member, having, in a private company, spoken approvingly of those who had signed the plot, which had been affirmed, the Peers gave power to their committees to send for and examine such as would maintain the innocence of these who had been condemned for the plot. A pamphlet having been published to discredit the informers, and to vindicate the catholic lords in the Tower, these lords were required to discover the author, and thereby to expose their own advocate to prosecution. And both Houses concurred in renewing the former vote, that the papists had undoubtedly entered into a horrid and treasonable conspiracy against the king, the state, and the protestant religion.

It must be owned that this extreme violence, in prosecution of so absurd an imposture, disgraces the meanest part of the nation of liberty, in which the parliament was engaged. We may even conclude, from such imputation of contrivance, that the prosecutors themselves retained a secret suspicion that the general plot was but small; and that among them were afraid to let in light, lest it might put an end to so useful a delusion: the weaker and less dishonest party took care, by turning their eyes aside, not to see a truth so opposite to these famous passions, by which they were actuated, and in which they were determined obstinately to persevere.

Sir William Temple had lately been recalled from his foreign employment; and the king, who, after the removal of Danby from the chancellorship, had more care with respect to the king's council, by which no man was so much as discourse with freedom of public affairs, was resolved, upon Coventry's dismission, to make him one of his secretaries of state. But that philosophical patriot, too little interested for the intrigues of a court, too full of spleen and delicacy for the noisy turbulence of popular assemblies, was alarmed at the universal discontent and jealousies which prevailed, and was determined to make his retreat, as soon as possible, from a scene which threatened such confusions. Meanwhile, no man was so satisfied with the confidence which with his master honoured him; and he resolved to employ it to the public service. He represented to the king, that, as the jealousies of the nation were extreme, it was necessary to be upon the watch, in order to restore that mutual confidence so requisite for the safety both of king and people; that to refuse every thing to the parliament in their present disjunction, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous to the constitution, as well as to public tranquillity: that if the king would introduce his councils such men as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer concessions would probably be required; or if unreasonable demands were made, the king, under the sanction of such counsellors, might be enabled, with the greater safety, to refuse them: and that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the king's favour, would probably abate of that violence by which they endeavoured to accomplish their end.

The king, pleased with these reasons; and in concert with Temple, he laid the plan of a new privy-council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measure of importance. The usual privy-council was to consist of thirty persons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued, who, it was supposed, would adhere to the king; and, in case of any disagreement, the king would request that the other half of the council was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of those who possessed chief credit in both Houses. And the king, in

\(^5\) In 1666, the speaker said to Queen Elizabeth, that without her allow- ance the election of the House was of no significance. D. Ew'n's Journal, p. 47. In the parliament 1690, 1691, the speaker, who was Sir Edward Coke, advances a like position. D. Ew'n, p. 439. Townsend, p. 53. So that this pretension of the Commons seems to have been somewhat new; like many of their other powers and privileges.
filing up the names of his new council, was well pleased to find that the members, in land and offices, possessed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a year; a sum nearly equal to the whole property of the House of Commons, against whose veto the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne. This experiment was tried, and seemed at first to give some satisfaction to the public. The Earl of Essex, a nobleman of great fortune, Lord Capel, who had been beheaded a little after the late king, was created treasurer in the room of Danby: the Earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made successor of Sir Robert Boyle, a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, and great tranquility, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. These three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himself more detached from public business, formed a kind of cabinet council, from which all affairs received their first digestion. Shaftesbury was made president of the council, contrary to the advice of Temple, who foresaw the consequence of admitting a man of so dangerous a character into any part of the public administration.

As Temple foresaw, it happened. Shaftesbury, finding that he possessed no more than the appearance of court-favour, was resolved still to adhere to the popular party, by which he was hated and disregarded in the lower House, and possessed great influence in the other. The very appearance of court favour, empty as it was, tended to render him more dangerous. His parsimony, his avarice, his unchristian modesty, made him hope that he would soon acquire the entire ascendancy; and he constantly flattered them, that if they persisted in their purpose, the king, from indulgence, and necessity, and fondness for Monmouth, would at last be induced, even at the expense of his brother's right, to make them every concession.

Besides, the antipathy to poverty, as well as jealousy of the king and duke, had taken too fast possession of minds. It was no less than to remove the new council projected by Temple. The Commons, soon after the establishment of that council, proceeded so far as to vote unanimously, "That the Duke of York's being a papist, and the hopes of his coming to the crown, had given the highest countenance to the present conspiracies and designs of the papists against the king and the protestant religion." It was expected that a bill for excluding both the throne would soon be brought in. To prevent this heathenish and iniquitous measure, he kept himself in constant readiness to do everything that might preserve your religion, and secure it for the future in all events, I have commanded my lord chancellor to mention several particulars; which, I hope, will be an evidence that, in all things which concern the public security, I shall not follow your zeal, but lead it."

The limitations projected were of the utmost importance, and deprived the successor of the chief branches of royalty. A method was there chalked out, by which the nation, on every new reign, could be insured of having a parliament, which the king should not, for a certain time, have in his power to dissolve. In case of a papist successor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any ecclesiastical preferments; no member of the privy council, no judge of the common law, or in chancery, was to be put in or dispensed with by consent of parliament; and the same precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties, and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor, himself, added, "It is hard to invent another method of rendering any court illegitimate, which will depend upon the consent of parliament, and how im-

destruction of monarchy, and even of all regular authority. But the Commons at this time were so jealous of the crown, that they brought it in a bill, which was twice read, excluding from the lower House all who possessed any large offices.

The standing army, and the king's guards, were by the Commons voted to be illegal: a new pretension, it must be confessed; but necessary for the full security of liberty and property.

Habeas corpus

Arbitrary imprisonment is a grievance, to which, in some degree, has place almost in every government, except in that of Great Britain; and our ancient security from it we owe chiefly to the present parliament; a merit which makes some atonement for the faction and violence into which their prejudices had, in other particulars, betrayed them. The great charter had laid the foundation of this valuable part of liberty; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from ministers and judges.

The act of habeas corpus, which passed this session, served these purposes. By this act it was precluded to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of habeas corpus, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the person imprisoned; and no provision was made, what name it was, and to certify the cause of his detainment and imprisonment.

If the gaoler be within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so provision is made, in case the prisoner may be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

This law seems necessary to the preservation of liberty in this country: it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration alone may induce us to prefer our present constitution to all others. It must, however, be confessed, that there is some danger of abuse in the extremity of cases, the full security and the regular police of a state, especially the police of great cities. It may also be doubted whether the low state of the public revenue in this period, and of the military power, did not still render some discretionary authority in the crown necessary to the support of government.

During these jealous efforts for the protection of liberty, no complaisance for the crown was discovered by this parliament. The king's revenue lay under great debts and anticipations; those branches granted in the year 1659 and 1670 were ready to expire; and the fleet was represented by the king as in great danger of disorder. But the Commons being affected by these distresses of the crown, trusted chiefly to them for passing the exclusion bill, and for punishing and displacing all the ministers who were obnoxious to them. They were therefore in no haste to relieve the king; and grew only the more assuming on account of his complaints and necessities.

Jealous, however, of the army, they granted the same sum of 260,000 pounds, which had been voted for disbanding it by the late parliament; though the vote, by reason of the subsequent prorogation and dissolution, joined to some scruples of the Lords, had not been carried into an act. The money was appropriated by very strict clauses; but the Commons insisted not, formerly, upon its being paid into the London chamber.

The impeachment of the five popish lords in the Tower, with that of the Earl of Danby, was carried on with vigour. The power of this minister, and his credit with the king, rendered him extremely obnoxious to the popular leaders; and the Commons hoped, that if they were pushed to extremity, he would be obliged, in order to justify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which was expected to come to the knowledge of the nation, and be the means of delivering the court on the most dangerous nature. The king, on his part, apprehensive of the same consequences, and desirous to protect his minister, who was become criminal merely by obeying orders for whose violence, every man of sense was not of that pardon which had been granted him. The Lords appointed a day for the examination of the question, and agreed to hear counsel on both sides: but the Commons would not submit their pretensions to the discussion of argument and inquiry. They voted, that whoever should presume, without their leave, to maintain before the House of Peers the validity of Danby's pardon, should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the English Commons. And they made a demand, that the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court, should be removed, not only when the trial of the earl should commence, but also when the validity of his pardon should be discussed.

The bishops before the Reformation had always enjoyed a seat in parliament; but so far were they anciently from regarding that dignity as a privilege, that they affected this exclusion to be a violation of the liberties of the civil magistrate, and accountable only to the Pope and to their own order. By the constitutions, however, of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Henry II., they were obliged to give presence in parliament; but as the canon law prohibited them from assisting in capital trials, they were allowed in such cases the privilege of absenting themselves. A practice, which was at first voluntary, became afterwards a rule; and on the Earl of Strafford's trial, the Bishops, who were privileged by law, and who were no longer bound by the canon law, were yet obliged to withdraw. It had been usual for them to enter a protest, asserting their right to sit; and this protest was regarded as the formality of the rule, and not disregarded. But here was started a new question of no small importance. The Commons, who were now enabled, by the violence of the people and the necessities of the crown, to exercise the authority of their choice, insisted that the bishops had no more title to vote in the question of the earl's pardon than in the impeachment itself. The bishops asserted that the pardon was merely a preliminary; and that, neither by the ancient custom, nor the practice of proceedings, were they ever obliged, in capital cases, to withdraw till the very commencement of the trial itself. If their absence were considered as a privilege, which was its real origin, it depended on their own choosing how far they would go in a diminution of their right of peerage, such unfavourable customs ought never to be extended beyond the very circumstance established by them; and all arguments, from a pretended purity of reason, were in that case of little or no authority.

The House of Lords was so much influenced by these reasons, that they admitted the bishops' right to vote, when the validity of the pardon should be examined. The Commons insisted still on their withdrawing; and thus a quarrel being commenced between the two Houses, the king, who expected nothing but fresh instances of violence from this parliament, began to entertain thoughts of laying the hand of state on an assembly, by a prerogative session by a prorogation. While in this disposition he was alarmed with sudden intelligence, that the House of Commons was preparing a remonstrance, in order to inflame the nation still further upon the favourite topics of the plot and of popery. He hastened, therefore, to execute his intention, even without consulting his new council, by whose advice he had promised to regulate his whole conduct. And thus were dismissed all the projects of the malcontents, who were extremely enraged at this vigorous measure of the king's. Shaftesbury publicly threatened that he would have the head of one who had advised it. The prorogation of the parliament was soon after dissolved without the advice of council; and writs were issued for a new parliament. The king was willing to try every means which gave a prospect of more compliance in his subjects; and, in case of failure, the blame, he hoped, would lie on those whose obstinacy forced him to extremities.

But even during the recess of parliament, there was no interruption of the prosecution of the catholics accused of the plot: the king found himself obliged to give way to this popular fury. Whitchurch, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and their companions at Harcourt, were granted a pardon, the validity of which had been contested; but they were first brought to their trial. Besides Oates and Belloc, Durdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man had been steward to Lord Aston, and,
though poor, possessed a character somewhat more respectable than the greater part of the informers. The numbers, the intensity of the masquerades and assassinations was equally monstrous and incredible. He even asserted that 200,000 papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omers, students, and most of them young men, that the faction of the Jesuits in that city was a thing too horrible for belief at the time when he swore that he was in London: but as they were catholics, and disciples of the Jesuits, their testimony, both with the judges and jury, was totally discredited. The whole court was full of outrage and mockery. One of them saying that Oates always continued at St. Omers, if he could believe his senses: "You papists," said the chief justice, "are taught not to believe your senses." It must be confessed that Oates, in opposition to the students of St. Omers, found means to bring evidence of his having been at the time in London; but this evidence, though it had, at that time, the appearance of some solidity, was afterwards discredited, when Oates himself was tried for perjury, to be altogether deceitful. In order further to discredit that witness, the Jesuits proved, by undoubted testimony, that he had perjured himself in Father Ireland's trial, whom they alleged to have been in Staffordshire at the very time when Oates swore that he was committing treason in London. But all these pleas availed them nothing against the general prejudices. They received several other, more severely as wrong relating to their last breath in the most solemn, earnest, and deliberate, though disregarded, protestations of their innocence.

and of Lang.

The next trial was that of Langbome, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concursus of the Jesuits were managed. Oates and Bedloe swore, that all the papal commissions, by which the chief officers in England were filled with catholics, passed through his hands. When the verdict was given against the prisoner, the spectators expressed their savage joy by loud acclamations. So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witnesses for this unhappy man, upon approaching the court, were almost torn in pieces by the rabble: one in particular was brusied to such a degree as to put his life in danger: and another, a woman, declared that, unless the court would afford her protection, she durst not give evidence: but as the judges could go no farther than promise to punish such as should do her any injury, the prisoner himself had the humanity to wave her testimony.

So far the informers had proceeded with success: their accusation was hitherto equivalent to a sentence of death. Without the exception of their confession was only the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, whom they accused of an intention to poison the king. It was a strong circumstance in favor of Wakeman, that Oates, in his editions of the Acts of War, before the council, had accused himself only upon hearsay; and when asked by the chancellor, whether he had any thing further to charge him with? he added, "God forbid I should say any thing against Sir George; for I know nothing more against him." On the trial he gave positive evidence of the prisoner's guilt. There were many other circumstances which favoured Wakeman: but what chiefly contributed to his acquittal, was the connexion of his charge with that of the queen, whom, as one, even during the high-est prejudices of the times, could sincerely believe guilty.

The great importance of the trial made men recolect themselves, and recall that good sense and humanity which seemed to have all but disappeared. The chief justice himself, who had hitherto favoured the witnesses, exaggerated the plot, and railed against the prisoners, was observed to be considerably mollified, and to give a favourable change to the jury. Oates and Bedloe had the assurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuse him of perjury before the council. The whole party, who had formerly much extolled his conduct, now made him the object of their resentment. Wakeman's acquittal was a great check to the further prosecution of the plot, and fixed an indelible stain upon the witnesses. But Wakeman, after he recovered his liberty, finding himself exposed to such invertebrate enmity, and being threatened with further prosecutions, thought it prudent to retire beyond seas: and his flight was interpreted as a proof of guilt, by those who were still resolved to persist in the belief of the conspiracy.

The great discontent in England, and the State affairs by the refractory disposition of the parliament, drew such deep guilt and terror to the public. The country was so deeply engaged in this fearful affair, from their valour and fortune alone, for that indemnity, which the severity of the government left them no hope of ever being able otherwise to obtain. They pushed on to Glasgow; and though at first repulsed, they afterwards made themselves masters of that city: dispersed the established clergy; and issued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.
How accidental soever this insurrection might appear, there is reason to suspect that some great men, in combination with the popular leaders in England, had secretly instigated it, as being the natural sequel to a scheme and need for such extremities, and hoped for the same effects that had forty years before ensued from the disorders in Scotland. The king, also, apprehensive of like consequences, immediately despatched another Monmouth with a small body of English cavalry. These parties were joined to these expeditions, and some of the body of rebels who defended it, maintained their post as long as their ammunition lasted. When they sent for more, they received orders to quit their ground, and to retire backwards. This imprudent measure occasioned an immediate defeat to the covenanters. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition, and drove up his forces opposite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About 700 fell in the pursuit; for properly speaking, there were but twelve hundred which were taken prisoners; and were treated by Monmouth with a humanity which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promise to live peaceably were dismissed. About three hundred, who were so obstinate as to refuse this easy condition, were shipped for Barbadoes; but unfortunately perished in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth was of a generous disposition; and besides aimed at popularity in Scotland. The king intended to intrust the government of that kingdom in his hands. He had married a Scottish lady, heir of a great family, and allied to all the chief nobility. And Lauderdale, as he was now declining in his parts, and was much decayed in his memory, began to lose with the king that influence which he had maintained during so many years; notwithstanding the efforts of his numerous enemies both in Scotland and England, and notwithstanding the many violent and tyrannical actions of which he had been guilty. Even at present he retained so much influence as to poison all the good intentions, which the king, either of himself, or by Monmouth's suggestion, had formed with regard to Scotland. An act of indemnity was granted by the king; and he made it a care that it should be so worded as rather to afford protection to himself and his associates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And though orders were given to convene the corteges at all covenanters, he found means, under a variety of pretences, to elude the execution of them. It must be owned, however, to his praise, that he was the chief person, who, by his counsel, occasioned the expeditious march of the forces and the prompt orders given to Monmouth; and thereby disappointed all the expectations of the English malcontents, who, reflecting on the disposition of men's minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progress of the Scottish insurrection.

A.D. 1679.

The king, observing that the whole nation concurred at first in the belief and prosecution of the popish plot, had found it necessary for his own safety to pretend, in all public speeches and transactions, an entire belief and acquiescence in that famous absurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent and irresistible opposition which more could have been expected, as well as the execution of the pretended conspirators, had somewhat moderated the general fury, he was state of parties, now enabled to form a considerable party, devoted to the interests of the crown, and determined to oppose the designs of the Scottish malcontents.

In every mixed government, such as that of England, the bulk of the nation will always incline to preserve the entire frame of the constitution; but according to the various purposes and interests of men, some will ever attach themselves with more passion to the regal, others to the popular, part of the government. Though the king, after his restoration, had endeavoured to abolish the distinction of parties, and had chosen the ministers from among all denominations; no sooner had he lost his popularity, and exposed himself to general jealousy, than he found it necessary to court the old cavalier party, and to promise them full compensation for that neglect of which they had hitherto complained. The present emergence made it still more necessary for him to apply for their support; and there were many circumstances which determined them, at this time, to fly to the assistance of the crown, and to the protection of the royal family.

A party, strongly attached to monarchy, would naturally be jealous of the right of succession, by which alone they supposed their power in the government would be fixed, and a barrier fixed against the encroachments of popular assemblies. The project openly embraced, of excluding the duke, appeared to that party a dangerous innovation; and the design, secretly projected, of advancing Monmouth, made them apprehensive lest the inconveniences of a disputed succession should be propagated to all posterity. While the jealous lovers of liberty maintained, that a king, whose title depended on the parliament, would naturally be more attentive to the interests, at least to the humour, of the people; the passionate admirers of monarchy considered all dependence as a degradation of kingly government, and a great step towards the establishment of a commonwealth in England.

But though his union with the political royalists brought great accession of force to the king, he derived no less support from the confederacy, which he had, at this time, the address to form with the church of England. He represented to the ecclesiastics the great number of presby-terians and other sectaries, who had entered into the popular party; the encouragement and favour which they met with; the loneliness of their cries with regard to popery and arbitrary power; and he added, that if parliament did not engage their adherents to apprehend, that the old scheme of the abolition of presbytery, as well as monarchy was revived, and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which, during the civil wars and usurpations, they had so long been exposed.

The memory also of those dismal times united many indifferent and impartial persons to the crown, and begat a dread lest the zeal for liberty should engraft itself on fanaticism, and should once more kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Had not the king still retained the prerogative of dissolving the parliament, there was, indeed, reason to apprehend the renewal of all the past-then plagues, which had ushered in the last commotions. The one proceeded appeared an exact counterpart to the other; but still discerning judges could perceive, both in the spirit of the parties and in the genius of the prince, a material difference; by means of which Charles was enabled, at last, though with the imminent peril of liberty, to preserve the peace of the union.

The cry against popery was loud; but it proceeded less from religious apprehensions, than from party malice, in those who propagated it, and even in those who adopted it. The spirit of enthusiasm had occasioned so much mischief, and had been so successfully exploded, that it was not possible, by any artifice, again to revive and support it. Cant had been ridiculed, hypocrisy detected; the pretensions to
thorough reformation, and to greater purity, had become suspicious; and instead of denouncing themselves the 
goodly party, the appellation affected at the beginning of the civil wars, the present patriots were content with calling themselves the reformers, and, by the usual nature of such a designation, almost entirely to themselves the good and the先进 party.* A most generous and liberal spirit animated their ranks; and the apprehensions of the duke of Buckingham and the clergy of the Established Church, to which the apprehensions of their party could be compared, was that the king might try whether time would alloy those humours which, by every other expedient, he had in vain attempted to mollify. In this measure he did not expect the concurrence of his council. The choice of his leaders was, however, such as to assure him that, if the proposition were carried, he would experience, as it were, the same effect which a resolution, having been so recommended, would zealously oppose a resolution, which discounts all their schemes; and that the royalists would not dare, by supporting it, to expose themselves to the vengeance of the people to which, at present, they all belong.

These reasons obliged him to take this step entirely of himself; and he only declared his resolution in council. It is remarkable, that though the king had made profession never to embrace any measure without the advice of these counsellors, he had, in this instance, resolved that such advice had not been necessitated, in affairs of the greatest consequence, to control their opinion. Many of them in disgust threw up about this time; particularly Lord Russell, the most popular man in the nation, as well from his mildness and integrity of his character, as from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Though carried into some excesses, his intentions were ever esteemed upright; and being heir to the greatest fortune in the kingdom, as well as void of ambition, men believed that nothing but the last necessity could ever engage him to embrace any desperate measures. Shaftesbury, who was, in most particulars, of an opposite character, was removed by the king from the cabinet office of president. He was succeeded by the Earl of Hadrorn, a man who possessed whimiscal talents, and spletic virtues, was substituted in his place.

It was the favour and countenance of the parliament which had changed his countenance. He had, in every respect, endeavored to rectify and mend the national inconveniences, and to improve and embellish the public service; but the nation had got so much into that vein of credulity, and every successive villain was so much incited by the success of Oates and Bedloe, that, even during the progration, the people were not allowed to remain in tranquility. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coming, and exposed to all the public infamy which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities. The credulity of the people, and the humour of the times, enabled even this man to become a person of consequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the Meal-tub plot, from the place where some papers relating to it were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to discover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been counseled by some catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's presence and the king's: and that, under pretence of revealing new popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the grand seigniors, and, that the methods of leading them to cheat is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: but he soon found that the belief of the nation was more open to a popish than a presbyterian plot; and he resolved to strike in with the prevailing humour. Though no weight could be laid on his testimony, great clamour was raised; as if the court, by way of retaliation, had intended to lead the presbyterians with the guilt of a false conspiracy. It must be confessed that the present period, by the prevalence and suspicion of such mean and ignoble arts on all sides, throws a great stain on the British annals.

One of the most innocent artifices, practised by party men at this time, was the additional ceremony, pomp, and expense, with which a pope-burning was celebrated in London: the spectacle served to entertain, and amuse, and inflame, the populace. The Duke of Monmouth likewise came over without leave, and made a triumphant procession through many parts of the kingdom, extremely caressed and admired by the people. All these arts seemed requisite to support the general opinion of the long continuance of the civil wars. Great endeavours were also used to obtain the king's consent for the meeting of that assembly. Seventeen peers presented a petition to this purpose. Many of the corporations imitated the example.

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Notwithstanding several marks of displeasure, and even a menacing proclamation from the king, petitions came from all parts, earnestly insisting on a session of parliament. The king, however, and the terms of the plot, were never forgotten in any of these addresses.

Tumultuous petitioning was one of the chief artifices by which the malcontents in the last reign had attacked the crown: and though the manner of subscribing, and delivering petitions, was now somewhat regulated by act of parliament, the thing itself still remained; and was an admirable expedient for inflaming the court, for spreading discontent, and for uniting the nation in any popular clamour, against which there was no means of punishing those importunate, and, as he deemed them, undeserving solicitations, he was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, the most entire acquiescence in his wisdom, the most dutiful submission to his prerogative, and the deepest abhorrence of those who endeavoured to encroach upon it, by presenting to him any time for assembling the parliament. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into petitioners and absolvers. Faction indeed were at this time extremely animated against each other. The very names, by the very denominations, denoted the virulence and rancour which prevailed. For besides petitioner and absolver, appellations which were soon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the Whig and Tory: by which, and sometimes without any material difference, this island has been so long divided. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs: the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed. And after this manner, these foolish terms of reproach came into popular use, and are by their very nature not nearer their end than when they were first invented.

The king used every art to reconcile his partisans, and to reconcile the people to his government. He persevered in the great zeal which he affected against popery. He even allowed several priests to be put to death, for no other crime than that they had received orders in the Romish church. It is singular, that one of them, called Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant for his immediate execution was delivered to him: he aware that he would put out his set first. Charles, with the same view of acquiring popularity, formed an alliance with Spain, and also offered an alliance to Holland: but the Dutch, terrified with the present danger, and too dazzled with the splendor of the country so distracted as England, declined acceptance. He sent for the duke from Scotland, but desired him to return, when the time of assembling the parliament began to approach.

It was of great consequence to the popular party, while the meeting of parliament depended on the king's will, to keep the law, whose operations are perpetual, entirely on their side. The sheriffs of London by their office return the juries: it had been usual for the mayor to nominate one sheriff by drinking to him; and the common-hall had ever without dispute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, appointed one who was not to approach to the popular party: the common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Cornish, two independents and republicans, and of consequence deeply engaged with the malcontents, were chosen by a majority of voices. In spite of all remonstrances and opposition, the citizens persisted in their choice; and the court party was obliged for the present to acquiesce.

Juries however were not so partial in the city, but that reason and justice, even when the popish plot was in question, were to a great extent preserved. Castlemaine, husband to the Duchess of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time, though accused by Otter and Dangerfield of an intention to assassinate the king. The last peace in 1670 was so generally desired by the north, being accused by two servants, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty, received a like verdict. These trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to stagger, in the judgment of most men, except those who were entirely devoted to the country party. But in order to still to keep up the zeal against the Earl of Shaftesbury appeared in Westminster-hall, attended by the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lords Russell, Caveatish, Gray, Brandon, Sir Henry Carely, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Cooper, and other persons of distinction, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting the Duke of York as a popish recusant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary presentment, the chief justice sent for them, and suddenly, even somewhat imprudently, demanded of which he had never ever obtained the end for which he had undertaken this bold measure: he showed to all his followers the desperate resolution which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation or composition with the duke. By such daring conduct he gave them assurance, that he was fully determined not to desert their cause; and he engaged them to a like devoted perseverance in all the measures which he should suggest to them.

As the kingdom was regularly and openly divided into two zealous parties, it was not difficult for the king to know that the majority of the new House of Commons was engaged in interests opposite to the court: but that he might learn from the antagonists, distinct from the unhappy differences among his subjects, he resolved, at last, after a long interval, to assemble the parliament. In his speech, he told them that the several prorogations which had made had been very advantageous to his neighbours, and very useful to himself: that he had employed that interval to perfect with the crown of Spain an alliance, which had often been desired by former parliaments, and which, he doubted not, would be extremely agreeable to that, in order to give weight to this measure, and render it beneficial to Christendom, it was necessary to avoid all domestic dissensions, and to unite themselves firmly in the same views. The present answer seems not nearer their end than when they were first invented.

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Juries however were not so partial in the city, but that reason and justice, even when the popish plot was in ques-

tion, were to a great extent preserved. Castlemaine, husband to the Duchess of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time, though accused by Otter and Dangerfield of an intention to assassinate the king. The last peace in 1670 was so generally desired by the north, being accused by two servants, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty, received a like verdict. These
of those petitions. They did not reflect that it was as lawful for one party of men as for another, to express their sense of public affairs; and that the best established right may, in particular circumstances, be abused, and even the exertions of power and protection be grievances. For this offence, they expelled Sir Thomas Witherens. They appointed a committee for further inquiry into such members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged against Lord Ashton, Sir Robert Malverey, Sir Bransford of Herefordshire, Sir William North, and Turner of Dorset, for the king against Sir George Jeffreys, recorder of London, for his activity in the same cause; and they frightened him into a resignation of his office, in which he was succeeded by Sir Edward Lambert. They voted an impeachment against North, chief justice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation against tumultuous petitions: but upon examination found the proclamation so cautiously worded, that it afforded them no handle against him. A petition had been presented to the king from Taunton. "How dare you deliver me such a paper?" said the king to the person who presented it. "Sir," replied he, "my name is DARE." For this he was fined, and committed to prison. The Commons now addressed the king for his liberty, and for remitting his fine. Some printers also and authors of seditious libels were expelled.

Great numbers of the abhorrers, from all parts of England, were seized by order of the Commons, and committed to custody. The liberty of the subject, which had been exposed to whatever peril, and by the late law of habeas corpus, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. The chief jealousy, it is true, of the English constitution is naturally and justly directed against the crown; nor indeed have the Commons any other means of securing their privileges than by commitments, which, as they cannot beforehand be exactly determined by law, must always appear, in some degree, arbitrary. Sensible of these reasons, the people had better, without murmuring, see this discretion, power exercised by the House: but as it was now carried to excess, and was abused to serve the purposes of faction, great complaints against it were heard from all quarters. At last the vigour and courage of one Stowell of Exeter, an abhorrier, put an end to the practice. He refused to obey the sergeant-at-arms, stood upon his defence, and said that he knew of no law by which they pretended to commit him. The House, finding it equally dangerous to permit him to be insulted by them, or to rescind the votes, that Stowell was indisposed, and that a month's time was allowed him for the recovery of his health.

The chief violence of the House of Commons appeared in all their transactions with regard to the plot, which they prosecuted with the same zeal and the same credulity as their predecessors. They renewed the former vote, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popish plot; and, in order the more to terrify the people, they even asserted that, notwithstanding the discovery, the plot still subsisted. They expelled Sir Robert Carri, and Sir Robert Yeomans, who had been complained of for saying that there was no popish, but there was a presbyterian plot. And they greatly lamented the death of Bedloe, whom they called a maternal witness, and on whose testimony they much depended. He had been seized with a fever at Bristol; had sent for Chief-Justice North; confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the duke and the queen; and desired North to apply to the king for some money to relieve him in his necessities. A few days after he expired; and the whole party triumphed extremely in these circumstances of his death: as if such a testimony could be deemed the affirmation of a dying man, as if his confession of perjury in some instances could assure his veracity in the rest, and as if the perseverance of the former was inconsistent with that of so many men, guilty of no crime but that of popery.

The Commons even endeavoured, by their countenance and protection, to remove the extreme infamy with which Duke of York was charged, and to take away the capacity of being an evidence. The whole tribe of informers they applauded and rewarded; Jennison, Turberwill, Dugdale, Smith, La Fara, appeared before them; and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favourable reception: the king was applied to in their behalf for remitting their crimes and penalties. For this offence, that sanction which arose from the approbation of the House: Dr. Tongue was recommended for the first consideration, in the catholics. Considering men's determined resolution to believe, indignantly to regard, and to suffer for their principles, they were not surprised to find the people, whose conduct was supported by so many witnesses, it may justly appear wonderful, that no better evidence was ever produced against the catholics.

The principal reasons, which still supported the claimants to the crown, and the popish party, were these: that the king's resolve of being crowned in England and Wales, for the first time, of which more will be said hereafter; and that he had a crown of his own, purchased by many millions, and therefore it is very unjust, venal, and unusual, that they should be confined in it, and thereby made incapable of receiving a pardon but by act of parliament.
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GREAT BRITAIN.

Tlie (U'bntifs Wert* carri*il on with ^rn-nl violence on both
llie bill was delemk-d bv Sir William Jones, who
now resi^neii his ottice of attorney-eenenil, by Lord
inningfon, Sir Harry Ca|H*l, Sir
Russel, bv Sir Francis
William Vulicnev, bv Colonel Thus, Treby, ll.iml>den,
Motitae'ue.
Il was opjKisod by Sir l>colinc
N V
Jenkins, svcreiary of slate, Sir John Ernley,
chancellor of ihe excheijucT, bV liyde, Seymour, Temple.
Tlie argiimenu transmitted to us may l>e reduced to the
side.1 .

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following topics.
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ists,

pvcry govemmciit, said the exrlusionIS somewhere an authority absosupreme ; nor can any determina-

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how unusual soever, which receives the sanction of
the legislature, admit afterwanis of dispute or control.
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liberty of a constitution, so far from diminishing this
alisolute power, seems rather to add force to it, and to give
it greater iiiHuence mer the |»eople.
The more meiiiljers
of Uic Slate concur in any legislative decision, and the more
free their voice, the less likelihocal is there that any opposition will lie made to those measures which receive the
final sanction of their authority.
In England, the legislative |>owcr is lodged in King, Ixirds, and Commons,
which comprehend every order of the community: ana
llitre IS no pretext for exempting any circumstance of
govcmmcnl, not even the succession of the crown, fnim
so full and decisive a jurisdiction.
Even express det larations have,
this particular, been made of {larhameiitarv
autliority : in-lances have ocairred where it h;us been exerUHl : am] though prudential reasons may justly be
alleged why such innovations should not beattempuxj but
on exlraordinarv occ.isions, the tiower and right are for
ever vesterl in the community.
Hut if anv occasion can
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unusual expedients, it is the present; when the heir of
the crown has renounced the religion of the stale, and has
zealously enihricvd a faith totally hostile and incompatible.
A prince of that communion can never pul tnisi in
u people so i»reju<liced against him; the people must be
eoually dithdenl of such a prince : foreign ana destructive
alliances will seem to one the only protection of his throne:
|»er|M.*tual jtalousv, opposition, faction, even insurrections
will be employed by the other as the sole securities for
their hl>crty and religion. Though theological principles,
when srt in opposition to passions, have often small influ-

ence on manKind in gr-ucral, still less on pnnees vet
when tlii'V become symbols of faction, and marks of partv
distinctions, they coiKur with one of Uie strongest passions in the human frame, and are then ca|mble of carry ing
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to the greatest extremities.
NiUwitlistamling the l>etler judgment and mihler dispiisilion of the king^ Imw much
lias the inriucoce of the dulce already disturbed the tenor
of government how often engagctl the nation into measures totally destructive of their Ibtvign interests and honour, of their domestic repose ami tranquillity ! The more
the alvsurdity and mcrcdiiulity of the mipish plot are insi^ted on, the -stronger r«isoii it atforas for the exclusion
of tlic duke ; since the universal Ivelief of it disi-overs the
extreme antipathy of the nation to his religion, and the
utter impossibiliiv of ever bringing them to acquiesce
iwareably under the dominion of such a sovereign. The
prince, finding himself in so perilous a situation, must seek
lor security by des|vrate remedies, and by totally subduing the privilet^ts of a nation which had iM'trayed such
hiHiile ais|xniitions towards himself, towards every thing
wlinh he dwms itie most sacred. It is
vain to propose
lirytations and exjiedienls.
Whatever share of authority
15 left in the duke’s hands, will be employed to the destruction of the nation ; and even the additional rcstnimis, by
discovering the public diffidence and aversion, will serve
him as incitements to put himself in a condition entirely
su|K.'rior ami independent.
And as the laws of EngLuid
still tnake resistance treason, and neither do nor can admit
of any |iosmve exceptions; what folly to leave the kingdom in so (lerilous and absuni a situ-ation ; where the
greatest virtue will be exj>oscd to the most severe proscription, and where the laws can only be saved by ext>edient5,
which these same laws have declared the higliesi crime and
enormity.
'riie court party reasoned in an opj>osilc manner.
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LXVUi.

authority, they said, wholly absolute ami uncontrollable is
a mere chimera, and is no whereto be found in any human
institutions.
All government is founded on opinion and a
sense of duly; and wlierever the supreme magistrate, by
any law or positive prescription, shocks an opinion reganled as fundamental, ami established with a firmness
txjual to that of his own aulhoritv, he subverts Uic principle by which he himself is established, and can no longer
ho|>e for obedience,
in European monarchies, the right
of succession is justly esteemed a fundamental ; and even
though the whore legislature be vested in a single person,
It would never be permuted him, by an edict, to disinherit
his lawful heir, ana call a stranger or more distant relation
to the throne.
Abuses
other lurts of goveniment are
capable of redness, from more aiNjiassionate inquiry or
bettor information of the sovenign, and till then ought
patiently to 1>e endured
but violations of the right of su^
cession draw such terrible consequences afier them as are
not to be paralleUrd by anv other gnevanoe or mconveni-

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that a law, asHcrited to by king, Lords, and
;
is enacted by the concurrence of every part of
the state
it is plain that there remains a very powerful
party, who may indccxl be out-vnied, but who never will
deem a law, subversive of hererlitary right, anywise valid
or obligatory.
Limitations, such as* are proposed by the
king, give no shock to the constitution, which, in many
particulars, is already limited ; and Uiey may be so calculaiwl a.H to serve every purpose sought lor by an exclusion.
If the ancient barriers against regal authority have been
ablt*. during so many ages, to remain impregnable; how

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and
f’ommons,
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much more these addition.al otk-s, which, by depriving the
monarch of |Kiwer, tend so far to their own security The
same jealousy too of rt-ligion, which has engaged the poople
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to lay these restraints u}>on tlie successor, will extremely
lessen the number of his partisans, and make it utterly
impracticable for him, either by force or artifice, to break
the filters imposed u|K>n him. The king’s age and vigor-

ous state of health promise him a long life and can it lie
prudent to tear in pieces the whole state, in order to provide against a contingency, which, it is very likely, may
never hapjien? No human schemes can secure the public
in all possible, imaginable events ; and the bill of exclusion
itself, however atx:uralely framed, leaves room for obvious
and natnrd suppositions, to which it pretends not to provide anv remi.*dy. Should the duke nave a son, after the
king's (fentli, must that S4in. wiihnul any deftiultof his own.
forfeit his title ? or must ine Princess of Orange descend
from the throne, in order to give place to the lawful successor? But were all these reasons false, it still remains to
be ronsidcretl that, in public delibcraiions, we seek not the
expe<lient which is liest in itself, but the best of such as
are practicable. The king willingly consents to limitatiuns, and has alrt'ady offered some which are of the utmost importance but he is determined to endure any extremity rather tliari allow the right of succession to be
ifo-adexl.
Let us beware of that factiou.s violence, which
leads to demand more than will be granted ; lest we lose
the advantage of those beneficial concessions, and leave
the nation, on the king’s demise, at the mercy of a zealous
pniK.e. irnlaterl with the ill usage which he imagines lie
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lias aircadv met with.
In the House of Commons, the reasoning of the exclumore convincing ; and the bill passed
by a great majority. It was in the House of Peers that
the king exjiecied to oppose it vnili success. The court
piu'iy was there so prevalent, that it was earned only by a
m.gonty of two, to pay so much regard to tlie hill as even
to commit it.
SVhen it came to lw> delated,
'
the ('oniesl was violent.
Shafti^burv, Sunderland, and Essex argued for it: Halifax chiefly conducted the debate against it, and displayed an extent of
capacity, and a force of cloqucnrx-, which had never been
.sur|iasscd in that assembly.
He was animated, as well
by the greatness of the occasion, as bv a rivuMiip with his
uncle Shaftesbury; whom, during that day’s debate, he

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the judgment of all, to have totally ecli{Mcd.
present during the whole delxite, which was
ckven at night, llie bill was E«fitui«ntrtn

The king was
prolonged

till

thrown out by a considerable majority.

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the bishops, except three, voted against it. Besides the influence of the court over them, the church of England, they imagined, or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery, which, though they durst not openly avow, the king was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation. The Commons discovered much ill-humour upon this disappointment. They immediately voted an address for the removal of his majesty from that presence for ever. Though the pretended cause was his advising the late frequent prorogations of parliament, the real reason was apparently his vigorous opposition to the exclusion bill. When the king applied for money to enable him to defend his country with his own person, and declared his revenues totally unable to defend; instead of complying, they voted such an address as was in reality a remonstrance, and one little less violent than that famous remonstrance, which ushered in the civil wars. All the abuses of government, from the beginning almost of the reign, are there insisted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogations and dissolutions of parliament; and all these measures, as well as the dismember and hellish plot, are there ascribed to the machinations of popish and papist, it was plainly insinuated that the king had, all along, lain under the influence of that party, and was in reality the chief conspirator against the religion and liberties of his people.

The Commons, though they conducted the great business of the exclusion with extreme violence and even impropriety, had yet much reason for the jealousy which gave rise to that address. Though the popular plot, even after so long an interval, discovers such a spirit, either of credulity or injustice, as admits of no apology. The imputation of the catholick lords in the Tower was revived; and as Viscount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was deemed the least capable of defending himself, it was determined to make him the first victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a second. This project was so well managed, and the chancellor, \*\* Nov.\* now created Earl of Nottingham, was appointed high steward for conducting the trial.

Three witnesses were produced against the prisoner; Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore, that he saw Foxwell, the Jesuit, deliver to Stafford a commission signed by De Oliva, general of the Jesuits, appointing him paymaster to the papal army, which was to be levied for the subduing of England: for which, the Commons, in a posture still maintained its stress with the Commons. Dugdale gave testimony, that the prisoner at Tilbury, a seat of Lord Aston's, had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king; and had given orders for his assassination, and presented the church, a reward of 500 pounds for that service. Turberville deposed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him a like proposal. To offer money for murder- ing a king, without laying down any scheme by which the assassin may insure some probability or possibility of escape, is so incredible in itself, and may so easily be maintained by any prostitute evidence, that an accusation of that nature, not accompanied with circumstances, ought very little to be attended to by any court of justice. But notwithstanding the small hold which the witnesses afforded, the prisoner was able, in many material particulars, to discredit their testimony. It was sworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had assisted in the great council of the catholics held at Tilbury; but Stafford proved, by undoubted testimony, that at the time assigned he was in Bath, and in that neighbourhood. Turberville had served a novitiate among the Dominicans; but having deserted the convent, he had enlisted as a trooper in the French army; and being dismissed that service, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and exposed to great poverty. Stafford proved, by the evidence of this gentleman and his patrons, that Turberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been seen in his company; and it might justly appear strange, that a person who had so important a secret in his keeping, was so long entirely depouched of it.

The clamour and outrage of the populace during the trial, were extreme: great abilities and eloquence were displayed by the managers, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Wintonning, and Serjeant Maynard. Yet did the prisoner, under all these disadvantages, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: the unequal contest, which he was engaged in, was enabled by the source of compassion to every mind seasoned with humanity. He represented that during a course of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, through many difficulties, and still maintained his loyalty; and was it credible, that now, in his old age, easy in his circumstances, but dispirited by infirmities, he would be the whole course of his life, and engage against his royal master, from whom he had ever received kind and beneficent attentions? This question was most bloody of all conspiracies! He remarked the infamy of the witnesses; the contradictions and absurdities of their testimony; the extreme inducement in which they had lived, though engaged, as they pretended, in a conspiracy with kings, princes, and nobles; the credit and opulence to which they were at present raised. With a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he still made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprise and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witnesses.

It will appear astonishing to us, as it did to Stafford himself, that the Peers, after a solemn trial of six days, should, by a majority of twenty-four voices, give sentence against him. He received, however, with resignation, the fatal verdict. God's holy name be praised, was the only exclamation which broke the profound silence of the house. Stafford, in a few words, told them that the Peers would intercede with the king for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, hanging and quartering, he burst into tears: but he told the Lords that he was moved to this weakness by his sense of their goodness, not by any terror of that fate which he was doomed to suffer.

It is remarkable that, after Charles, as is usual in such cases, had removed against Stafford's imprudence, the two sheriffs, Bothel and Cornish, indulging their own republican humour, and complying with the prevalent spirit of their party, ever jealous of monarchy, started a doubt with regard to the king's power of executing even this small degree of lenity. "Since he cannot pardon the whole," said they, "how can he have power to remit any part of the sentence?" They proposed the doubt to both Houses: the Peers pronounced it superfluous; and even the Commons, apprehensive lest a question of this kind might make way for Stafford's escape, gave this singular answer: "This House is content, that the sheriffs do execute William, late Viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his shoulders; and the King, in the name of the nation, is the sole judge of the form of the fury of the times, than that Lord Russell, notwithstanding the virtue and humanity of his character, seconded in the House this barbarous scourge of the sheriffs.

In the interval between the sentence and execution, many efforts were made to shake the resolution of the infirm and aged prisoner, and to bring him to some confession of the treason for which he was condemned. It was even rumoured, that he had confessed; and the jealous partizans, who, no doubt, had secretly, notwithstanding their credulity, entertained some doubts with regard to the reality of the popish conspiracy, expressed great triumph on this occasion. The consultation of the Peers, discovered many schemes, which had been hatched by himself and others for procuring a toleration to the catholics, at least a mitigation of the penal laws enacted against them; and he promised to the Peers that this was the sole treason of which he had ever been guilty. Stafford now prepared himself for death with the intrepidity which became his birth and station, and which was the natural result of the innocence and integrity which, during the course of a long life, he had ever maintained: his mind seemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppression under which he laboured. When going to execution, he called for a cloak to cover himself against the weather.

"Perhaps," said he, "I may shake with cold; but I trust in God, not for fear." On the scaffold he con-
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. [A. D. 1680.—CHAP. LXVIII.

...inured, with retracted and earnest asseverations, to make protestations of his innocence: all his fervour was exerted on that point: when he mentioned the witnesses, whose perjuries had bereaved him of life, his expressions were full of mildness and of eloquence. He solemnly disavowed all those immoral principles which over-zealous protestants had ascribed, without distinction, to the church of Rome: and he hoped, he said, that the time was now approached when such representations would be discredited; and when the force of truth, though late, would engage the whole world to make reparation to his injured honour.

Conspiring, who had applauded at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears at the sight of that tender fortitude which shone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans. With difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord!" These expressions, with a filtering accent, flowed from them.

The executioner himself was touched with sympa-thy. Twice he lifted up the axe, with an intent to strike the fatal blow; and as often felt his resolution to fail him. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort; and the lord for whom the executioners seemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor, no charm of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and doubt took possession of every heart, and displayed itself to every countenance.

This is the last blood which was shed on account of the popish plot: an incident which, for the credit of the nation, it was better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which is necessary to be recorded in the true annals of history, as to warn, if possible, their posterity and all mankind never again to fall into so shameful, so barbarous a delusion.

...the case of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country; but it contributed nothing to their power and security: an the contrary, by exciting commination, it tended still further to increase that disbelief of the whole plot, which began now to prevail. The Commons, therefore, not to lose the present opportunity, resolved to make both friends and enemies sensible of their power. They passed a bill for enacting the protestant dissenters, and for repealing the persecution statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: this laudable bill was likewise carried through the House of Peers. The chief justice was very obvious for dismissing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby disappointing that bold measure of Shaftesbury and his friends, who had presented him as a recusant. For this crime the Commons sent up an impeachment against him; as also against Jones and Weston, two of the judges, who, in some speeches from the bench, had gone so far as to give to many of the first reformers the appellation of fanatics.

The king, in rejecting the exclusion bill, had sheltered himself secretly behind the authority of the House of Peers; and the Commons had been deprived of the usual pretence, to attack the sovereign himself, under colour of attacking his ministers and counsellors. In prosecution, however, of the scheme which he had formed, of throwing the blame on the Commons in case of any rupture, he made them a new speech. After warning them, that a neglect of this opportunity would never be retrieved, he added these words: "I did promise you the fullest satisfaction, which your hearts could wish, for the security of the protestant religion, and to concur with you in any remedies which might consist with preserving the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent. I do again, with the same reservations, renew the same promise: but I hope you will not consider this as a part of that which can reasonably be expected from me. I should be glad to know from you, as soon as may be, how far I shall be assisted by you, and what it is you desire from me.

The most reasonable objection against the limitations proposed by the king, is, that they introduced too considerable an innovation in the government, and almost totally annihilated the power of the future monarch. But considering the present disposition of the Commons and their leaders, we may fairly presume, that this objection would have been attended more with weight with them, and their dis-trust against the court would rather incline them to diminish than support regal authority. They still hoped, from the king's urgent necessities and his usual facility, that he would throw himself wholly into their bands; and that for preventing his flight, and disgracing the duke, they might immediately render themselves absolute masters of the government. The Commons, Violence of the therefore, besides insisting still on the exclusion, proceeded to bring in it as an important, and some of them an alarming, nature: one to renew the triennial act, which had been so inadvertently repealed in the beginning of the reign: a second to make the office of judge during good behaviour: a third to declare the leasing of money without consent of parliament to be high treason: a fourth to order an association for the safety of his majesty's person, for defence of the protestant religion, for the preservation of the protestant subjects against all invasions and opposition whatsoever, and for preventing the Duke of York or any papist from succeeding to the crown. The memory of the covenant was too recent for men to overlook the consequences of such an association; and it was necessary, for the permanent support of such a bill, that it could not fail of recollecting a memorable foreign instance, to fortify this domestic experience.

The Commons also passed many votes, which, though they had not the authority of law, might yet remove the danger, and save the honour of the nation. They voted, that whoever had advised his majesty to refuse the exclusion bill, were promoters of popery, and enemies to the king and kingdom. In another vote, they named the drummers of Westminster, the Earl of Charendon, Faversham, and Halifax, Laurence Hyde, and Edward Seymour, as those dangerous enemies; and they requested his majesty to remove them from his person and councils for ever: they voted that the exclusion bill, if it could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any manner of supply. And lest he should be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government and preserve himself independent, they passed another vote, in which they declared that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon those branches of the king's revenue, arising from customs, excise, or hearth-money, should be judged by the sitting of parliament, and be responsible for the same in parliament.

The king might presume that the Peers, who had rejected the exclusion bill, would still continue to defend the crown of the dangerous bills, introduced into the other House, would ever be presented for the royal assent and approbation. But as there remained no hopes of bringing the Commons to any better temper, and as their further sitting served only to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation, he came secretly to a resolution of provoking them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to the door. Not to lose such precious time, they passed Dissolution of parliament. in a tumultuous manner some extraordinary resolutions. They voted, That whoever advised his majesty to provoke this parliament by any votes of the House of Commons on the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the king, of the protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promotor of the French interest, and a pensioner of France: That thanks be given to the city of London for their manifest loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preservation of the king, and of the protestant religion: That it is the opinion of this House, that the city was burned in the year 1666 by the papists, deputed to act in the execution of this power and popery into the kingdom: That humble application be made to his majesty for restoring the Duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which it appears to the House, he has had the misfortune of being relieved; and, That it is the opinion of the House, that the prosecution of the protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at that time grievous to the subject, a weakening
to the protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

The king passed some laws of no great importance: but at this time, he endeavoured to corrupt, by privately ordering the clerk of the crown not to present to him. By this artifice, which was equally disobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the same time implied some turns in the thist, that salari act was in the present event. The king had often of himself attempted, and sometimes by irregular means, to give indulgence to nonconformists: but besides this he had usually expected to comprehend the catholics in the same measure, and the separation between the sectaries had much incensed him against them; and he was resolved, if possible, to keep them still at mercy.

The last votes of the Commons seemed to be an attempt of forming indirectly an association against the crown, after they found that their association bill could not pass: the dissenting interest, the city, and the Duke of Monmouth, they endeavoured to connect with the country party. A civil war indeed never appeared so likely as at present; and it was high time for the king to dissolve a parliament, which seemed to have entertained such dangerous projects. Soon after, he summoned another. Though it was said that the city party had established their interest so strongly in all the electing boroughs, that he could not hope for any disposition more favourable in the new parliament, this expedition was still a prosecution of his former project, of trying every method by which he could render the city pliant and amenable to Commons: and if all failed, he hoped that he could persuade the better justic to his people, at least to his party, a final breach with them.

It had always been much regretted by the royalists, during the civil wars, that the long parliament had been assembled at Westminster, and had thereby received force and encouragement from the vicinity of a potent and factious interest. The king was therefore pleased with the Commons: and if all failed, he hoped that he could persuade the better justic to his people, at least to his party, a final breach with them. Though the king was now possessed of guards, which in some measure overawed the populace, he was determined still further to obviate all inconveniences; and he summoned the new parliament to meet at Oxford. The city of London showed how just judgment he had formed of their dispositions. Besides re-electing the same members, they voted thanks to them for their former behaviour, in endeavouring to discover the depth of the horrid and hellish plot, and to exclude the Duke of York, the principal cause of the ruin and misery impending over the nation. Monmouth with fifteen Peers presented a petition against assembling the parliament at Oxford, "where the people of England" was said, "could not be in safety: but would be easily exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept into his majesty's guards." These insinuations, which pointed so strongly to a policy of the king, he considered not only by their substance, but by numerous bands of their partizans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words, No protection for Englishmen: the king's guards to be mustered: his party likewise endeavoured to make a show of their strength: and on the whole, the assembly at Oxford rather bore the appearance of a tumultuous Polish diet, than of a regular English parliament.

The March, who had hitherto employed the most gracious expressions to all his parlia-

ments, particularly the two last, thought proper to address himself to the present in a more authoritative manner. He told the representatives of the body politic at Oxford, of the proceedings of the former House of Commons; and said that, as he would never use arbitrary government himself, neither would be ever suffer it in others. By calling, however, this parliament so soon, he had sufficiently shown that no past irregularities could inspire him with a prejudice against those assemblies. He now afforded another apology, open and avowed, for the public safety; and to all the world had given one evidence more, that on his part he had neglected the duty incumbent on him.

The Commons were next overawed by the magisterial air of the king's speech. They consisted almost entirely of the same members; they chose the same speaker; and they instantly fell into the same measures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the prosecuting statute of 1679, and the exclusion of the last. So violent were they on this last article, that no other expedition, however plausible, could so much as be hearkened to. Emley, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that on the king's demise the next heir should be constituted regent with recall power: yet even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not, though seconded by Sir Thomas Lyttleton and Sir Thomas Mompesson, obtain the attention of the House. The past disappointments of the country party, and the opposition made by the court, had only rendered them more saucy and more determined. No method but their own, of excluding the duke, could give them any satisfaction.

There was one Fitz-harris, an Irish catholic, Fitz-harris's who had insinuated himself into the Duchess of Portsmouth's promotion, and was very busy in conveying to her intelligence of any libel written by the country party, or of any designs entertained against her or against the court. For services of this kind, and perhaps two, from a regard to his father, Sir Edward Fitz-harris, who had been an eminent royalist, he had received from the king a present of 250 pounds. This man met with one Everard, a Scotchman, a spy of the exclusionists and an admirer of his plot: they resolved to write a libel against the king, the duke, and the whole administration. What Fitz-harris's intentions were, cannot well be ascertained: it is probable, as he afterwards asserted, that he meant to carry this libel to his patron, the Duchess, and to make a merit of the discovery. Ever-ward, who suspected some other design, and who was well pleased, on his side, to have the merit of a discovery with his patrons, resolved to betray his friend: he posted Sir William Waller, a noted justice of peace, and two persons more, behind the hangings, and gave them an opportunity of seeing and hearing the whole transaction. The libel, sketched out by Fitz-harris, and executed partly by him, partly by Everard, was most forcibly, though not without an outstretched performance imaginable; and such as was fitter to hurt than serve any party, which should be so imprudent as to adopt it. Waller carried the intelligence to the king; and, when he received a knighthood, was not calculated to persuade him, but to inflame the people.

The exclusionists might have concluded, both from the king's dissolution of the last parliament, and from his summoning of the present to meet at Oxford, that he was determined to maintain his declared resolution of rejecting their favourite bill: but they still flattered themselves that his urgent necessities would influence his easy temper, and finally gain them the ascendant. The leaders came over, and concluded not only by their sentiments, but by numerous bands of their partizans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words, No protection for Englishmen: the king's guards to be mustered: his party likewise endeavoured to make a show of their strength: and on the whole, the assembly at Oxford rather bore the appearance of a tumultuous Polish diet, than of a regular English parliament.

March 1681.

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ments, particularly the two last, thought proper to address himself to the present in a more authoritative manner. He told the representatives of the body politic at Oxford, of the proceedings of the former House of Commons; and said that, as he would never use arbitrary government himself, neither would be ever suffer it in others. By
expert at poisoning as her sister, the Countess of Soissons, would, with a little phial, execute that design; that upon the king's death, the army in Flanders was to come over and massacre the protagonists; that money was raised in Italy for recruits and supplies, and there should be no more parliaments; and that the duke was privy to this whole plan, and had even entered into the design of Godfrey's murder, which was executed in the manner related by the popular leaders.

The popular leaders, had, all along, been very desirous of having an accusation against the duke; and though Oates and Bedloe, in their first evidence, had not dared to go so far as to accuse the duchess and蒡; in some instances, they had encouraged to supply so material a defect, by comprehending him in the conspiracy. The Commons, therefore, finding that Fitzharris was also willing to serve this purpose, were not ashamed to adopt his evidence, and resolved for that end to save him from the destruction with which he was at present threatened. The king had removed him from the city-prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; had sent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be prosecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial and execution, an impeachment was voted by the Commons against him, and sent up to the Lords. That they might more effectually content the court, they ordered it by way of derision, that the impeachment should be carried up by Secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; though being threatened with the commitment of his own men, was induced to comply. The Lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitzharris. The Commons, however, continued, that the Pains were obliged to receive every impeachment from the Commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal; they therefore voted, that the Lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied justice, and was a contempt of the Commons. They also declared, that whatever inferior court should proceed against Fitz-Harris, or any one that lay under impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to ensue; and as the king saw no appearance of any better temper in the Commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel between the two Houses; and proceeded to a dissolution of parliament. The secret was so well kept, that the Commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their door, and summoned them to attend the king at the house of Peers.

There was no regular measure, though it might have been foreseen, expected such astonishment in the country party, as deprived them of all spirit, and reduced them to absolute despair. They were sensible, though too late, that the king had finally taken his resolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than submit to those terms which they had resolved to impose upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs should come to full maturity; and having now engaged a national party on his side, had boldly set his enemies at defiance: no parliament, they knew, would be summoned for some years; and during that long interval, the court, though perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet being possessed of all authority, would have every advantage to dispurse and disunite. These reflections crowed upon every one; and all the exclusionists were terrified, lest Charles should follow the blow by some action more violent. They were alarmed by what they saw for a long and obstinate opposition to his measures. The king, on his part, was no less apprehensive lest despair might prompt them to have recourse to force, and make some sudden attempt upon his person. Both parties therefore hurried on their preparations; and at length, such a crowd was left, in its usual emptiness and tranquility. The court party gathered force from the dispersion and absorption of their antagonists, and adhered more firmly to the king, whose resolutions, they now saw, could be entirely depended on. The volucres of the opposing party, exclusionists were every where exclaimed

against and aggravated; and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was openly called in question. The clergy especially were busy in this great revolution, and being menaced, partly by their own fears, partly by the insinuations of the king, which should be no more their antagonists as sectaries and republicans, and rejoiced in escaping these perils, which they believed to have been hanging over them. Principles the most opposite to civil liberty were every where to be heard; and, adopted in numerous addresses; where the king was flattered in his present measures, and congratulated on his escape from parliaments. Could words have been certainty that the king had contributed nothing to his escape from, and that nothing could be depended upon, which came from one so corrupt, and so lost to all sense of honour; yet were they inclined, from his perseverance, to rely somewhat more on his veracity in these last assurances. But it appears that his wife had some connexions with Mrs. Wall, the favourite maid of the Duchess of Portsmouth: and Fitzharris hoped, if he persisted in a story agreeable to the court, that some favour might, on that account, be shown to be a非常的 plot, or sham-plot,
as they were then called, with which the court, it was imagined, had endeavoured to load their adversaries. 4

The country party had intended to make use of Fitz-harris's evidence against the duke and the catholics; and his execution was the great tendon of it; but the king and his ministers were resolved not to be contended with so slender an advantage. They were determined to pursue the victory, and to employ against the exclusionists those very offensive arms, however unfair, which that party, in their anxiety to appease their adversaries. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the ministers. To the disgrace of the court and of the ace, they were received with hearty welcome; and their testimony, or rather perjury, made use of in order to commit legal murder upon the opposite party. With an air of triumph and derision it was asked, 4 Are not these men good witnesses, who have established the popish plot, upon whose testimony Stafford and so many catholics have been executed, and whom you yourselves have so long supported in your capacity of credit and veracity? You have admitted them into your bosom: they are best acquainted with your treasons; they are determined to accommodate a shape to serve their king and country; and, to that same effect, whenever they are meted to others, should now, by a righteous doom or vengeance, be measured out to you. 4

It is certain, that the principle of retaliation may serve to some cases as a full apology, in others as so alleviation, for a conduct which would otherwise be exposed to great blame. But these infamous arts, which poison justice in its very source, and break all the bands of human society, are so detestable and dangerous, that no pretence of retaliation can be pleaded as an apology or even an alleviation of the crime incurred by them. On the contrary, the greater indignation the king and his ministers felt, when formerly exposed to the perjuries of abandoned men, the more reluctance should they now have discovered against employing the same instruments of vengeance upon their antagonists.

The first person, on whom the ministers fell, was one College, a London joineer, who had become extremely noted for his zeal against popery, and was much connected with Shaftesbury and the leaders of the country party: for as they relied much upon the populace, men of College's rank and station were useful to them. College had been in the council of state; and to prevent the exclusion of the whole of the parliament; and this was made the foundation of his crime. It was pretended that a conspiracy had been entered into to seize the king's person, and detain him in execution, and plant difficulties in the way of conducting him to the sheriffs of London. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and it was not strange, that the grand jury named by them rejected the bill against College. The prisoner was therefore sent to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed. Lord Norris, a courtier, was sheriff of the county; and the inhabitants were in general devoted to the court party. A jury was named, consisting entirely of royalists; and though they were men of credit and character, yet such was the factious rage which prevailed, that little justice could be expected by the prisoner. Some papers, containing hints and directions for his defence, were taken from him, as he was conducted to his trial: an injustice, which some pretended to justify by alleging, that a like violence had been practised against a prisoner during the fury of the popish plot. Such wild notions of retaliation were at that time propagated by the court party. Many witnesses produced against College were Dugdale, Turville, Haynes, Smith; men who had before given evidence against the catholics; and whom the jury, for that very reason, regarded as the most perjured villains. College, though beset with so many toils, was opposed with so many inquities, defended himself with spirit, courage, capacity, presence of mind; and he invalidated the evidence of the crown, by convincing arguments and undoubtedly testimony: yet did the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, bring in a verdict against him. The inhuman spectators received the verdict with a shout of applause: but the prisoner was nowise dismayed. At his execution, more than 100,000 came to witness the scene of his punishment, and the crime imputed to him. His whole conduct and demeanour prove him to have been a man led astray only by the fury of the times, and to have been governed by no honest, but indiscriminate zeal for his country and his religion.

Thus the two parties, actuated by insatiable rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poisoned daggers the most deadly blows against each other's breast, and buried in their factious divisions all regard to truth, honour, and humanity. 4

CHAP. LXIX.

State of affairs in Ireland.—Shakespeare acquitted.—Asquith's trial.—State of affairs in Scotland.—State of the ministry in England.—New nominations of sheriffs.—The narrator's great power of the crown.—A conspirator.—Shakespeare return and dies—Byrnes house plot—Conspiracy discovered—Execution of the conspirators.—The trial of the whole—Execution.—Trial of Algernon Sidney.—His execution.—State of the nation.—State of foreign affairs.—The king's sickness and death.—And character.

When the cabal entered into the mysterious alliance with France, they took care to remove the Duke of Ormond from the committee of foreign affairs; and nothing tended further to increase the national jealousy, entertained against the new minister, than to see a man of so much loyalty, as well as probity and honour, excluded from public councils. They had even so great interest with the king as to get Ormond recalled from the government of Ireland; and Lord Goodwood, afterwards Earl of Radnor, succeeded him in that important employment. Lord Berkeley succeeded Roberts; and the Earl of Essex, Berkeley. At last, in the year 1677, Charles cast his eye again upon Ormond, whom he had so long neglected; and sent him over lieutenant to Ireland. "I have done every thing," said the king, "to disoblige that man; but it is not in my power to make him my enemy." Ormond, during his disgrace, had never joined the malecontents, nor encouraged those clamours, which, with too much reason, but often for bad purposes, were raised against the king's measures. He even thought it his duty, regularly, though with dignity, to pay his court at Whitehall; and to preserve the state of his court, and the dignity, inclination, and principle, not on any temporary advantages. All the expressions, which dropped from him, while neglected by the court, showed more of good humour, than the most perjured villains, and threw no aspersion upon the king, who did you no service," said he to his friends. "I have only the power left by my applications to do you some hurt." When Colonel Cary Dillson solicited him to second his pretensions for an office, and urged that he had no friends but God and his grace: "Alas! poor Cary," replied the duke, "I pity thee: thou couldst not have two friends that possess less interest at court." "I am thrown by," said he on another occasion, "like an old rustick clock; yet even that neglected machinie, twice in twenty-four hours, points right."

On such occasions, when Ormond, from decency, paid his attendance at court, the king, equally ashamed to show him civility and to neglect him, was abashed and confounded. "Sir," said the profligate Buckingham, "I wish to know whether it be the Duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty with the Duke of Ormond; for, of the two, you seem the most out of countenance."

When Charles found it his interest to show favour to the old royalists, and to the church of England, Ormond, who was much revered by that whole party, could not fail of recovering, together with the attendant court, the esteem of Ireland, his former credit and authority. His administration, when lord lieutenant, corresponded to the general tenor of his life; and tended equally to promote the interests of prince
and people, of protestant and catholic. Ever firmly attached to the established religion, he was able, even during those jealous times, to escape suspicion, though he gratified not vulgar prejudices by any persecution of the popish party. The revenue of Ireland to three hundred thousand pounds a-year: he maintained a regular army of ten thousand men; he supported a well-disciplined militia of twenty thousand; and though the act of settlement, so far as men informed, that catholics were not permitted to live in corporate towns, they were guarded with so careful an eye, that the most timorous protestant never apprehended any danger from them.

The objective of Essex's ambition was to return to the station of lord lieutenant, where he had behavied with honour and integrity: Shaftesbury and Buckingham bore an extreme hatred to Ormond, both from personal and party considerations: the great aim of the anti-courtiers was to throw reflections on every part of the king's government. It could be no surprise, therefore, to the lord lieutenant to learn, that his administration was attacked in parliament, particularly by Shaftesbury; but lie had the satisfaction, at the same time, to hear of the keen, though polite, defence, made by his son, the generous Ossory. After justifying several particulars of Ormond's administration against that intriguing patriot, Ossory proceeded in the following words: "Having seen what the actual lieutenant has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking of the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he never advised the declaration of war; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and the joining with France: he was not the author of that most excellent position, Delenda est Carthago, that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interests of England, be totally destroyed. I beg that your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father and all men, according to their actions and their counsels." These few sentences, pronounced by a plain gallant soldier, produced a surprising effect upon the audience, and confounded all the rhetoric of his eloquent and factious adversary. The Prince of Orange, who extolled the former character as much as he despised the latter, could not forbear congratulating by letter the Earl of Ossory on this new species of victory which he had obtained.

Ossory, though he ever kept at a distance from faction, was the most popular man in the kingdom; though he never made any compliance with the court, he was beloved and respected by the king. A universal grief appeared on his death, which happened about this time, and which the populace, as is usual wherever there is a shock, was likely to interpret with sorrow. Ossory bore the loss with patience and dignity: though he ever retained a pleasing, however melancholy, sense of the signal merit of Ossory. "I would not exchange my dead son," said he, "for any living son in Christendom."

These particulars may appear a digression; but it is with pleasure, I own, that I relax myself for a moment in the contemplation of these humane and virtuous characters, amidst that scene of fury and faction, fraud and violence, in which at present our narration has unfortunately engaged us.

Besides the general interest of the country party to destroy the conduct of all the king's ministers, the prudent and peaceful administration of Ormond was in a particular manner displeasing to them. In England, where the catholics were scarcely one to a hundred, means had been found to excite a universal panic, on account of insurrection, sedition, and tumults, projected by that sect; and it could not but seem strange that in Ireland, where they exceeded the protestants six to one, there should be no symptoms appear of any combination or conspiracy. Such an incident, when duly considered, might even in England be viewed with credit of the plot, and diminish the authority of such leaders, who had so long, with such industry, inculcated the belief of it on the nation. Rewards, therefore, were published in Ireland to any that would bring intelligence or become witnesses; and some proffirates were sent over to that kingdom, with a commission to seek out evidence against the catholics. Under pretence of searching for arms or papers, they broke into houses, and plundered them: they threw innocent men into prison, and took precautions for the safety of others, with such difficulty that the country, commonly fertile enough in witnesses, could furnish them with any fit for their purpose.

At last, one Fitzgerald appeared, followed by Ive, Sanvon, Dennis, Bourke, two Macnamara, and some others. These men were immediately sent over to England; and though they possessed neither character sufficient to gain the respect of their associates, nor intelligence sufficient to work credit with them, they were caressed, rewarded, supported, and recommended by the Earl of Shaftesbury. Oliver Plunket, the titular primacie of Ireland, a man of peaceable dispositions, was condemned and executed upon such testimony. And the Oxford parliament entered so far into the matter as to vote, that they were entirely satisfied in the reality of the horrid and damnable Irish plot. But such decisions, though at first regarded as infallible, had now lost much of their authority; and the public still remained somewhat indifferent and incredulous.

After the dissolution of the parliament, and the subsequent victory of the royalists, Shaftesbury's evidences, with their periodical attacks on the new ministers, and gave information of high treason against their former patron. It is sufficiently scandalous, that intelligence, conveyed by such men, should have been attended to; but there is some reason to think, that the court agents, now displayed, were more interested in the matter, and were active in endeavouring, though in vain, to find more reputable persons to support the blasted credit of the Irish witnesses. Shaftesbury was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the grand jury. The new sheriffs of London, Shute and Pilkington, were engaged as deeply as their predecessors in the country party; and they took care to name a jury devoted to the same cause: a precaution quite necessary, when it was scarcely possible to find men indifferent or attached to either party. As far as swearing could go, the treason was clearly proved against Shaftesbury; or rather so clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. Shaftesbury that veteran leader of a party, nursed from his earliest a hatred to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening without reserve his treasonable intentions to these obscure banditti, and throwing out such abundant views of the king, as none but men of low education, like themselves, could be supposed to employ. The draft of an association, it is true, against popery and the duke, was found in Shaftesbury's lodgings, after his execution; but he might be drawn from many clauses of that paper. But it did not appear, that it had been framed by Shaftesbury, or so much as approved by him. And as projects of an association had been proposed in parliament, it was very natural for this nobleman, or his correspondents, to be thinking of some plan, which it might be proper to lay before that assembly. The grand jury, therefore, after weighing all these circumstances, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, testified their joy by the loudest acclamations, which were echoed throughout the whole city.

About this time a scheme of oppression was laid in Scotland, after a manner still more flagrant, against a nobleman much less obnoxious than Shaftesbury; and as that country was reduced to a state of almost total subjection, the project had the good fortune to succeed.

The Earl of Argyll, from his youth, had distinguished himself by his loyalty, and had attempted a strong attachment to the royal family. Though his father was head of the coventeners, he himself refused to concur in any of their measures; and when a commission of colonel was given him to enter the execution of some measure, he acted upon it, till it should be ratified by the king. By his respectful behaviour, as well as by his services, he made himself acceptable to Charles, when that prince was in Scotland; and even after the battle of Worcester, all the
misfortunes which attended the royal cause, could not en-
geage him to desert it. Under Middleton, he obstinately persevered to harass and infest the victorious English; and it was not till he received orders from that general, that he would submit to accept of a capitulation. Such jealousy of his, and the peril he was under, of the treachery of some commercial interests, wealth and protector, that a pretence was soon after fallen upon to commit him to prison; and his confinement was rigorously continued till the restoration. The king, sensible of the necessity of having men of his friends to help him, pardoned Argyle, and created him Earl of Argyle; and when a most unjust sentence was passed upon him by the Scottish parliament, Charles had anew remitted it. In the subsequent part of this reign, Argyle behaved himself most piously; and though he seemed not disposed to go all lengths with the court, he was always present, even in his opposition, to be a moe of timid dispositions and peaceable deportment.

A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh this summer, and the duke was appointed commissioner. Besides granting money to the king, and voting the indefeasible right of succession, this parliament enacted a test, which all persons, possessed of offices, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, were bound to take. To this test, the king's subscription was, the covenant renounced, passive obedience asserted to, and all obligations disclaimed of endeavouring any alteration in civil or ecclesiastical establishments. This was the state of the test, as proposed by the courtiers; but the parliament was not satisfied with it, which could not without decency be refused, expressing the person's adherence to the protestant religion. The whole was of an enormous length, considered as an oath; and what was worse, a confession of faith was there ratified, which had been imposed a little after the Reformation, and which contained many articles altogether forgotten by the parliament and nation. Among others, the doctrine of resistance was inculcated; so that the test, being voted in a hurry, was found on examination to be a medley of contradiction and absurdity. Several persons, the most attached to the crown, scrupled to take it; the bishops and many of the clergy renounced it; the Earl of Queensberry refused to swear, except he might be allowed to add an explanation; and even the privy council thought it necessary to publish, for general satisfaction, a solution of some difficulties attending the test.

Though the courtiers could not reject the clause of adhering to the protestant religion, they proposed, as a necessary mark of respect, that all princes of the blood should be exempted from taking the oath. This exception was negatived; but the king never assented to the test. Any such danger to be dreaded for the protestant religion must proceed from the perseverance of the royal family. By insisting on such topics, he drew on himself the secret indignation of the duke, of which he soon felt the fatal consequences.

When Argyle took the test, he did it also under the subjoin'd, in the duke's presence, an explanation, which he had before-hand communicated to that prince, and which he believed to have been approved by him. It was in these words: "I have considered the test, and am very desirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident that the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths; therefore, I think, no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it as far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind myself, in my station, and in a lawful way, from wishing and endeavouring any alteration, which I think to be the advantage of church or state, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and my loyalty: and this I understand as a part of my oath." The duke, as was natural, heard these words with great tranquillity; no one took the least offence: Argyle was admitted to sit that day in council; and it was impossible to imagine that a capital offence had been committed, where occasion seemed not to have been given, so much as for a frown or reprimand.

The duke, however, a few days after, to find that a warrant was issued for committing him to prison; that he was indicted for high treason, leasing-making, and perjury; and that from these innocent words an accusation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit honours, life, and fortune. It is needless to enter into particulars, where the injustice of the whole is so apparent. Though the sword of justice was displayed, even her semblance was not put on; and the forms alone of law were preserved, in order to sanction some unconstitutional power. Of five judges, three did not scruple to find the guilt of treason and leasing-making to be incurred by the prisoner: a jury of fifteen noblemen gave verdict against him: and the execution of the sentence was pronounced; but the execution of it to be suspended till further orders.

It was pretended by the duke and his creatures, that Argyle's life and fortune were not in any danger, and that the sole reason for pushing the trial to such extremities against him, was in order to make him renounce some hereditary jurisdictions, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the highlands, and obstructed the course of public justice. But allowing the end to be justifiable, the means were infamous; and such as were incompatible, not only with a free but a civilised government. Argyle had therefore no reason to trust any longer to the justice or to the integrity of such enemies: he made his escape from prison, and till he should find a ship for Holland, he concealed himself during some time in London. The king heard of his lurking-place, but would not allow him to be arrested. All the parts, however, of his sentence, as far as the govenor in Scotland, were duly performed and executed; his estate confiscated, his arms reversed and torn.

It would seem, that the genuine passion State of affairs for liberty was at this time totally extinguished in Scotland; there was only preserved a spirit of mutiny and sedition, encouraged by a mistaken zeal for religion. Cameron and Cargil, two furious preachers, went a step beyond all their brethren: they publicly excommunicated the king for his tyranny, and breach of the covenant; and they renounced all allegiance to him. Cameron was killed by the troops in an action at Armissos; Cargil was taken and hanged. Many of their followers were tried and convicted. Their lives were offered them if they would say, God save the king; but they would only agree to pray for his repentance. This obstinacy was much insisted on as an apology for the rigours of the administration: but if duly considered, it will rather afford reason for a contrary inference. Such an unhappy delusion is an object rather of commination than of anger: and it is almost impossible that men could have been carried to such a degree of frenzy, unless provoked by a long train of violence and oppression.

As the king was master in England, and A. D. 1603. no longer dreaded the clanneries of the country party, he permitted the duke to pay him a visit; and James soon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his being elected a part in the new parliament. The duke went to Scotland, in order to bring up his family, and settle the government of that country; and he chose to take his passage by sea. The ship struck on a sand-bank, and was lost: the duke escaped in the barge; and it is pretended that, while many persons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the rest Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to save several of his dogs and priests: for these two species of favourites are coupled together by some writers. It has likewise been asserted, that the barge might safely have held more persons, and that some who swam to it were thrust off, and even their hands cut, in order to disengage them. But every action of every eminent person, during this period, is so liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented by faction, that we ought to be very cautious in passing judgment on too slight evidence. It is remarkable, that the sailors on board the ship, though they felt themselves sinking, and saw inevitable death before their eyes, yet, as soon as they observed the duke to be in safety, gave a loud shout, in testimony of their joy and satisfaction.

The duke, during his absence in Scotland, had behaved with great civility towards the gentry and nobility; and by his counsly demeanour had much won upon their affections: but his treatment of the enthusiasm was still some-
what rigorous; and in many instances he appeared to be a man of a scree, if not an unrelenting temper. It is even asserted, that he sometimes assailed at the torture of criminals, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were considering a game. He left the impression
then in the hands of the Earl of Abercorn, chancellor, and the Earl of Queensberry, treasurer. A very arbitrary spirit appeared in their administration; a gentleman of the name of Weir was tried, because he had kept company with some low people in the town; but that point had never been marked out by process or proclamation. The inferences upon which Weir was condemned (for a prosecution by the government and a condemnation were in those days the same thing) but taking the following manner: no man, it was supposed, could have been in a rebellion without being exposed to suspicion in the neighbourhood; if the neighbourhood had suspected him, it was to be presumed that each individual had likewise heard of the grounds of suspicion: every man was bound to declare to the government his suspicion against every man, and to avoid the company of traitors; to fail in this duty was to participate in the treason: the conclusion on the whole was, You have conversed with a rebel; therefore you are yourself a rebel. A reviurew was, with some difficulty, procured for Weir; but it was seriously determined to make use of the precedent. Courts of Castle, which were erected in the thirteen and west nine counties, and a strict inquisition carried on against this new species of crime. The term of three years was appointed for the continuance of these courts; after which any new representation having to be taken, the test, was instantly entitled to the benefit of this indemnity. The presbytery, alarmed with such tyranny, from which no man could deem himself safe, began to think of leaving the country, and some of those agents were sent to England, in order to treat with the proprietors of Carolina for a settlement in that colony. Any condition seemed preferable to their living in their native country, which, by the prevalence of persecution and violence, was become as insecure to them as a den of robbers.

Above two thousand persons were outlawed on pretence of their conversing or having intercourse with rebels; and they were continually hunted in their retreat by soldiers, spurs, informers, and oppressive magistrates. It was usual to put insinuating questions to people living peaceably in their own houses; such as, "Will you renounce the covenant? Do you esteem the rising at Bothwell to be rebellious? Is the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrews a murder?" And when the poor deluded creatures refused to answer, capital punishments were inflicted on them. Even women were brought to the gibbet for this pretended crime, and murder was fastened on by public prosecution, had published a sedition declaration; renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart, whom they called, as they, for their parts, had indeed some reason to esteem him, a tyrant. This incident afforded the privy-council a pretext for an unusual kind of oppression. Soldiers were dispersed over the country, and power was given to all commission-officers, even the lowest, to oblige every one they met with to abjure the declaration; and upon refusal, instantly, without further questions, to shoot the delinquent. It were endless, as well as shocking, to enumerate all the instances of persecution, or in other words, of absurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scotland. One reason, however, is so singular, that I cannot forbear relating it.

Three women were seized; and the customary oath was tendered to them, by which they were to swear above five oaths, and that they had been, together with five women, and were condemned to a capital punishment by drowning. One of them was an elderly woman: the other two were young; one eighteen years of age, the other only thirteen. Even these violent persecutors were ashamed to put the youngest to death by the other means given them, and were condemned to a capital punishment by drowning. The two younger were conducted to the place of execution, and were tied to stakes within the sea-mark at low-water: a contrivance which rendered their death lingering and dreadful. The elderly woman was placed furthest in, and by the rising of the waters was first suffocated. The younger, partly terrified with the view of her companion's death, partly subdued by the entreaty of her friends, was prevailed with to abjure the declaration. As she was determined to make the spectators call out that she had submitted; she was commanded to stand up to the stake. Major Winram, the officer who guarded the execution, again required her to sign the abjuration; and upon her refusal, he ordered her instantly to be plunged in the water. Although that punishment had never been marked out by process or proclamation.

The severity of the administration in Scotland is in part to be ascribed to the duke's temper, to whom the king had consigned over the government of that country, and who gave submission to actions as to allow nothing of moment to escape him. Even the government of England, from the same cause, began to be somewhat infected with the same severity. The duke's credit was great at court. Though neither so much beloved nor esteemed as the king, he was more dreaded; and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a submission more obsequious, was paid to him. The saying of Waller was remarked, that Charles, in spite of the parliament, who had determined that the duke should not succeed the king, was resolved that he should reign even in his life-time.

The king, however, who loved to maintain a balance in his counsels, still supported Haddington, whom he created a duke, in order to oppose the king. This man, who possessed the finest genius and most extensive capacity of all employed in public affairs during the reign, was determined to turn the country against his party, and was esteemed the head of that small body known by the denomination of Trimmers. This conduct, which is more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not, however, please him the former character; and he was always, with reason, regarded as an intriguer rather than a patriot. Sunderland, who had promoted the exclusion bill, and who had been displaced on that account, was again, with the duke's consent, brought into the administration. The extreme duplicity, at least varia-

blesiness, of this man's conduct, through the whole course of his life, made it be suspected that it was by the king's direction he had mixed with the country party. Hyde, created Earl of Rochester, was first commissioner of the treasury, and was entirely in the duke's interests.

The king himself was obliged to act as the head of a party; a disagreeable situation for a prince, and always the cause of much repression. He knew how monstrous the dissenters were to the church, and he resolved, contrary to the maxims of toleration which he had hitherto supported in England, to gratify his friends by the establishment of conformity. The two parties were now rigorously executed; an expedient which, the king knew, would diminish neither the numbers nor influence of the nonconformists; and which is therefore to be deemed more the result of passion than of policy.Securely any persecution serves the intended purpose but such as amounts to a total extermination.

Though the king's authority made every day great advances, it still met with considerable obstacles, chiefly from the city, which was entirely in the hands of the malcontents. The juries, in particular, named the sheriffs, were not likely to be impartial judges between the crown and the people; and, after the experiments already made, in the case of Stair, the situation of that of College, treason it was apprehended might there be committed with impunity. There could not therefore be a more important service to the court than to put affairs to a change. Lord Chancellor Jenkinson, who had been so long an employee of the Duke, was again made Lord Chancellor, and the Duke, by the influence of his friends, carried with him a strong party. That being lately returned from Turkey, he was, on account of his recent experience, better qualified to serve the purposes of the court. A poll was opened for the election of another
Charles II.

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Sheriff; and here began the contest. The majority of the common hall, headed by the two sheriffs of the former year, refused to acknowledge the mayor's right of appointing one sheriff, but insisted that both must be elected by the livery. Papillon and Dubos were the men that the common hall and their Protestant subjects, it is said, elected: Box was pointed out by the couriers. The poll was opened; but as the mayor would not allow the election to proceed for two vacancies, the sheriffs and he separated. The county, one of the expense party, who voted with the sheriffs for Papillon and Dubos, were much more numerous than those who voted with the mayor for Box: but as the mayor insisted, that his election was necessary, to remove the danger of a new court, the poll was duly held all difficulties, however, were not surmounted. Box, apprehensive of the consequences which might attend so dubious an election, fined off; and the mayor found it necessary to proceed to a new choice. When the matter was proposed to the common hall, a loud cry was raised, No election! No election! The two sheriffs already elected, Papillon and Dubos, were insisted on as the only legal magistrates. But as the mayor still maintained, that the elections of 1678 had been legally obtained, and that it was now requisite to supply his place, he opened books anew; and during the tumult and confusion of the citizens, a few of the mayor's partisans elected Rich, who was confirmed in the election by the lawyers. North and Rich were accordingly sworn in sheriffs for the ensuing year; but it was necessary to send a guard of the train-bands to protect them in entering upon their office.

25th Oct.

The next day, after chosen, by means, as it is pretended, still more violent and irregular.

Thus the country party were disgusted from their strong hold in the city, where, even since the commencement of factions in the English government, they had, without interruption, almost without molestation, maintained a superiority. It had been happy, had the partialities, hitherto opposed to the law, been corrected, without giving place to partialities of an opposite kind. But in the present distracted state of the nation, an equitable neutrality was almost impossible to be attained. The court and church party, who were now named on jurors, made justice subservient to their factious views; and the king had a prospect of obtaining full revenge on his enemies. It was not long before the effects of these altercations were seen. When it was first reported, that the duke intended to leave Scotland, the gentlemen set about the country party for the expense, it being a very violent man, had broken out in these terms, "He has already burned the city, and is now coming to cut all our throats!" For these scandalous expressions, the duke sued Papillon and Dubos, as damages, for 100,000 pounds, were decreed against him. By the law of England, ratified in the great charter, no fine or damages ought to extend to the total ruin of a criminal. Sir Patience was procured to swear a declaration of a certain Mr. Walker, who was accused for perjury and condemned to the pillory: a severe sentence, and sufficient to deter all witnesses from appearing in favour of those who were prosecuted by the court.

A.D. 1663.

But though the crown bad obtained so great a victory in the city, it was not quite decisive; and the contest might be renewed every year at the election of magistrates. An important measure therefore, not only to make the king master of the city, but by that precedent to gain him uncontrollable influence in all the corporations of England, and thereby give the greatest wound to the legal constitution, which the most powerful arbitrary monarchs had ever yet been able to inflict. A writ of quo warranto was issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of its charter. It was pretended, that the city had thereby of its own free will, and out of desire to be declared no longer a corporation, on account of two offences which the city of aldermen and common council had committed. After the great fire in 1666, all the marks of property and the public buildings, not only to be fitted up with many conveniences; and, in order to defray the expense, the magistrates had imposed a small toll on goods brought to market: in the year 1679, the king addressed the

against the prorogation of parliament, and had employed the following terms:—Your petitioners are greatly surprised at the late prorogation, whereby the prosecution of the public justice of the kingdom, and the making of necessary provisions for the preservation of your majesty's peace, and for the punishment of the offenders is withheld. These words were pretended to contain a scandalous reflection on the king and his measures. The cause of the city was defended against the attorney and solicitor generals by Treby and Papillon. These last pleaded, that, since the foundation of the monarchy, no corporation had ever yet been exposed to forfeiture, and the thing itself implied an absurdity: that no corporation, as such, was incapable of being a public offence, and none were answerable for any inquity but the persons themselves who committed it: that the members, in choosing magistrates, bad intrusted them with legal powers only; and where the magistrates exceeded these powers, their acts were void, but could never involve the body itself in any criminal imputation: that such had ever been the practice of England, except at the reformation, when the monasteries were abolished; but this was not an extraordinary case; and it was even thought necessary to ratify afterwards the whole transaction by act of parliament: that corporate bodies, framed for public good, and calculated for perpetual duration, ought not to be arbitrary faults of the law, to which they might themselves, without hurting the community, be questioned for their offences: that even a private estate, if entailed, could not be forfeited to the crown, on account of treason committed for the ancestor; and the same demesne went to the next in remainder: that the offences, objected to the city, far from deserving so severe a punishment, were not even worthy of the smallest reprehen sion: that the corporation were invested with rights of making by-laws; and the smallest borough in England bad ever been allowed to carry the exercise of this power further than London had done in the instance complained of: that the city, having, at its own expense, repaired the markets, which were built upon its own estate, might as lawfully claim a small recompense from such as brought commodities thither, as a man might require rent for a house of which he was possessed: that those who disliked the condition might abstain from the market; and whoever paid, had done it voluntarily: that it was an arrows right of the subjects to petition; nor had the city in their address abused this privilege: that the king himself had often declared, that parliament ought to be in danger to be in danger from the popish plot; which, it is evident, could not be fully prosecuted but in a parliamentary manner; that the impeachment of the popish lords was certainly obstructed by certain prerogatives; as was also the enacting of necessary laws, and the defence of the nation: that the loyalty of the city, no less than their regard to self-preservation, might prompt them to frame the petition; since it was acknowledged, that the king's life was every moment exposed to the most imminent danger from the popish conspiracy; that the city had not accused the king of obstructing justice, much less of having any such intention; since it was allowed, that evil counsellors were alone answerable for all the pernicious consequences of any measure: and that it was unaccountable, that two public deeds which had not, during so long a time, subjected to any, even the smallest penalty, the persons offending therein, should now be punished so severely upon the corporation, which always was, and always must be, innocent.

It is evident, that those who would apologize for the measure, and made the case, that in this case, found their arguments not on law, but reasons of state. The judges, therefore, who condemned the city, are inexcusable; since the sole object of their determinations must be to uphold the pure principles of justice and equity. But the office of judge was at that time held during pleasure; and it was impossible that any cause, where the court bent its force, could ever be carried against it. After sentence was pronounced, the city applied in an humble manner to the king, and he was about to restitute their charter, but in return they were obliged to submit to the following regulations: that no mayor, sheriff, recorder,
common serjeant, town clerk, or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office without his majesty's appointment; that if in any faction the Twice of the mayor or sheriffs elected, he may by commission appoint these magistrates; that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majesty's leave, dispense any magistracy; and that no alderman, in the presence of a vacancy, shall be elected without consent of the court of aldermen, who, if they disapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

All the corporations in England, having power by a special act of parliament, were moved to see how vain it would prove to contend with the court, and were, most of them, successively induced to surrender their charters into the king's hands. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring the charters; and all offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. It seems strange, that the independent royalists, who never meant to make the crown absolute, should yet be so elated with the victory obtained over their adversaries, as to approve of the step, which left no national privileges in security, but enabled the king, under like pretences, and by means of like instruments, to recall anew all those charters, which at present he was pleased to grant. And every friend to liberty must allow, that the nation, whose constitution was thus broken in the shock of faction, had a right, by every prudent expedient, to recover that security of which it was so unhappily bereaved.

The faction adhering to the crown, it is apparent, that resistance, however justifiable, could never be prudent; and all wise men saw no expedient but peaceably to submit to the present grievances. There was, however, a remote and insidious meditations evident in this disposition, that, even before this last iniquity, which laid the whole constitution at the mercy of the king, they had meditated plans of resistance; at a time when it could be as easily as practicable to carry them in execution. In the short time before the Oxford parliament, the king was seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave great alarm to the public. The Duke of Monmouth, a conspiracy, headed by Lord Russell, and instigated by the restless Shaftesbury, had agreed, in case the king's sickness should prove mortal, to rise in arms, and to oppose the succession of the duke. Charles recovered; but these dangerous projects were not laid aside. The same conspirators, with other aduent, which had no national privileges in security, but enabled the king, under like pretences, and by means of like instruments, to recall anew all those charters, which at present he was pleased to grant. And every friend to liberty must allow, that the nation, whose constitution was thus broken in the shock of faction, had a right, by every prudent expedient, to recover that security of which it was so unhappily bereaved.

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ancient constitution, and intended only the exclusion of the duke, and the redress of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of no principle, and was ready to embrace any party which his immediate interest should recommend to him. But notwithstanding this difference of characters and of views, their common hatred of the duke and the present administration united them in one party; and the dangerous experiment of an insurrection was fully re-
served.

While these schemes were concerting among the leaders, there was an inferior order of conspirators, who held frequent meetings; and, together with the insurrection, carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and the cabal of

By-louse plot. 

sey, an old republican officer, who had distinguished himself in Portugal, and had been recommended to the king by Mareschal Schomberg; Lieutenant-colonel Walcot, likewise a republican officer; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; West, Tyley, Norton, Aylobe, lawyers; Ferguson, Rouse, Home, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee, Rumhald. Most of these last were merchants or tradesmen; and the only persons of this confederacy who had access to the leaders of the party, were Rumsey and Ferguson. When these men met together, they indulged themselves in the most desperate and audacious sentiments. They pretended to have mentioned the assassination of the king and the duke, to which they had given the familiar appellation of hopping; they even went so far as to have thought of a scheme for that purpose. Rumhald, who was a malstress, possessed a farm called the King's Farm, with which he intended to fence the New-marlc, whether the king commonly went once a-year for the diversion of the races. A plan of this farm had been laid before some of the conspirators by Rumhald, who showed them how easy it would be, by removing the fences, to throw the king at a place which the king took as his private retreat; while they might fire upon him from the hedges, and be enabled afterwards, through by-lanes and across the fields, to make their escape. But this plan, though it promised great advantage to the conspirators, no concerted design was as yet laid, nor any men, horses, or arms, provided: the whole was little more than loose discourse, the overflows of the drowsy and raving. A house, in which the king lived at Newmarket, took fire accidentally; and he was obliged to leave that place eight days sooner than he intended. To this circumstance his safety was afterwards ascribed; and the conspiracy was detected; and the court party could have no reason of admiring the wise disposal of Providence. It is indeed certain, that as the king had thus unexpectedly left Newmarket, he was worse attended than usual; and Rumhald informed his confederates, with the greatest exultation, that a fine opportunity was thus unfortunately lost.

Among the conspirators I have mentioned Keiling, a sailor in London. This man had been engaged in a bold measure of arresting the mayor of London, at the suit of Papillon and Dubois, the outcast sheriffs; and being liable to prosecution for that action, he thought it safest to purchase a pardon, by revealing the conspiracy, in which he was deeply concerned. He brought to secretary Jenkins intelligence of the assassination-plot; but as he was a single evidence, the secretary, whom many false plots had previously rendered incredulous, scrupled to issue warrants for the confiscation of so many persons. Keiling, therefore, in order to fortify his testimony, engaged his brother in treasonable discourse with Goodenough, one of the conspirators: and Jenkins began now to give more attention to the intelligence. The conspirators had got some hint of the danger in which they were involved; and all of them concealed themselves. One person alone, of the name of Harley, an instrument-maker, was tried, and acquitted, in consequence of many particulars with Keiling's information, the affair seemed to be put out of all question: and a more diligent search was everywhere made, after the conspirators.

West, the lawyer, and Colonel Rumsey, finding the perils to which they were exposed in endeavouring to escape, resolved to save their own lives at the expense of their companions; and they surrendered themselves with an intention of becoming evidence. West could do little more than confirm the testimony of Keiling with regard to the assassination plot; but Rumsey, besides giving additional confirmation of the same design, was at last, though with much difficulty, led to reveal the meetings at Shephard's. Shephard was immediately apprehended; and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates. Upon his information, several more of his great men engaged in the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded: Russell was sent to the Tower: Gray was arrested, but escaped from the messenger: Howard was taken, while he concealed himself in a chimney; and was seized by a certain assemblage of men assembled at Ruislip. In these circumstances, he scrupled not, in hopes of a pardon and a reward, to reveal the whole conspiracy. Essex, Sidney, and Hambden, were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Every day some of the conspirators were detected in their lurking-places, and thrown into prison.

Lieutenant-colonel Walcot was first brought to his trial. This man, who was once noted for bravery, had been so far overcome by the love of life that he had written to Secretary Jenkins, and had offered, upon promise of pardon, to turn evidence: but no sooner had he taken this mean step than he felt more generous motives and a more manly spirit, and was resolved, in vain, to conceal himself. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, West, Shephard, together with Bourne, a brewer. His own letter to the secretary was produced, and rendered the testimony of the witnesses unquestionable. Home and Rouse, also, were tried. The story of the confederacy, as well as Walcot, acknowledged, at their execution, the justice of the sentence; and from their trial and confession it is sufficiently apparent, that the plan of an insurrection had been retailed by the conspirators, and that even the assassination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conspirators.

The condemnation of these criminals was to the trial of Lord Russell. This nobleman was probably intended to be the leader of the conspiracy, and the great man of the insurrection: but the fact that the evidence had been brought against him, as well as Walcot, acknowledged, at their execution, the justice of the sentence; and from their trial and confession it is sufficiently apparent, that the plan of an insurrection had been retailed by the conspirators, and that even the assassination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conspirators.

The condemnation of these criminals was to the trial of Lord Russell, and served to impress the public with a thorough belief of the conspiracy, as well as a horror against it. The witnesses produced against the noble prisoner were, Rumsey, Shephard, and Lord Howard. Rumsey swore, that he himself had been introduced to the cabal at Shephard's, where Russell was present; and had delivered them a message from Shaftesbury, urging them to hasten the intended insurrection; but had received for answer, that it was found necessary to delay the design, and that Shaftesbury must therefore, for some time, rest contented. This answer, he said, was delivered by Ferguson: but was assented to by the prisoner. He added, that some of his party had been engaged in taking a survey of the guards; and he thought that Monmouth, Gray, and Armstrong, undertook to view them. Shephard deposed, that his house had before-hand been bespoken by Ferguson for the secret meeting of the conspirators, and that he had been careful to keep all his servants from approaching them, and had served them himself. Their discourse, he said, ran chiefly upon the means of surprising the guards; and it was agreed, that Monmouth and his two friends should take a survey of them. The report, which they brought next meeting, was, that the guards were remiss, and that the design was practicable; but he did not affirm that my resolution was taken for executing it. Then he was asked whether he had been present at both these meetings; but he was sure that at least he was present at one of them. A declaration, he added, had been read by Ferguson in Russell's presence: the reasons of the intended insurrection were there set forth, and all the public grievances fully displayed.

Lord Howard had been one of the cabal of six, established after Shaftesbury's flight; and two meetings had been held by the conspirators at Enniskillen, through his agency at Russell's. Howard deposed, that at the first meeting it was agreed to begin the insurrection in the country before the city; the places were fixed, the proper quantity and kind of arms agreed on, and the persons engaged concerted: that at the second meeting the conversation chiefly turned upon their correspondence with Argyle and the discontented Scots, and that the principal management
of that affair was intrusted to Sydney, who had sent one Aaron Smith into Scotland with proper instructions. He added, that in these deliberations no question was put, or votes collected; but there was no contradiction; and he took it, all of them, and the prisoner among the rest, gave their consent.

Rusney and Shephard were very unwilling witnesses against Russell, and it appeared, that several arguments of a constitutional nature, which had passed above eight months before, and which the persons had not at that time any intention to reveal, may beget some slight objection to their evidence. But on the whole it was undoubtedly proved, that the insurrection had been deliberated on by the prisoner, and fully resolved; the apprehension of the government having been deliberated on, but not fully resolved; and that an assassination had never once been mentioned nor imagined by him. So far the matter of fact seems certain: but still with regard to law, there remained a difficulty, and that of an important nature.

The English laws of treason, both in the manner of defining that crime, and in the proof required, are the most absurd, most inequitable, that are any where to be found. The two chief species of treason, contained in the statute of Edward III. are the compassing and intending of the king's death, and the actual levying of war against him; and by the law of Mary, the latter must be proved by the concurrence of testimony of two witnesses, to some overt act, tending to these purposes. But the lawyers, partly desirous of paying court to the sovereign, partly convinced of all consequences of the stopping of this act, and partly to avoid limitations, have introduced a greater latitude, both in the proof and definition of the crime. It was not required that the two witnesses should testify the same precise overt act: it was enough if they both testified some overt act of the same treason; and though this evasion may seem a subtility, it had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, and had at last been solemnly fixed by parliament at the trial of Lord Stafford. The lawyers had thus given to the same freedom with the law of Edward III. They had observed, that, by that statute, if a man should enter into a conspiracy for a rebellion, should even fix a correspondence with foreign powers for that purpose, should provide arms and money, yet, if he were detected and no rebellion ensued, he could not be tried for treason. To prevent this inconvenience, which it had been better to remedy by a new law, they had commonly had their indictment for intent to levy war: and the king's life, while he had produced no overt intention of rebellion as a proof of that other intention. But though this form of indictment and trial was very frequent, and many criminals had received sentence upon it, it was still considered as somewhat irregular, and may plainly confounding by a sophism, two species of treason, which the statute had accurately distinguished. What made this refinement still more exceptionable was, that a law had passed soon after the restoration; in which the consulting or the intending of a rebellion was, during Charles's lifetime, declared treason; and it was required, that the prosecution should be commenced within six months after the crime was committed. But notwithstanding this statute, the lawyers had provided themselves with the sophisme of evidence, that no one had murmured against this interpretation of the statute; and the lawyers thought that they might follow the precedent, even in the case of the late king. And, as, it is generally believed, Lord Russell's conspiracy was fell plainly within the statute of Charles the 1st.; but the facts sworn to by Rusney and Shephard were beyond the six months required by law, and to the other facts Lords Coningsby adduced. To make the indictment, therefore, more extensive, the intention of conspiring the king was comprehended in it; and for proof of this intention the conspiracy for raising a rebellion was assigned; and what seemed to bring the matter still nearer, the design of attacking the king's guards.

Russell, for his irregularity, and desired to have the point argued by counsel; the chief justice told him, that this favour could not be granted, unless he previously confessed the facts charged upon him. The artificial confessions of the two species of treason, though a piece supported by many precedents, is the chief, but not the only, hardship of which Russell had reason to complain on his trial. His defence was feeble; and he contended himself with protesting, that he never had entertained any design against the life of the king: his sincerity would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection. The jury were men of fair and reputable characters, but zealous royalists: after a short deliberation, they brought in the

Applications were made to the king for a pardon: even money to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds was offered to the Duchess of Portsmouth by the old Earl of Bedford, father to Russell. The king was inexorable. He had been extremely harassed with the violence of the country party; and he had observed, that the prisoner, besides his secret designs, had always been carried to the scandal of his country, and had always been under some suspicion, and had even adopted a sentiment, similar to what we meet with in a letter of the younger Brutus. Had his father, he said, advised the king to reject the rejection bill, he would be the first to move for a parliamentary impeachment against him. Such various proofs of the hereditary family was observed, his popularity, his humanity, his justice, his virtue, became so many crimes, and were used as arguments against sparing him. Charles therefore would go no farther than restoring the most innocuous part of the sentence, which the law requires to be pronounced against traitors. "Lord Russell," said he, "shall find, that I am possessed of that prerogative, which, in the case of a prince, entitles me to the exercise of my prerogative in these circumstances. I have ordered that the fury of the country party had rendered it impossible for the king, without the imminent danger of his crown, to pardon so many catholics, whom he firmly believed innovators, and with affectionate and loyal to him; he probably thought that, since the edge of the law was now ready to fall upon that party themselves, they could not reasonably expect that he would interpose to save them.

Russell's consort, a woman of virtue, daughter and heir of the good Earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for those errors, into which honest, however mistaken, principles had the prince debauched: and the dignity of her sex, the instance of female weakness (if they deserve the name) which she betrayed. Finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured, by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure, they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now past," said he, "as he turned from her. Lord Cavendish had lived in the closest intimacy with Russell, and deserted not his friend in the present calamity. He offered to manage his escape by changing clothes with him, and remaining at all hazards in his stead. But Russell persevered to the end, which he would not exchange for a thousand worlds which might expose his friend to so many hardships. When the Duke of Monmouth by message offered to surrender himself, if Russell thought that this measure would anyhow contribute to his safety; "It will be no advantage to me," he said, "to have my friends die with me." Some of his expressions discover, not only composure, but good humour in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution, he sent his father a letter, in which he asked leave to see his father. After his execution, the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch. "Now I am to be done with time, and henceforth must think solely of eternity."
and that, he seemed to regard all their confidence, now exposed to the utmost rigours of the law. As he was the most popular among his own party; so was he ever the least obnoxious to the opposite faction: and his melan-
colical and melancholy sentiments on the state of humanity, in a tender compassion for him. Without the least change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two strokes it was severed from his shoulders.

In the speech which he delivered to the sheriffs, he was very anxious to clear his memory from any imputation of ever intending the king's death, or any alteration in the government: he could not explicitly confess the projected insurrection without hurting his friends, who must still be called in question for it; but he did not purge himself of that design, which, in the present condition of the nation, he regarded as no crime. By many passages in his speech he seems to the last to have lain under the influence of party zeal; a passion which, being nourished by a social temper, and clothing itself under the appearance of principle, it is almost impossible for a virtuous man, who has acted in it, to disavow after some years. He had professed his entire belief in the popish plot; and he said, that, though he had often heard the sentence of the guards mentioned, he had ever disapproved of that attempt. To which Mr. Aldwell added, that the murdering of so many innocent men in cool blood was so like murder, that he could not but abhor it. Upon the whole, the integrity and virtuous intentions, rather than the capacity, of this unfortunate nobleman, seem to have been the shining parts of his character.

Trial of Alger~o Sidney. This gallant son, of the Earl of Leicester, had entered deeply into the war against the late house of Stuart, and the government, but as much as any, his enthusiasm, for which he had so far shared in all the councils of the independent republicans, as to have been named on the high court of justice, which tried and condemned that monarch; he thought not to have engaged his opinions among the judges. He ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation with zeal and courage; and after making all efforts against the restoration, he resolved to take no benefit of the general indemnity, but chose voluntary banishment, rather than submit to the laws and family which he abhorred as a source of his calamity. As long as the republican party had any existence, he was active in every scheme, however unpromising, which tended to promote their cause: but at length, in 1677, finding all the hopes he had entertained were extinguished, and his retreat to France and Holland, he applied for the king's pardon, and had obtained it. When the factions arising from the popish plot began to run high, Sidney, full of those ideas of liberty, which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; and was even willing to seek a second time, through all the horrors of civil war, for his adored republic.

From this imperfect sketch of the character and conduct of this singular personage, it may easily be conceived how obnoxious he was become to the court and ministry: what alone renders them blamable, was the illegal method which they took for effecting their purpose against him. On Sidney's trial, none but a mere sacrifice of justice, it was evident, of witnesses, who proved the reality of a plot in general; and when the prisoner exclaimed, that all these evidences said nothing of him, he was answered, that this method of proceeding, however irregular, had been practised in the prosecutions of the popish conspirators; a topic more fit to condemn one party, than to justify the other. The only witness who deposed against Sidney was Lord Howard; but the law required two witnesses, a strange expedient was taken to supply this deficiency. In running the prisoner's closet, some discourses on government were found; in which he had maintained principles favourite indeed to liberty, but such as the best and most dutiful subjects, who knew least of known treason; the original contract, the source of power from a consent of the people, the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. These papers were asserted to be equivalent to a second witness, and even to many witnesses. The prisoner replied, that there was no other reason, for ascribing these papers to him, than the knowledge which he had, and the confidence, with which he was never admitted in criminal prosecutions: that allowing him to be the author, he had composed them solely for his private amusement, and had never published them to the world; and communicated them to many single persons; that, when examined, they appeared, by the colour of the ink, to have been written many years before, and were in vain produced as evidence of a present conspiracy against the government; and it positively requires two witnesses, one witness, attended with the most convincing circumstances, could never suffice; much less, when supported by a circumstance so weak and precarious. All these arguments, though urged by the prisoner with great courage and pregnancy of reason, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jeffreys was now chief justice; and by his direction a partial jury was easily prevailed on to give verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days after: Dec. 17, he was executed, and with reason, of the iniquity of the sentence; but he had too much greatness of mind to deny those conspiracies with Monmouth and Russel, in which he had engaged himself, and to which, that he now suffered for that good old cause, in which, from his earliest youth, he said, he had enlisted himself.

The execution of Sidney is regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of the present reign. The evidence against him, it must be confessed, was not conclusive; though Russel and other who condemned him, were, for that reason, very blamable. But that after sentence passed by a court of judicature, the king should interpose and pardon a man, who, though otherwise possessed of merit, was undoubtedly guilty, who had ever been a most inflexible and most inverte enemy to the royal family, and who lately had even abused the king's elements, might be an act of heroic mercy, and should never be regarded as a necessary and indispensable duty.

Howard was also the sole evidence against Hambden; and his testimony was not supported by any material circumstance. The crown would therefore found it in vain to try the prisoner for treason; they had the indecency only for a misdemeanor, and obtained sentence against him. The fine imposed was exorbitant; no less than forty thousand pounds.

Holloway, a government of Bristol, one of the conspirators, had fled to the West Indies, and was now brought over. He had been nathless, but the year allowed him for surrendering himself was not expired. A trial was therefore had at first, but as he was not engaged in a conspiracy for an insurrection, and even allowed that he had heard some discourse of an assassination, though he had not approved of it, he thought it more expedient to throw himself on the king's mercy. He was executed, persisting in the same confession.

Sir Thomas Armstrong, who had been seized in Holland, and sent over by Chidley, the king's minister, was precisely in the same situation with Holloway; but the same favour, or rather justice, was refused him. The lawyers pretended, that, unless he had voluntarily surrendered himself before the expiration of the time assigned, he could not claim the privilege of a trial; not considering that the sending the prisoner to a country in equity to be supposed the accident which prevented him. The king bore a great enmity against this gentleman, by whom he believed the Duke of Monmouth to have been seduced from his duty: he also asserted that he had at first been very well to assassinate him; though it must be confessed, that the prisoner justified himself from this imputation by very strong arguments. These were the reasons of that injustice which was now done him. It was apprehended that suffer out evidence of his guilt could not be produced; and that even the partial juries, which were now returned, and which allowed themselves to be entirely directed by Jeffreys and other violent judges, would not give sentence even in all cases of which he confessed himself to be guilty.
with his throat cut. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict, self-murder; yet because two children ten years old (one of whom too departed from his evidence) had affirmed that they heard a great noise from his window, and that they saw a hand that looked like a bloody spectre that the circumstances were laid hold of, and the murder was ascribed to the king and the duke, who happened that morning to pay a visit to the Tower. Essex was subject to fits of deep melancholy, and had been seen with one whom his adversary in parliament Mr. William Langton, who was committed to maintain the lawfulness of suicide; and his countenance, upon a strict inquiry, which was committed to the care of Dr. Burnet, found no reason to confirm the suspicion; yet could not all die at once. With these suspecting expressions, joined to the terror and uneasiness which produced them, it was decided to remove the imputation. It is no wonder, that faction so productive of vices of all kinds: for, besides that it inflames all the passions, it tends much to remove those great restraints, honour and shame; when men find, that no iniquity can lose them the applause of their own party, and no innocence secure them against the calumnies of the opposite.

But though there is no reason to think that Essex had been murdered by any orders from court, it must be acknowledged that an unjustifiable use in Russell's trial was made of that incident. The king's counsel mentioned it in their pleadings as a strong proof of the conspiracy; and it is said to have had great weight with the jury. It was in some degree a trial for the latter purpose.

Some memorable causes, tried about this time, though they have no relation to the house of parliament, show the temper of the bench and of the bar; which, though they were often called to a duty by a judge a popeish traitor; was condemned in damages to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds; and was adjudged to remain in prison till he should make payment.

A like sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt for a like offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds; because in some private letters, which had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government. This gentleman was obstinate, because he had been forewarned of that jury which rejected the bill against Shelburne. A pretence was therefore fallen upon for punishing him; though such a precedent may justly be deemed a very unusual act of severity, and sufficient to destroy all confidence in private friendship and correspondence.

There is another remarkable trial, which shows the position of the courts of judicature, and which, though it passed in the ensuing year, it may not be improper to relate in this place. One Rowse, a presbyterian preacher, was accused by three women of having spoken treasonable words in a sermon. They swore to two or three persons, and agreed so exactly together, that there was not the slightest difference in their deposition. The other hand, made a very good defence. He proved that the witnesses were lewd and infamous persons. He proved that, even during Cromwell's usurpations, he had always been a royalist; that he praved constantly for the king and his family; and that in his sermons he often insinuated the obligations of loyalty. And as to the sermon of which he was accused, several witnesses, who heard it, and some who wrote it in short-hand, deposed that he had used no such expressions as those which were imputed to him. He offered his own notes as a further proof. The women could not show, by any circumstance or witness, that they were at his meeting. And the expressions, to which they depose, that they were surmised, was supposed to employ them before a mixed audience. It was also urged, that it appeared next to impossible for three women to remember so long a period upon one single hearing, and to remember it so exactly, as to agree to a title in their depositions with regard to it. The prisoner offered to put the whole upon this issue: he would pronounce, with his usual tone of voice, a period as long as that to which they had sworn; and then let them try to repeat it. What was more unexpected, when they had forgotten even the text of his sermon; nor did they remember any single passage, but the words to which they gave evidence. After so strong a defence, the solicitors for the crown, who, not properly to resist it, left it to Jeffries went no further than some general declamations against conventicles and presbyterians; yet such violent were
and animosity against France, seconded every where where the applications of the Spaniards. In the year 1681, he made a journey to England, in order to engage the king into closer measures with this party, and with the confidence also promised to the States to make an augmentation of their forces; but several of the provinces, and even the town of Amsterdam, had been gained by the French, and the proposal was rejected. By his enemies derived the most plausible reasons of their victory from the situation of Lewis's power, and the known and avowed attachments of the English monarch.

No sooner had Charles dissolved his parliament, and embraced the resolution of governing by forces employed than he dropped his new alliance with Spain, and returned to his former dangerous connections with Lewis. This prince had even offered to make him arbiter of his differences with Spain; and the latter power, sensible of Charles's partiality, had refused to submit to such an disadvantageous proposal. Whether any money was now remitted to England, we do not certainly know: but we may fairly presume, that the king's necessities were in some degree relieved by France. And though Charles had reason to apprehend the utmost danger from the great and still increasing naval power of that kingdom, joined to the weak condition of the English fleet, no consideration was able to do him justice in that respect on the part of the French.

It is here we are to fix the point of the highest exaltation, which the power of Lewis, or that of any European prince since the age of Charles-magne, had ever attained. The monarch, most capable of opposing his progress, was entirely engaged in his interests; and the Turks, invited by the malcontents of Hungary, were preparing to invade the emperor, and to disable that prince from making head against the progress of the French power. Lewis may even be accused of oversight, in not making sufficient advantage of such favourable opportunities, which he was never afterwards able to recall. But that monarch, though governed by motives of ambition, that by those of justice or moderation was still most accurately calculated, and his inquiries of vanity. He contented himself with insulting and domineering over all the princes and free states of Europe; and he thereby provoked their resentment without subduing their power. While every one, who approached his person, and believed with submission to his authority, was treated with the highest politeness; all the neighbouring potentates had successively felt the effects of his haughty imperious disposition. And by indulging his poets, orators, and courtiers, in their flatteries, and in their propagations of universal empire, he conveyed faster, than by the prospect of his power alone, the apprehension of general conquerors.

The French greatness never, during his whole reign, inspired Charles with any apprehensions; and Clifford, it is said, one of his most trusted ministers, went so far as to affirm, that it were better for the king to be contented under a great and generous monarch, than a slave to five hundred of his own insolent subjects. The ambition, therefore, and uncontrolled power of Lewis were no diminution of Charles's happiness; and in other respects his condition seemed at present more eligible than it had ever been since his restoration. A mighty faction, which had shaken his throne, and menaced his family, was totally subdued; and by their precipitate and ruinous incursions had exposed themselves both to the regard of the laws and to public hatred. He had recovered his former popularity in the nation; and what probably pleased him more than having a compliant parliament, he was enabled to govern according to his choice, and in such a manner as to make the king, amidst all these promising circumstances, was not happy or satisfied. Whether he found
himself exposed to difficulties for want of money, or dredged a recoil of the popular humour from the present arbitrary measures, is uncertain. Perhaps the violent imprudent temerity of the duke, by pushing Charles upon dangerous extremities, gave him a turn to suspicion and unpopularity. He was overheard one day to say, in opposing some of the duke's hasty counsels, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may, if you choose it." What was once the cause of the great distress, it seems probable, that he was meditating some change of measures, and had formed a new plan of administration. He was determined, it is thought, to send the duke to Scotland, to recall Monk, to summon parliament to meet, and to transfigure it into a popular militia, and to throw himself entirely on the good-will and affections of his subjects. 

King's sickness. Amidst these truly wise and virtuous designs, he was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was rescued from it by bleeding, he languished only for a few days, and expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. He was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death struck as a great surprise into his subjects, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And their great concern for him, owing to the affecting view in which he was dead of his successor, very naturally, when joined to the critical time of his death, begat the suspicion of poison. All circumstances however considered, this suspicion must be allowed to vanish, like many others, of which all histroires are full.

During the few days of the king's illness, elegymen of the church of England attended him; but he discovered a total indifference towards their devotions and exhortations. Catholic priests were brought, and he received the sacrament from them, accompanied with the other rites of the Romish church. Two papers were found in his cabinet, written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of an union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland. He had the imprudence immediately to publish these papers, and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of those who had been the greatest enemies to his brother's measures, and afforded to the world a specimen of his character. 

If we survey the character of Charles II. and his reign, in the different lights which it will admit of, it will appear various, and give rise to different and even opposite sentiments. When considered as a companion, he appears the most amiable and engaging companion; and indeed, in this view, his deportment must be allowed altogether unexceptionable. His love of mirth was so tempered with good breeding, that it was never offensive; his temper and disposition were so charitable, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it; his wit, to use the expression of one who knew him well, and who was himself a good judge, could not be said so much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealousy and apprehension in company, as to be a plain, gawking, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. And though perhaps he talked more than strict rules of behaviour might permit, men were so pleased with the affable, communicative deportment of the monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and with themselves.

This indeed is the most shining part of the king's character; and he seems to have been sensible of it; for he was fond of so much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealousy and apprehension in company, as to be a plain, gawking, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. And though perhaps he talked more than strict rules of behaviour might permit, men were so pleased with the affable, communicative deportment of the monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and with themselves.

In the duties of private life, his conduct, though not free from exception, was, in the main, laudable. He was an easy, generous, well-humoured man; a civil, obliging husband; a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good-natured master.

The voluntary friendships, however, which this prince contracted, nay, even his sense of gratitude, were feeble; and he never attached himself to any of his ministers or officers with a sincere affection. He believed them to have no motive in serving him but self-interest; and he was still ready, in his turn, to sacrifice them to present ease or convenience.

With a detail of his private character we must set bounds to our narrative. The other parts of his life...

a King James's Memoirs confirm this narration, as also D'Avenant's Ne- vescence, 16th Dec. 1664.

b Duke of Buckingham.
A. D. 1685.

CHAP. LXX.

JAMES II.


The first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy council; where, after some transactions, a speech bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government, both in church and state. Though he had been reported, he said, to have imbibed arbitrary principles, he knew that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish; and he was determined never to depart from them. As he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation, he would still so far as any man in maintaining all its just rights and liberties.

This discourse was received with great applause, not only by the council, but by the nation. The king universally passed for a man of great sincerity and great honour; and as the current of favour ran at that time for the court, men believed his professions, and were conformable to his expressions. "We have now," it was said, "the word of a king; and a word never yet broken." Addresses came from all quarters, full of duty, ray, of the most servile adulation. Every one desired to pay court to the new monarch; and James had reason to think, that, notwithstanding the violent efforts made by so potent a party for his exclusion, no throne in Europe was better established than that of England.

The king, however, in the first exercise of his authority, showed, that either he was not sincere in his professions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained so lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmost sincerity would tend very little to secure the liberties of the people. All the customs and the greater part of the excise had been settled by parliament on the late king during life, and consequently the grant was now expired; nor had the successor any right to levy these branches of revenue. But James issued a proclamation, ordering the customs and excise to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not design to qualify by the least act or even resolution. It was proposed to him, that, in order to prevent the ill effects of any intermission in levying these duties, entries should be made, and bonds for the sums be taken from the merchants and lawyers; but the king answered that the government should give authority to receive it. This precept was recommended as an expression of deference to that assembly, or rather to the laws; but for that very reason, probably, it was rejected by the king, who thought, that the Commons would thence be induced to assume more authority, and would regard the whole revenue, and consequently the whole power of the crown, as dependent on their will and pleasure.

They would correspond openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal meeting; and by this impiety he displayed at once his arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles; those two great characteristics of his reign, and base of his administration. He even sent Curyl as his agent to Rome, in order to make submission to the Pope, and to pave the way for a solemn traduction of England into the bosom of the catholic church; the Pope promised the XIXth that the present king not to be too precipitate in his measures, nor rashly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was impracticable. The Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, deeming the tranquillity of England necessary for the support of Spain, used the freedom to make like remonstrances. He observed to the king, how busy the priests appeared at court, and advised him not to assent with too great facility to their demands. "Is it not the custom in Spain," said James, "for the king to consult with his confessor?" "Yes," replied the ambassador, "and it is for that very reason our affairs succeed so ill."

James gave hopes on his succession, that he would hold the balance of power to their due advantage, and that France, instead of rending England subservient to her ambitious projects, would now meet with strong opposition from that kingdom. Besides applying himself to business with great industry, he assumed great authority, and expressed great care, that no more respect should be paid to the French ambassador at London than his own received at Paris. But these appearances were not sufficiently supported, and he found himself immediately under the necessity of falling into a union with that great monarch, who, by his power as well as his zeal, seemed alone able to assist him in the projects formed for promoting the catholic religion in England.

Notwithstanding the king's prejudices, all the chief offices of the crown continued still in the hands of protestants. Rochester was treasurer; his brother Clarendon, chancellor of England; Godolphin, secretary of state; and Sedley, the duke of York, secretary of state; and Halifax, president of the council. This nobleman had stood in opposition to James during the last years of his brother's reign; and when he attempted, on the accession, to make some apology for his late and extreme conduct, that he might be allowed to do some thing past, except his behaviour during the bill of excommunication. On other occasions, however, James appeared not of so forgiving a temper. When the principal exclusionists were about to form a new ministry, and one of the principal persons was not admitted, or were received very coldly, sometimes even with frowns. This conduct might suit the character, which the king so much affected, of sincerity; but by showing that a king who had restored the garrisons of a Duke of York, he gave his people no high idea either of his lenity or magnanimity.

On all occasions, the king was open in declaring that he must now look for a more firm and more upright government, and that he would retain no ministers, who did not practise an unreserved obedience to his commands. We are not indeed to look for the springs of his administration so much in his council and chief officers of state, as in his own temper, and in the character of those persons with whom he secretly consulted. The queen had great influence over him; a woman of spirit, whose conduct had been popular till she arrived at that high dignity. She was much consulted by the priests, especially the Jesuits; and as these were also the king's favourites, all public measures were taken originally from the suggestions of these men, and more evident marks of their influence in government, and the inactivity of the parliament.

The king, however, had another attachment, seemingly not very consistent with this devoted regard to his queen and to his priests; it was to Mrs. Sedley, whom he soon after created Countess of Dorchester, and who expected to govern him with the same authority which the Duchess of Portsmouth had possessed during the former reign. But James, who had entertained the ambition of converting his people, was told, that the regularity of his life ought to correspond to the sanctity of his intentions; and he was prevailed with to remove Mrs. Sedley from court: a resolution in which he had not the courage to persevere. Good agreement between the mistress and the confessor of princes is not commonly a difficult matter to compass; but in the present case these two potent engines of command were found very incompatible. Mrs. Sedley, who possessed all the wit and magnificence of her father, Sir Charles, made the greatest efforts to wrest the power of the chief minister from her husband; and it is not to be doubted, but they, on their part, rebad them their exhortations with their pen to break off so criminal an attachment.

How little inclination sooner the king, as well as his
queen and priests, might bear to an English parliament, it was absolutely necessary, at the beginning of the reign, to summon that assembly. The low condition, to which the wealth of the kingdom had fallen in the last years of Charles's reign, the odium under which they laboured on account of the Rye-house conspiracy; these causes made that party meet with little success in the elections. The general representation of the electors had made the courts of justice extremely dependent; and the recommendations of the court, though little assisted, at that time, by pecu-

unary influence, were become very prevalent. The new parliament, the House of Commons, therefore, consisted entirely of zealous persons and churchmen; and were of consequence strongly biased by their affections, in favour of the measures of the crown.

The discourse which the king made to the newly elected parliament was more fitted to work on their fears than their affections. He repeated indeed, and with great solemnity, the promise which he had made before the privy-council, of governing according to the laws, and preserving the established religion. But at the same time he told them, that he positively expected they would settle his revenue, and during life too, as in the time of his brother. "I might use many arguments," said he, "to enforce this demand; the benefit of trade, the support of the army, the necessities of the crown, and the interest of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious; but I am confident, that your own consideration, and your sense of what is just and reasonable, will supply these arguments on this occasion. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged, against compliance with my demand: men may think, that by feeding me from time to time with such supplies as they think convenient, they will better secure frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that the best way to engage the confidence of the people, is, wholly to shun them. It was easy to interpret this language of the king. He plainly intimated, that he had resources in his prerogative for supporting the government, independent of their supplies; and that so long as they complied with his demands, he would have recourse to them; but that any ill usage on their part would set him free from those measures of government, which he seemed to regard more as voluntary than as necessary. It must be confessed, that no parlia-

ment in England was ever placed in a more critical situa-

tion, nor where more forcible arguments could be urged, either for their opposition to the court, or their compliance with it.

Revenue for the next year was to be settled; but the usual discussion of the subject was struck short by the king. The arguments which had been used on either side, were therefore not to be repeated. The bill for settling the revenue was to be brought in the House of Commons, and was to be the subject of a most solemn conference between the two houses. The king's speech was to be read, and he would then make such observations as he should think proper; and the whole would settle on his present majesty, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king, at the time of his de-

mise. That they might not detract from this generosity by any symptoms of distrust, they also voted unanimously, that the House entirely relied on his majesty's royal word and repeated declarations to support the religion of the church of England; but they added, that that religion was to be maintained by the sovereign, whether present, or absent; and that for the present, but not for the future, the presentation of the revenue bill, took care to inform the king of the vote of the house with regard to religion; but could not, by so signal a proof of confidence, extort from him one word in favour of the present religion, on an occasion not so high a value. Notwithstanding the grounds of sus-

picion which this silence afforded, the House continued in the same liberal disposition. The king having de-

upon that complicated fabric. That recent experience during the reign of the late king, a prince who wanted neither prudence nor moderation, had sufficiently proved the solidity of the constitution, and the ample basis upon which he had laid it. It was necessary for the monarch to return to the principles of the constitution, and to persevere in the laws, and required frequent meetings of parliament, in order to repair all the breaches, which either time or violence may have made.
manded a further supply for the navy and other purposes, they revived those duties on wines and vinegar, which had once been enjoyed by the late king; and they added some impositions on tobacco and sugar. This grant amounted to the whole to about six hundred thousand pounds a year.

The House of Lords were in a humour no less complacent. They even went some lengths towards breaking in and breaking the heads of the dissident party; that once formidable engine of bigotry and faction.

Oates convicted of perjury. A little before the meeting of parliament, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments. One for deposing that he was present as a consultant of Jesuits in London, the twenty-fourth of April, 1679: another for deposing that Father Ireland was in London between the sixteenth and twelfth of August, and in the beginning of September in the same year. Never criminal was convicted on fuller and more unblinched evidence. Two-and-twenty persons, who had been students at St. Omers, most of them of men of credit and family, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that circular about Christmas in the year 1678, and had never been absent but one night till the month of July following. Forty-seven witnesses, persons also of untainted character, deposed, that Father Ireland, on the third of August, 1679, passed for the most likely depository of the votes and resolution of the Commons; to be employed in setting up in a thousand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldegate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pillori'd five times a year. The impudence of the man supported itself under an ordinance to oppose to the sentence of the court under the punishment. He made solemn appeals to Heaven, and protestations of the veracity of his testimony: though the whipping was so cruel that it was evident the cain was not to be put to him to deter him from that punishment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover; and he lived to King William's reign, when a pension of four hundred pounds a-year was settled on him. A considerable sum still adhered to him in his distresses, and regarded him as the martyr of the protestant cause. The populace were affected with the sight of a punishment, more severe than is commonly inflicted in England. And the sentence of perpetual imprisonment was deemed illegal.

The conviction of Oates's perjury was taken notice of by the House of Peers. Besides freeing the popish Lords, Plunket, Arundel, Bellarmi, and Tyrone, together with Danby, and all the other Commons which they went as far as to vote a removal of Stafford's attendant, on account of the falsehood of that evidence on which he had been condemned. This bill fixed so deep a reproach on the former proceedings of the exclusionists, that it met with great opposition among the Lords; and it was at last, after one reading, dropped by the Commons. Though the repARATION of injustice be the second honour which a nation can attain; the present emergence seemed very improper for granting so full a justification to the catholics, and throwing so foul a stain on the protestants.

The course of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's movement in the west with three ships from Holland. No sooner was this intelligence conveyed to the parliament, than they voted that they would adhere to his majesty with all their lives and fortunes. They passed a bill of attaint against Monmouth; and they granted a supply of four hundred thousand pounds for suppressing his rebellion. Having thus strengthened the hands of the king, they would then decide on him by the Prince of Orange. After the accession of James, the prince thought it necessary to dismiss Monmouth and all his followers; and that illustrious fugitive retired to Brussels. Finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he was pushed, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a rash and premature attack upon England. He saw that James had lately mounted the throne, not only without opposition, but seemingly with the good will and affections of his subjects. A parliament was sitting, which discovered the greatest disposition to comply with the king, and whose engagement gave a soundness and reality to all public measures. The gneves of this reign were hitherto of small importance; and the people were not as yet in a disposition to remark them with great severity.

But all these considerations were little, if any, such was the impatience of his followers, and such the precipitate humour of Argyle, who set out for Scotland a little before him, that no reasons could be attended to; and this unhappy man was driven upon his fate.

The imprudence, however, of this enterprise did not at first appear. Though, on his landing at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, he had scarcely a hundred followers, so popular was his name, that in four days he had assembled above two thousand horse and foot. They were, indeed, almost all of them, the lowest of the people; and the declaration which he published, was chiefly calculated to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, and to therapeutize their rage. Less was such was the softness of Monmouth's nature, that Gray was still continued in his command. Fletcher of Salton, a Scotchman, a man of signal probity and fine genius, had been engaged by this republican principles in this enterprise, and recommended the cavalry together with Gray; but being insulted by one who had newly joined the army, and whose horse he had in a hurry made use of, he was promised by Monmouth to have much such usage himself as he had on the spot. This accident obliged him immediately to leave the camp; and the loss of so gallant an officer was a great prejudice to Monmouth's enterprise.

The next station of the rebels was Taunton, a disaffected town, which gladly, and even fondly, received them, and reinforced them with considerable numbers. Twenty young maid's of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours of their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible. Monmouth was here persuaded to take upon him the title of king, and assert the legitimacy of his birth; a claim which he advanced in his first declaration, but whose discussion was delayed, and in some time to postpone. His numbers had now increased to six thousand; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome; and was proclaimed in all these places; but forgetting that such desperate enterprises can only be rendered successful by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to flag, without attempting any considerable undertaking.

While Monmouth, by his impudent and misplaced caution, was thus wasting time in the west, the king employed himself in making preparations against the coup. Seven regiments of British troops were called over from Holland; the army was considerably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of 3000 men, were despatched.

JAMES II. 703
under the command of Feversham and Churchill, in order to check the progress of the rebels.

Monmouth, observing that no considerable men joined him, sent his forces towards Salisbury, which was projected as the city, had not taken place, and bearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken, sunk into such despondency, that he had once resolved to withdraw himself, and leave his unhappy friends to their fate. His followers expanded more courage than their leader, and seemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune.

The negligent disposition, made by Feversham, invited Monmouth to attack the king's forces near Sedgwater; but finding, when he met his men, in this action, showed that a natural courage and a principle of duty, even when unassisted by discipline, is able to perform. They threw the veteran forces into disorder; drove them from their ground; continued the flight till their ammunition failed them; and would at last have obtained a victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Gray prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way; and were followed with great slaughter. About 1500 fell in the battle and pursuit. And thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterprise, rashly undertaken, and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, when he was under both. He then changed clothes with a peasant in order to conceal himself. The peasant was discovered by the pursuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last, the unhappy Monmouth, finding his flight by the help of a ditch, and covered with firm: his body depressed with fatigue and hunger; his mind, by the memory of past misfortunes, by the prospect of future disasters. Human nature is unequal to such calamitous situations; much more, the tempest of a man, softened by early prosperity, and accustomed to value himself solely on military bravery. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies; and he seemed still to indulge the fond hope and desire of life. This great height, though from his own offences, and the severity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the most submissive letters, and conjured him to spare the issue of a brother, who had ever been so strongly attached to his interest.

James, finding such symptoms of depression and despondency in the unhappy prisoner, admitted him to his presence, in hopes of extracting a discovery of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he assumed courage from despair, and prepared himself for death, with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. This favourite of the people was attended by the king with a heart of tenderness.

He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russell, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. This precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raised his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a second time; and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He then threw aside the axe, and cried out that he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff oblig’d him to renew the attempt; and at two blows the head was severed from the body.

Thus perished, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, a nobleman, who, in less turbulent times, was well qualified to be an ornament of the court, even to be serviceable to his country. The favour of his prince, the careness of faction, and the allurements of popularity, seduced him into enterprises which exceeded his capacity. The goodwill of the people still followed him in every fortune. He was opened to their claims, flattered by them with hopes of seeing him once more at their head. They believed that the person executed was not Monmouth, but one who, having the fortune to resemble him nearly, was willing to give this proof of his extreme attachment, and to die in his stead.

This victory, obtained by the king in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been managed with prudence, have tended much to increase his power and authority. But by reason of the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity with which it afterwards proceeded, it was a principal cause of his sudden ruin and downfall.

Such arbitrary principles had the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, bargained about the terms of peace, and was proceeding in his executions, when the Bishop of Bath and Wells and several prelates rushed upon him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. This remonstrance, however, did not stop the savage nature of the King; he seized the Bishop of Bath, who had long served at Tangers, and had conspired against the government, from his intercourse with the Moors, and Kirke, an inhuman less known in European and free countries.

At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least inquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king’s health, or the queen’s, by that of Chief-justice Jefferies. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried, that he would give them music to their dancing, and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. By way of precaution, he caused him, three times, to be questioned at each interval, whether he repented of his crime: but the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding the past, he still would willingly engage in the King’s service, he was threatened with being hanged in chains. One story, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, with which he attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung himself at Kirke’s feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally exacting her brother’s, and, in a week’s time, call him to a place of confinement. She received this condition: but, after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage the next morning showed her, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for the execution. Rage, and despair, and indignation, took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses.

All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiers were let loose to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a particular manner by the commission of the most horrid acts of cruelty. The people were called his lambs; an appellation which was long remembered with horror in the west of England.

The violent Jefferies succeeded after some interval; and showed the people, that the rigours of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who was not accustomed to cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exulted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them: and when twenty-five were found guilty, he ordered them, as by additional punishment, of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution.

Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchesther. Of these, eighty were executed.

Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty: two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also acted in the same manner at Totnes; and wherever a band was formed, every where incurred consternation along with him. The judges were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent persons, it is said, were executed with the guilty. Besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was
The injustice of this sentence against Cornish was not desired to disgust the nation with the court: the continued rigour of the other executions had already impressed a universal hatred against the ministers of justice, attended with compassion for the unhappy wretch who had been seduced into this crime by mistaken principles, to bear their punishment with the spirit and zeal of martyrs. The people might have been willing on this occasion to distinguish between the king and his ministers: but care was taken to prevent this, by making it appear that what was to be done was agreeable to their master. Jeffries, on his return, was immediately, for those eminent services, created a peer; and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. It is pretended, however, with some appearance of authority, that the king was displeased with these cruelties, and put a stop to them by orders, as soon as proper information of them was conveyed to him.

We must now take a view of the state of the state of affairs in Scotland; where the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth. Immediately after the king's accession, a parliament had been summoned at Edinburgh; and all affairs were there conducted by the Duke of Queensberry the commissioner, and the Earl of Perth chancellor. The former had resolved to make an entire surrender of the liberties of his country; but was determined still to adhere to his religion: the latter entertained no scruple, and the court even encouraged both. But no courtier, even the most prostitute, could go further than the parliament itself towards a resignation of their liberties. In a vote which they called an offer of a duty, after adopting the fabulous history of a hundred and eleven Scottish monarchs, they acknowledged, that all these princes, by the primary and fundamental law of the state, had been vested with a solid and absolute authority. They declared their adherence of all principles and positions, derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power, of which none, they said, whether single persons, or collective bodies, can participate, but in dependence on him, and by commission from him. They promised that the whole nation, between sixteen and sixty, shall be in readiness for his majesty's service, where and as oft as it shall be his royal pleasure to require them. And they annexed the whole excuse, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown.

All the other acts of this assembly savoured of the same spirit. They declared it treason for any person to refuse the test, if tendered by the council. To defend the obligation of the government, they extended tithes, and exempted no one from them. And in order to give effect to this, they proposed the law for the punishment of regicide, and of a plot to murder the king, with death as the penal punishment. To be present at any conventicle, was made punishable with death and confiscation of movables. Even such as refused to give testimony, either in cases of treason or nonconformity, were declared equally punishable as if guilty of the base treasons of which they were accused.

In goodhence, the sedition under-sheriff of London, who had been engaged in the most bloody and desperate part of the Rye-house conspiracy, was taken prisoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and resolved to save his own life by an accusation of Cornish, the shift, whom he knew to be extremely obnoxious to the court. Colonel Romney joined him in the accusation; and the prosecution was so hastened, that the prisoner was tried, condemned, and executed; and the names of all the wretches appeared immediately after; and the king seemed to regret the execution of Cornish. He granted his estate to his family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment.
on all sides with insuperable difficulties. His arms and ammunition were seized; his provisions cut off; the Marquis of Athole pressed him on one side; Lord Charles defeated.

Murray on another; the Duke of Gordon advanced, and that assault was broken by Dunbar; then came in support to him by declarations for the covenant. No one showed either courage or inclination to join him; and his small and still decreasing army, after wandering about for a little while, was at last defeated and disquieted without an engagement.

The next opposition came from the House of Peers, which has not commonly taken the lead on these occasions; and even from the bench of bishops, where the court usually expects the greatest complaisance and submission. And Argyle having been exposed to manifest peril, conferred an additional revenue on the crown; and by rendering the king in some degree independent, contributed to increase those dangers with which they were threatened to all that the nation could do.

The next opposition came from the House of Commons, which had not been called to account for the losses they had sustained in the late expedition. A committee was appointed to consider the affairs of Scotland, and Argyle was ordered to appear before it. He had been advised by his minister to consent to the disbanding of the army, and to render his submission before the committee; but he declined, and answered that he would not appear before them.

It is probable that he had used his dispensing power without declaring it, no inquiries would have been made, and time might have reconciled the nation to this dangerous exercise of prerogative. But to invade at once their constitution, to threaten their religion, to establish a standing army, and even to require them, by their concurrence, to contribute towards all these measures, exceeded the bounds of their patience. He was therefore, the first, to display the last remnants of English spirit and generosity.

The Commons, many severe refractions were thrown out against the present measures, and the House was with seeming difficulty engaged to promulgate, in a general vote, that they would grant some supply. But instead of finishing that business, which could alone render them acceptable to the king, they proceeded to examine the dispensing power; and they voted an address to the king against it.

Before this address was presented, they resumed the consideration of the supply; and as one million two hundred thousand pounds were demanded by the court, and two hundred thousand by the House, a middle course was chosen; and seven hundred thousand, after some dispute, were at last voted. The address against the dispensing power was expressed in most respectful and submission terms; yet it was very ill received by the king, and his answer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth and vehemence. The Commons were so daunted with this reply, that they kept silence a long time; and when Coke, member for Derby, rose up and said, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and that we have a few hard words;" so little spirit appeared in that assembly, often so refractory and mutinous, that they sent him to the Tower for bluntly expressing a free and generous sentiment. Coke, thus imprisoned, had a day for consideration of his majesty's answer; and on their next meeting, they submissively proceeded to the consideration of the supply, and even went so far as to establish funds for paying the sum voted, in nine years and a half. The king, therefore, had in effect, almost without contest or violence, obtained a complete victory over the Commons; but he had incurred the hatred of a people who had been exposed to manifest peril, conferred an additional revenue on the crown; and by rendering the king in some degree independent, contributed to increase those dangers with which they were threatened to all that the nation could do.

The king might reasonably have presumed, that even if the Peers should so far resume courage as to make an application for dispensing with the dispensing power, the same steady answer which he had given to the Commons would make them relapse into the same timidity; and he might by that means have obtained a considerable supply, without making any concession in return. But so increased was his temper, so lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, and so violent the schemes suggested by his own bigotry and that of his priests, that, without any delay, without waiting for any further provocation, he immediately proceeded to a prerogative. He continued the parliament during a year and a half by four more procrastinations; but having in vain tried, by separate applications, to break the obstinacy of the leading members, he at last dissolved that assembly. And as it was plainly impossible for him to find among his protestant subjects a set of men more devoted to royal authority, it was universally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern entirely without their concurrence.

Never king mounted the throne of England with greater advantages than James; nor possessed greater facility, if that were any advantage, of rendering himself and his posterity absolute; but all these fortunate circumstances tended only to aggravate his own misconduct and ruin upon him. The nation seemed disposed of themselves to resign their liberties, had he not, at the same time, made an attempt upon their religion; and he might even have succeeded in surmounting at once their liberties and religion, had he conducted his schemes with common prudence and discretion. Openly to declare to the parliament, so early in his reign, his intention to dispense with the tests, struck a universal alarm throughout the nation; infused terror into the church, which had hitherto been the chief support of monarchy; and even disgusted the army, by whose means alone he could now purpose to govern. The former horror against popery was augmented by polemical books and sermons; and in every dispute the victory seemed to be gained by the protestant divines, who were hest with more favourable ears, and who managed the controversy with more learning and eloquence. But another incident happened at this time, which mightily to exute the animosity of the nation against the catholic communion.

Leon X. having long harassed and molested the protestants, at last the states of the League had been enacting by Pope Leo's encouragement; and in some of them the popes had been declared irreconcilable; and which, during the course of near a century, had continued, without being disjoined, the Catholic and protestant. All the iniquities inseparable from persecution were exercised against those unhappy religiousists; who became
obstinate in proportion to the oppressions which they suffered, and either covered under a forged conversion a more violent abhorrence of the catholic communion, or sought among foreign nations for that liberty of which they were bereaved in their native country. Above half a million of the most respectable of the nation Augustan, and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every which was engraven against them, and revived among the protestants all that resentment against the bloody and persecuting spirit of popery, to which so many incidents in all ages had given too much occasion; as thus law, at least, imposes punishment over into England; and all men were disposed, from their representatives, to entertain the utmost horror against the projects which they apprehended to be formed by the king for the abolition of the protestant religion. When a prince of so much humanity, and of such signal prudence, as Lewis, could be engaged, by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace such singularity and impious measure, that might not be resisted, they united, from James, who was so much inferior in those virtues, and who had already been irritated by such obstinate and violent opposition! In vain did the king affect to throw the highest blame on the persecutions in France: in vain did he say that the practice of controlling and assembling the distressed hugonots. All these symptoms of toleration were regarded as insidious; opposite to the avowed principles of his sect, and belied by the severest admonitions of his father, who had exercised against the nonconformists in Scotland.

A. D. 1606. The smallest approach towards the introduction of popery, must, in the present disposition of the commons, be attended with such jealousy; much more so wide a step as that of dispensing with the tests, the sole security which the nation, being disappointed of the exclusion bill, found provided against those dreadful unities. The test was to be observed in pursuance; and having failed in bringing over the parliament, he made an attempt, with more success, for establishing his dispensing power, by a verdict of the judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, had accepted a commission of colonel; and directions were given his coachman to prosecute him for the penalty of five hundred pounds, which the law, establishing the tests, had granted to informers. By this legal action, the king, with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, resolved to proceed according to the opinion of the judges. The crime and exercise of the dispensing power is allowed to be very ancient in England; and though it seems at first to have been copied from royal usurpations, it may plainly be traced up as high as the reign of Henry III. In the feudal governments, men were more anxious to secure their private property than to share in the public administration; and provided no innovations were attempted on their rights and possessions, the law of the land. If they were disaffected to the sovereign, penal statutes were commonly intended to arm the prince with more authority for that purpose; and being in the main calculated for promoting his influence at occasions when there seemed no danger in allowing him to dispense with their execution, in such particular cases as might require an exception or indulgence. That practice had been long recorded of the monarchs of these times, and the power of dispensing with the statutes of provence. But though the general tenor of the penal statutes was such as gave the king a superior power in their execution beyond any of his subjects; it could not but sometimes happen, in a mixed government, that the king would be disposed to enact laws, by which the regal power, in some particulars, even where private property was not immediately concerned, might be regulated and restrained. In the twenty-third of Henry VI, a law of this kind was enacted; prohibiting the execution of the said law, in a county, by the sheriff of that county; and a clause was inserted, by which the king was disabled from granting a dispensation. Plain reason might have taught, that such a law, being executed by the king himself, was rendered useless and nugatory, and deprived the king of his prerogative: but as the dispensing power still prevailed in other cases, it was soon ahd, aided by the servility of the courts of judicature, to even to overpower the statute, which the legislature had evidently intended to secure against violation. In the reign of Henry VII the case was brought to a trial before all the judges in the exchequer-chamber; and it was decreed, that notwithstanding the strict clause above mentioned, the king might dispense with the statute: he could first, it was alleged, dispense with the prohibitory clause, and then with the statute itself. This opinion of the judges, though seemingly absurd, had ever since passed for undoubted law: the king thus dispensing with the law, the property of most of the property in England had been fixed by decsions, which juryrs, returned by such sheriffs, had given in the courts of judicature. Many other dispensations of a similar kind have been produced; nor can it be shown that the dispensing power in the king's prerogative of the crown was ever unanimously affirmed; and it became established principle in English jurisprudence, that though the king could not allow of what was morally unlawful, he could permit what was only prohibited by positive statute. Even the jealous House of Commons, which extorted the petition of right from Charles I, made no scruple, by the mouth of Glenville, their manager, to allow of the dispensing power in its full extent; and in the famous trial of sheep-money, when the popular lawyer, had freely, and in the most explicit terms, made the same concession. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of English law, had not only concurred with the House of Commons, but had been the first to insist upon the dispensing power being exercised for the benefit of the crown. And there is nothing more hazardous in the consequences of granting dispensations in that case be ever allowed to be pleaded before a court of judicature. Every prerogative of the crown, it may be said, admits of abuse; should the king pardon all criminals, law must be totally disregarded; should it be exercised for the benefit of the crown, and not the benefit of the monarchs, it would imply that the powers were intrusted to the sovereign, and we must be content, as our ancestors were, to depend upon his prudence and discretion for the preservation of the public safety. Though this reasoning seems founded on such principles as are usually admitted by lawyers, the people had entertained such violent prepossession against the use of which James had been so much so afraid, that he was obliged, before he brought on Hales' case, to displace four of the judges, Jones, Montague, Charlton, and Nes...
vil; and even Sir Edward Herbert, the chief justice, though a man of acknowledged virtue, yet, because he here supported the pretensions of the crown, was exposed to the jeers and reproach. All the principles of this case were to be in effect the same with a repealing power; and they could not conceive that less authority was necessary to repeal than to enact any statute. If one penal law was done away, why any other must not, by the same force and by what principle could even the whole laws which define property be afterwards secured from violation? The test act had ever been conceived the great barrier of the established religion under a popular successor; as such, it had been repudiated by the nation, and granted by a king; as such, during the debates with regard to the exclusion, recommended by the chancellor. By what magic, what chicanery of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity? These questions were everywhere asked; and men, straitened by precedents and decisions of great authority, were reduced either to question the antiquity of this prerogative itself, or to assert that even the practice of near five centuries could not bestow on it sufficient authority. It was not considered, that the present difficulty or seeming absurdity had proceeded from late innovations introduced into the government. Even since the beginning of this century, the parliament had, with a laudable zeal, begun to publish and establish principles fairly derivable to law and liberty: the authority of the crown had been limited in many important particulars: and penal statutes were often calculated to secure the constitution against innovations; such as a general peace, and repress crimes and immoralities. A prerogative, however, derived from very ancient and almost uniform practice, the dispensing power, still tenanted, or was supposed to remain, with the crown; sufficient in an instant to overturn this whole fabric, and to throw down all fences of the constitution. If this prerogative, which curries on the face of it such strong symptoms of an absolute authority in the prince, had, in ancient times, sunk upon the subject, this fact only proves, that scarcely any human government, much less one erected in rude and barbarous times, is entirely consistent and uniform in all its parts. But to expect that the dispensing power could, in any degree, be rendered compatible with those accurate and regular limitations, which had of late been established, and which the people were determined to maintain, was a vain hope; and though men knew not upon what principles they could seized that, if they were to preserve their laws and constitution, there was an absolute necessity for denning, at least for abolishing it. The revolution alone, which soon succeeded, happily put an end to the notion that, in ancient times, such a power existed; for the monstrous insurrection, so visible between the ancient Gothic parts of the fabric and the recent plans of liberty, was fully corrected; and to the present day, the king and his people were finally taught to know their proper boundaries.

Whatever topics lawyers might find to defend James's dispensing power, the nation thought it dangerous, if not fatal to liberty; and his resolution of exercising it may on that account be esteemed no less alarming, than if the power had been founded on the most recent and most flagrant usurpation. It was not likely, that an authority, which had been assumed, through so many obstacles, would be long kept. The king, indeed, was a most unwise edifice was at last erected: the monstrous inconsistency, so visible between the ancient Gothic parts of the fabric and the recent plans of liberty, was fully corrected; and to the present day, the king and his people were finally taught to know their proper boundaries.1

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Sunderland, some time after, scribbled not to gain favour at this price. Rochester, the treasurer, though the king's brother-in-law, yet, because he refused to give this instance to his court, was committed to the Tower. The trial of the matter was put in commission, and Bellas was placed at the head of it. All the courtiers were disgusted, even such as had little regard to religion. The dishonour, as well as distress, attending renegades, made most men resolve, at all hazards, to adhere to their ancient faith.

In Scotland, James's zeal for proselytism was more successful. The Earl of Murray, Perth, and two other noblemen made use of a very courtly reason for their conversion: they pretended, that the papers found in the late king's cabinet had opened their eyes, and had convinced them of the preference due to the catholic religion. Queenborough, who showed not the same compliance, fell into total disgrace, notwithstanding his former services, and the important sacrifices which he had made to the measures of the court. These merits could not even secure him of safety against the vengeance to which he stood exposed. His rival, Perth, who had been ready to sink under his superior interest, now acquired the ascendancy; and all the complaints exhibited against Lingay, or any other man, were those of jealousy and suspicion.

But it was in Ireland, chiefly, that the mask was wholly taken off, and that the licentious thoughts, as well as to posterity, of his violence, his zeal, and his measure of his zeal and his violence. The Duke of Ormond was recalled; and though the privy and Lord Granard, two protestants, still possessed the authority of justices, the whole power was lodged in the hands of Talbot, the general, soon after created Earl of Tyrconnel; a man who, from the blindness of his prejudices and fury of his temper, was transported with the most insensible ardour for the catholic cause. After the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, he asked his successor to be appointed all the protestants, on preference of securing the public peace, and keeping their arms in a few magazines, for the use of the militia. Next, the army was new-modelled; and a great number of officers were dismissed, because it was pretended that they or their fathers had served under Cromwell and the republic. The injustice was not confined to them. Near three hundred officers more were afterwards broken, though many of them had purchased their commissions with money, and had not four or five years been reappointed, because they were protestants, were dismissed; and being stripped even of their regimentals, were turned out to starve in the streets. While these wrongs were carrying on, Claremont was a more unjustifiable act. A new edict of the king was published, under which all Catholics were to be stripped of their houses, their goods, of all their temporal possessions, and to be reduced to the condition of beggars. The whole was immediately put into execution; and the king's zeal and his violence, he possessed no credit or authority. He was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of Tyrconnel; and as he gave all opposition in his power to the precipitate measures of the catholics, he was soon after recalled, and Tyrconnel substituted in his place. The unhappy protestants now saw all the civil authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inconvertible enemies; inflamed with benignant hatred, and stimulated by every motive, which the passion either for property, power, religion, or, was justly, the passion of mankind, could inspire. The most baseless banishments were carried on, and houses were even burnt, where there was not a suspicion of any disaffected person. In such a condition, a renewal of the ancient massacre was apprehended; and great multitudes, struck with the worst-grounded terror, deserted the kingdom, and infused into the English nation a dread of those violence, to which, after some time, they might justly, from the prevalence of the catholics, think themselves exposed.

All judicious persons of the catholic communion were disgusted with these violent measures, and could easily

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1 Sir Robert Alcake, p. 114.
CRAF. LXX.—A. D. 1666.] 
JAMES II. 

In the year 1680, when the king, having assumed the title and authority of absolute monarch, and the better to set the law at defiance, it was expressly inserted in their patent, that they were to exercise their jurisdiction, notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary. The king's design to subdue the church was now sufficiently known; and had he been able to establish the authority of the nethermost court, his reign would have been a time of national disaster and infallible. A more sensible blow could not be given, both to national liberty and religion; and happily the contest could not be tried in a cause more iniquitous and unpopular than that against Archbishop Sharp and the church of England.

The prelate was cited before the commissioners. After denying the legality of the court, and claiming the privilege of all Christian bishops to be tried by the metropolitan and his suffragans, he declared in his answer, that, as he was obliged, if he had suspended Sharpe, to act in the capacity of a judge, he could not, consistent either with law or equity, pronounce sentence without a previous citation and trial: that he had by petition represented this difficulty to his majesty; and petitions for assistance had been drawn up in the council, and two letters had been written, which, coming from a superior, was equivalent to a command, and had accordingly met with the proper obedience: that he had thus, in his approbation, confirmed himself to his present duty, and that the said commissioners had not secured to his duty in any particular, he was now willing to enrage pardon, and to make reparation. All this submission, both in Sharpe and the prelate, had no effect: Sentence against the archbishop was ordered to be drawn up, and the orders were accordingly sent to the commissioners to proceed: and by a majority of votes the bishop, as well as the doctor, was suspended.

Almost the whole of this short essay consists of attempts always imprudent, often illegal, sometimes both, against whatever was most loved and revered by the nation: even such schemes of the king's as might be laudable in themselves, were some of them, under the appearance of authority, and only to aggravate the charge against him. James was become a great patron of toleration, and an enemy to all those persecuting laws which, from the influence of the church, had been enacted both against the dissenters and catholics. Not content with granting dispensations to private persons, he assumed a power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending at once all the penal statutes, by which a conformity was required to the laws and usages of the church: this was a strain of authority, it must be confessed, quite inconsistent with law and a limited constitution; yet it was supported by many strong precedents in the history of England. Even after the persecution by which his predecessor had endeavored, and began to be well understood, the late king had, oftener than once, and without giving much umbrage, exerted this dangerous power; he had, in 1662, suspended the execution of a law which regulated extramarian; during the Dutch wars, he had twice suspended the act of navigation; and the Commons, in 1666, being resolved, contrary to the king's judgment, to enact that iniquitous law against the importation of Irish cattle, found it necessary, in order to obviate the exercise of this prerogative, which they desired not at that time entirely to deny or abrogate, to call that importation a nuisance.

Though the several measures of the sovereign were great in civil affairs, it was still greater in ecclesiastical; and the whole despotic power of the popes was often believed, in virtue of the supremacy, to have devolved to the crown. The last parliament of Charles I., by aboliishing the power of the king and convocation to frame canons without consent of parliament, had somewhat diminished the supposed extent of the supremacy; but still very considerable remains of it, at least very important claims, remained, and were occasionally made use of by the sovereign. In 1662, Charles, pleading both the rights of A. D. 1692. his supremacy and his suspending power, had granted a general indulgence or toleration; and in 1672 he renewed the same edict; though the remonstrances

Sunderland, Chancellor of Scotland, and Lord Chief Justice Herbert, The Archbishop refused the act, and the bishop of Chester was substituted in his place.
of his parliament obliged him on both occasions to retire; and in the last instance, the triumph of law over prerogative was deemed very great and memorable. In general we may remark, that where the exercise of the suspending power was agreeable and useful, the power itself was little questioned; where the exercise was弟兄 in vigour and activity to his brother, and who probably thought that his people enjoyed no liberties, but by his royal concession and indulgence.

In order to procure a better reception for his edict of toleration, the king, finding himself opposed by the church, began to pay court to the dissenters; and he imagined that, by playing one party against another, he should easily carry over both a religious policy which it much exceeded his capacity to conduct. His intentions were so obvious, that it was impossible for him ever to gain the sincere confidence and regard of the nonconformists. They knew that the genius of their religion was diametrically opposed to that of the Protestant sect of the king's affection. They were sensible, that both the violence of his temper, and the maxims of his religion, were repugnant to the principles of toleration. They had seen that, on his accession, as well as during his brother's reign, he had courted the church at their expense; and it was not till his dangerous schemes were rejected by the prelates, that he had recourse to the nonconformists. All his favours, therefore, must to every man of judgment among the sectaries, have appeared insidious: yet such was the pleasure reaped from present ease, such the animosity of the dissenters against the church, who had so long suffered at the hands of persecution, that even where extended, most of them had no principle to the king, and compliance with his measures; and could not forbear rejoicing extremely in the present depression of their adversaries.

But had the dissenters been ever so much inclined to shut their eyes with regard to the king's intentions, the manner of conducting his scheme in Scotland was sufficient to discover the secret. The king first applied to the Scottish parliament, and desired an indulgence for the Catholics alone, without comprehending the presbyterians; but that assembly, though more disposed than even the parliament of England, to sacrifice their civil liberties, resolved likewise to adhere pertinaciously to their religion; and they rejected, for the first time, the king's application. James therefore found himself obliged to exert his prerogative; and he now thought it prudent to interest a party among his subjects, in the interests of Catholics, in support of his authority. To the purposes of the harasmed and persecuted presbyterians, they heard the principles of toleration everywhere extended; and found that full permission was granted to attend conventicles; an licence, which, even during this reign, had been declared no less than a capital enormity. The king's declaration, however, of indulgence, contained clauses sufficient to depress their joy. As if popery were already prepared, he now sedulously laboured that no further use should be made of it, or render it unnecessary against any man on account of his persuasion of the protestant religion; "a promise surety of toleration given to the protestants with great precaution, and admitting a considerable degree of persecution for slight violence. It is likewise remarkable, that the king declared in express terms, that he had thought fit, by his sovereign authority,
The only proof of complaisance which James received from the pontiff, was his sending a nuncio to England, in return for the embassy. By act of parliament any communication with the Pope was made treason; yet so little remained before the king made his entrance into a public and solemn reception at Windsor. The Duke of Somerset, one of the bed-chamber, because he refused to assist at this ceremony, was dismissed from his employment. The nuncio resided openly in London during the rest of his term, and Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out, under the title of vicars apostolical, to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to their subjects, were never admitted later than the permission was given by the express allowance and permission of the king. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court to the habits of their order; and some of them were so indiscreet as to boast, that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in procession through the capital.

While the king knocked in the most open manner all the principles and prejudices of his protestant subjects, he could not sometimes be so sensible, that he stood in need of their assistance for the execution of his design. He had himself, by virtue of his prerogative, suspended the penal laws, and dispensed with the test; but he would gladly have obtained the sanction of parliament to these acts of policy, and he knew that without its consent alone would never afford a durable security to the Catholics. He had employed, therefore, with the members of parliament many private conferences, which were then called "the conference." He proposed to them measures, and promises, to break their obstinacy in this particular. Finding all his efforts fruitless, he had dissolved the parliament, and was determined to call a new one, from which he expected more complaisance and submission. By the practice of annulling the charters, the king was become master of all the corporations, and could at pleasure change every where the whole magistracy. The church party, therefore, by whom the crown had been hated so remarkably suspected, and to whom the king was visibly owed his safety from all the efforts of his enemies, was deprived of authority; and the dissenters, those very enemies, were, first in London, and afterwards in every other corporation, substituted in their place. Not content with this violent and dangerous innovation, the king appointed certain regulators to examine the qualifications of electors; and directions were given to them to exclude all such as were not: "satisfied with the test and penal statutes." Quenched in this purpose were openly proposed in all places, in order to try the sentiments of men, and enable the king to judge of the proceedings of the future parliament. The power of the crown was at this time so great; and the revenue, managed by James's frugality and industry, was in no small degree the consequence of his prosperity; that, if he had embraced any national party, he had been insured of success, and might have carried his authority to what length he pleased. But the Catholics, to whom he had entirely devoted himself, were scarcely the hundredth part of the people. Even the protestant non-conformists, whom he so much courted, were little more than the twentieth; and what was worse, reposed no confidence in the unnatural alliance contracted with the Catholics, and in the principles of toleration, which, contrary to their usual practice in all ages, seemed at present to be adopted by that sect. The king, therefore, finding little hope of a president, they were in the utmost despair of an parliament, and proceeded still in the exercise of his illegal and arbitrary authority.

The whole power in Ireland had been committed to the crown. In Scotland, all the ministers whom the king chiefly trusted were converted to that religion. Every great office in England, civil and military, was gradually transferred from the protestants. Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had ever been faithful to his interests, yet that they would oppose his in anything, was very evident from their adherence to the national religion; and had been dismissed from their employments. The violent Jefferyes himself, though he had sacrificed justice and humanity to the court; yet, because he refused also to give up his religion, was declining in favour and interest. Nothing now remained but to open the door in the church and universities to the intrusion of the Catholics. It was not long before the king made the first effort; and the prelate and established church to set up protection in the principles of liberty, he at last left himself entirely without friends and adherents.

Father Francis, a Benedictine, was recommended by the king's mandate to the university of Cambridge for the degree of master of arts; and as it was usual for the university to confer that degree on persons eminent for learning, without regard to their religion; and as they had been admitted lately to the dispensation of the king, they were by the express allowance and permission of the king. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court to the habits of their order; and some of them were so indiscreet as to boast, that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in procession through the capital.

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This act of violence, of all those which were committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the most illegal and arbitrary. When the dispensing power was the most strenuously insisted on by court lawyers, it had still been allowed, that the statutes which regard private property could not legally be infringed by that prerogative. Yet in this instance it appeared, that even these were not now secure from invasion. The privileges of a college are attacked: men are illegally dispossessed of their property, for adhering to their duty, to their oaths, and to their religion: the foundations of the church are attempted to be poisoned; nor would it be long, it was concluded, ere all ecclesiastical as well as civil premonitions would be destroyed, religion, regalia, and all their dignity, virtue, and authority, basely sacrificed to the reigning superstition. Such were the general sentiments; and as the universities have an intimate connexion with the ecclesiastical establishments, and mightily interest all those who have there received their education, this arbitrary proceeding begot a universal discontent against the king's administration.

The next measure of the court was an insult still more open to the ecclesiastics, and rendered the breach between the king and that powerful body, as well as inurable. It is strange that James, when he felt, from the sentiments of his own heart, what a mighty influence religious zeal had on the people, did not, for once, so boldly attempt it, as to suspect that it might possibly have a proportionate authority over his subjects. Could he have profited by repeated experience, he would have seen instance enough of how that communion, such as, from a wise and impartial temper, he was determined, by every possible expedient, to introduce into his kingdoms.

A.D. 1688.

The king published a second declaration of indulgence, almost in the same terms with the former, and he submitted an answer to it, disapproving as far as possible any new measure of the court without the advice of a parliament. This, however, was of no use to the king, for he had already established an assembly, and now found himself surrounded by a body of men, who were determined to resist him at every point.

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main in a sullen and refractory silence: that it was no breach of duty in subjects, even though not called upon, to discover their sense of public measures, in which every one had so intimate a concern: that the bishops in the present case were called upon, and must either express their sentiments or refrain; and, that by petition: that it could be no sedition to deny the prerogative of suspending the laws; because there really was no such prerogative, nor even could, in a legal and limited government, that even if this prerogative were real, it had yet been frequently controverted before the whole nation, both in Westminster-Hall, and in both Houses of parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of pitting the crown against the senate: and the people, instead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his majesty, and had even delivered their petition so secretly, that, except by the confession extorted from them before the council, it was found impossible to prove the authors: and that though the petition was afterwards printed and dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved that they had the least knowledge of the publication.

Their arguments were convincing in themselves, and were heard with a favourable disposition by the audience. Even some of the judges, though their seats were held during pleasure, declared themselves in favour of the prisoners. The superior motive of public good was now several hours to deliberate, and kept, during so long a time, the people in the most anxious expectation. But when the wished-for verdict, not guilty, was at length given, a loud universal ejaculation, which echoed through the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom.

Ever since Monmouth's rebellion, the king had, every summer, encamped his army on Hornsow-hill, that he might both improve their discipline, and by so unusual a spectacle overawe the mutinous people. A popish chapel was openly erected in the midst of the camp, and great pains were taken in vain, to bring over the soldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the priests had made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the officers, whom the king instructed the army, served rather, from the aversion borne them, to weaken his interest among them. It happened, that the very day on which the trial of the bishops was finished, James had reviewed the troops, and had r. tired into the tent of Lord Feversham, the prince, who was surprised to find him so great an uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultuary joy. He suddenly inquired the cause, and was told by Feversham, "It was nothing but that the army was peremptorily to declare, in favour of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he; "but so much the worse for them."

The king was still determined to rush forward in the same course, in which he was already, by his precipitate career, so fatally advanced. Though he knew that every order of men, except a handful of catholics, were enraged at his past measures, and still more terrified with the future prospect; though he saw that the same discontent had reached the army, his sole resource during the general disturbance; yet he was incapable of changing his measures, or even reviving his violence in the prosecution of them. He struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops; he issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration; that is, the whole church of England, two hundred excepted: he sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obstructed on Magdalen college, to elect the new president in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madaura; and he is even said to have nominated the same person to the see of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compassion rather than of anger: and is really surprising in a man who, in other respects, was not wholly deficient in sense and accomplishments.

A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, an event happened, which, in the king's sentiments, much over-balanced all the mortifications received on that occasion. The queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This blessing was impatiently longed for, not only by the king and queen, but by all the catholics both abroad and at home. They saw, that the king was passed middle age; and that on his death the succession must devolve to the Prince and Princess of Orange, two zealous protestants, who would soon replace every thing on ancient foundations. Vows, therefore, were offered at every shrine for a male successor: pilgrimages were undertaken, particularly one to Loreto, by the Duchess of Modena; and success was chiefly attributed to this pious journey. But in proportion as this event was agreeable to the catholics, it increased the disgust of the protestants, by depriving them of that pleasure, though somewhat distant, prospect which at present they flattered themselves. Calumny even went so far as to ascribe to the king the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death support the catholic religion in his dominions. The nation almost unanimously believed him capable, from bigotry, of committing any crime; as they had seen, that, from like motives, he was guilty of every imprudence: and the affections of nature, they thought, would be easily sacrificed to the preservation of a catholic prince.

The present occasion was not the first, when that calumny had been invented. In the year 1682, the queen, then Duchess of York, had been pregnant; and rumours were abroad that she was to give birth at that time. But was it not the case to obtrude upon the nation: but, happily, the infant proved a female, and thereby spared the party all the trouble of supporting their improbable fiction.

**CHAP. LXXI.**

Conduct of the Prince of Orange—he forms a league against France—refuses to concord with the king—resolves to oppose the king—it is applied to by the English—The league of partys—Prince's preparations—letters of France to the king—rejected—Supposed league with France—General discussions—the king refers his measures—Prince's declaration—The prince oath in England—General commission—Deputation of the army—and of Prince George—and of the Princess Anne—King's commission—and political confusions—King's treaty at Feversham—second, rivalry—King's character—Conversing terminated—Settlement of the crown—Manners and sciences.

While every motive, civil and religious, A. D. 1682, concurred to alienate from the king every rank and denomination of men, it might be expected that the throne would fall to the prince by its own weight: but such is the influence of established government; so aversive are men from beginning hazardous enterprises; that, had not an attack been made from abroad, affairs might long have remained in their present delicate situation, and James might at last have prevailed in his rash and ill-converted projects.

The Prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with the Lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct; agreeably to that sound understanding with which he was so eminently endowed. He made it a maxim to concern himself little in English affairs, and never by any measure to disgust any of his subjects on account of his own interest, and at last have it respected in his turn by the French. His natural inclinations, as well as his interest, led him to employ himself with assiduous industry in the transactions on the continent, and to oppose the grandeur of the French monarch; though he was at the same time, from personal and political considerations, conceived a violent animosity. By this conduct, he gratified the prejudices of the whole English nation: but as he crossed the inclinations of many, and was sought people, by complicity with France, he had much to engage in the favour and affections of that monarch.

James on his accession found it so much his interest to live on good terms with the heir apparent, that he showed retaining the most incredible story, but it is too small, that the same calamity, when once suffered, should yet be renewed with such success.
the prince some demonstrations of friendship; and the prince, on his part, was not wanting in every instance of duty and regard towards the king. On Monmouth's invasion he immediately despatched over six regiments of British troops, which were in the Dutch service; and he ordered to the command of the king, after the fashion of the rebels. How little sooner he might approve of James's administration, he always kept a total silence on the subject, and gave no countenance to those discontents which were propagated with such industry that it was evident the whole was the application of James himself, that the prince first openly took any part in English affairs. Notwithstanding the loyal ideas which the king had entertained of his prerogative, he found that the edicts emitted from it were not to the command of the king, from which he was, therefore, of the prince to the repeal of the penal statutes and of the test was strongly solicited by the king; and in order to engage him to agree to that measure, hopes were given, that England would second him in all those enterprises which he was capable of effecting with that sum of money planned on the continent. He was at this time the centre of all the negotiations of Christendom.

He forms a league against the prince well known to the king of France.

The emperor and the King of Spain, as long against the prince well known to the king of France. The emperor and the King of Spain, as long as they were his subjects, the subjects had inflamed all the protestant nations against him, and had raised him enemies, who, in defence of their religion as well as liberty, were obstinately resolved to oppose his progress. The city of Amsterdam and other towns in the province of Holland, which had before fallen into dependence on France, being terrified with the accounts which they every moment received of the furious persecutions against the hugenots, had now determined on a new system of defence. The union was however insurmountable. The protestant princes of the empire formed a separate league at Magdeburg for the defence of their religion. The English were averse to the blind bigotry of their sovereign, and were disposed to embrace the most desperate resolutions against him. From a view of the state of Europe during this period, it appears, that Lewis, besides rallying an illustrious reign, had wantonly by this persecution raised innumerable barriers to his arms, which otherwise it had been difficult, if not impossible, to resist.

The Prince of Orange knew how to avail himself of all these advantages. By his intrigues and influence there were no means which were not wanting in every instance of duty and regard against the French monarch. Spain and Holland became parties in the alliance. The accession of Savoy was afterwards obtained. Sweden and Denmark seemed to favour the same cause. But though these numerous states composed the greatest part of Europe, the league was still deemed imperfect and unequal to its end, so long as England maintained that neutrality, in which it was under the influence of the prince.

James, though more prone to bigotry, was more sensible to his own and to national honour than his brother; and had he not been restrained by the former motives, he would have maintained with more spirit the interests and independency of his kingdoms. When a prince, therefore, appeared of effecting his religious schemes by opposing the progress of France, he was not averse to that measure; and he gave his son-in-law room to hope, that by concursing with his views in England, he might prejudice his projects which the prince was so ambitious of promoting. A more tempting offer could not be made than to concur in the project of his enterprise character; but this the prince, with the attribute of the defence, appeared to him insurmountable. The king, he observed, had incurred the hatred of his own subjects; great apprehensions were entertained of his designs: the only resource which the nation saw, was in the future succession of that house. The prince, therefore, would do no more than to promise his consent to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the nonconformists as well as catholics were exposed to punishment; that he should determine security absolutely necessary for the established religion. The king did not remain satisfied with a single trial. There was one Stuart, a Scotch lawyer, who had been banished for pretended treasonable practices; but who, on his release, had afterwards obtained a new commission from the king. By the king's directions, Stuart wrote several letters to papal minister Fazek, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance in Holland; and besides urging all the motives for an unlimited operation, he desired that the king should, in the name, be communicated to the Prince and Princess of Orange. Fazek, during a long time, made no reply; but finding that his silence was construed into assent, he hastened to protest at those of his highnesses. He said, that it was their fixed opinion, that no man, merely because he differed from the established faith, should ever, while he remained a peaceable subject, be exposed to any punishment or even examination. That the prince and princess gave them timely consent for repealing legally all the penal statutes, as well those which had been enacted against the catholics as against the protestant nonconformists; and would concurn with the king in Holland, for their support. The test was not to be considered as a penalty inflicted on the professors of any religion, but as a security provided for the established worship. That it was no punishment on men to be treated according to the duties of the profession of their own religion, and not the public opinion of the whole nation. The military commands, indeed, were sometimes bestowed on catholics; but as they were conferred with great precaution, and still lay under the control of the magistrate, they could give no just reason for umbrage. And that their highnesses, however desirous of maligning the king, and of endeavouring, by every means, to render his reign peaceful and happy, could not agree to any measure which would expose their religion to such imminent danger. When this letter was published, as it soon was, it inspired great courage into the protestants of all denominations, and served to keep them united in their opposition to the king. But the French monarch, who was content with a simple toleration for his own religion, but was resolved that it should enjoy great credit, if not an absolute superiority, was extremely displeased, and took every occasion to express his displeasure, as well against the Prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algerine pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to dispose of their prizes. He revived some com-
plaints of the East India company with regard to the affinity of Bantams. He required the six British regiments in the Dutch service to be sent over. He began to put his navy in a formidable condition. And from all his movements, the Hollander entertained apprehensions, that he sought only an occasion and pretence for making war upon them.

Resolved to oppose his designs, he called together a Houblon, and, with other members, to organize and maintain firm in their present union against the Catholics. He knew that men of education in England were, many of them, retained in their religion more by honour than by principles; that the same was the case, when the first prophet, yet if the example were once set by some eminent persons, interest would every day make considerable conversions to a communion which was so zealously encouraged by the sovereign. Dykvelt therefore was sent over as envoy to England: and the prince gave him instructions, besides publicly recommending on the conduct of affairs both at home and abroad, to apply in his name, after a proper manner, to every sect and denomination. To the church party, he sent assurances of favour and regard, and protested, that his education in Holland had nowiseprejudiced him against episcopal government. The resolutions were exhorted not to be made and executed in a hasty spirit, for which there was much, but to wait patiently till, in the fulness of time, laws, enacted by protestants, should give them that toleration which, with so much reason, they had long demanded. Dykvelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers with which their religion and liberty were so nearly threatened.

Is applied to bring all the people to the English belief, both in church and state, made secret applications to Dykvelt, and through him to the Prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert too, though a man of great experience, was under the advice of the English, and the members of both, in church and state, made secret applications to Dykvelt, and through him to the Prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert too, though a man of great experience, was under the advice of the English, and the members of both, in church and state, made secret applications to Dykvelt, and through him to the Prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert too, though a man of great experience, was under the advice of the English, and the members of his party, and through them, made secret applications to Dykvelt, and through him to the Prince of Orange.

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Zuylenstein, who had been sent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his son, brought back to the prince invitations from most of the great men in England, to assist in a conspiracy for their master. He became a champion of the liberties. The Bishop of London, the Earl of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland, Mr. Hampden, Powle, Lester, besides many eminent citizens of London; all these persons, though of opposite parties, concurred in their applications to the prince. The whigs, suitably to their ancient principles of liberty, coalition of powers.

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sums of money, raised for other purposes, were diverted by the prince to the use of this expedition. The States had given him their entire confidence; and partly from terror of the power of France, partly from distrust at some retrenchments laid on their commerce in that kingdom, were sensible how necessary success in this enterprise was to become to their domestic happiness and security. Many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector; and, so far as his powers would allow, they supported the discontent; and, in all their councils and sittings, he held conferences with Constaing, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, with the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and with the whole house of Luxemburg. It was agreed, the secret was to release the troops employed against England, and should protect the United Provinces during the absence of the Prince of Orange. Their forces were already on their march for that purpose: a considerable encomium of the Dutch army was formed at Nuremberg: every place was in movement; and though the roots of this conspiracy reached from one end of Europe to the other, so secret were the prince’s counsels, and so fortunate was the situation of affairs, that he could still cover his preparations under other pretexts; and little suspicion was entertained of his real intentions.

The King of France, menaced by the league of Augsburg, and seeking to strike a fatal blow against his allies; and having sought a quarrel with the emperor and the elector palatine, he had invaded Germany with a great army, and had laid siege to Philipburg. The Elector of Cologne, who was also Hobbes’s son-in-law, and who with his territories almost entirely surrounded the United Provinces, had died about this time; and the candidates for that rich succession were Prince Clement of Bavaria, supported by the house of Austria, and the Cardinal of Farsenburg, a noble gentleman of France. The Pope, who favoured the allies, was able to throw the balance between the parties, and Prince Clement was chosen; a circumstance which contributed extremely to the security of the crown and the Cardinal of Farsenburg, successor of the fittest, and who, having applied to France for succour, the neighbouring territories were full of troops; and by this means the preparations of the Dutch and their allies seemed intended in order to renew their own defence against the different enterprises of Lewis.

All the articles, however, of the prince, could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the sagacity of the French court. D’Avaux, Lewis’s envoy at the Hague, had been able, by a comparison of circumstances, to trace the purposes of the preparations in Holland; and he instantly informed his master of the discovery. Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James; and accompanied the information with an important proposal. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet; and to send over any number of troops, which James should judge requisite for his security. When this proposal was rejected, he again offered to raise the siege of Philipburg, to march his army into the Netherlands, and by the terror of his arms to detain the Dutch forces in their own country. This proposal met with no better reception.

James was, as yet, entirely convinced, that his son-in-law intended an invasion upon England. Fully persuaded, himself, of the sacredness of his own authority, he fancied that a like belief had made deep impression on his subjects; and so much had the news of simple truth, he thought, to repel foreign forces, and to suppress any sedition among the populace. A small number of French troops, joined to these, might tend only to breed discontent; and afford them a pretext for mutiny among the army; and he, who was well known to be able, he thought, to repel foreign forces, and to suppress any sedition among the populace. A small number of French troops, joined to these, might tend only to breed discontent; and afford them a pretext for mutiny among the army; and he, who was well known to be able, he thought, to repel foreign forces, and to suppress any sedition among the populace. 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embraced the latter part of the alternative. For some time he remained speechless; but having recovered from his astonishment, he commanded them to take up their arms; adding with a sullen, discontented air, "That for the future, he would not do them the honour to apply for their approbation."

While the king was dismayed with these symptoms of general disaffection, he received a letter from the Marquis of Atholl, his most influential of the Highlanders, who informed him with certainty, that he was soon to look for a powerful invasion from Holland, and that petitioner Fagel had at length acknowledged that the Dutch had already sent all their transport forces into England. Though James could reasonably expect no other intelligence, he was astonished at the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand: his eyes were suddenly opened, and he found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. His ministers and counsellors, equally astonished, saw no resource but in a sudden and precipitate retraction of all those fatal measures by which he had created to himself so many enemies, foreign and domestic. He paid court to the Dutch, and the king refrains offered to enter into any alliance with them for common security; he replaced in all the counties the deputies and judges, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws; he restored the charters of London, and of all the corporations: he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission: he took off the Bishop of London's house, which the rebels had expelled presbyters and fellow-saints of Magdalen college: and he was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. All these measures were regarded as symptoms of fear, not of repentance. The bishops, instead of promising success, or suggesting comfort, recapitulated to him all the instances of his misadministration, and advised him thenceforth to follow more humane views. And intelligence arrived of a great disaster which had befallen the Dutch fleet, it is commonly believed, that the king recalled, for some time, the concessions which he had made to Magdalen college; a bad sign of his sincerity in his other concessions. Nay, so prevalent were his unfortunate prepossessions, that amidst all his present distresses, he could not forbear, at the baptism of the young prince, appointing the Pope to be one of the godfathers.

The report, that this reprobation child was to be imposed on the nation, had been widely spread, and greedily received, before the birth of the Prince of Wales: but the king, who, without seeming to take notice of the matter, met him on Monday, and that day, from an ill-timed haughtiness, totally neglected it. He disdained, he said, to satisfy those who would deem him capable of so base and villainous an action. Finding that the columns raised ground, and had made deep impres- sion on his subjects, he was now obliged to submit to the mortifying task of ascertaining the reality of the birth. Though no particular attention had been beforehand given to insure proof, the evidence, both of the queen's pregnancy and delivery, was rendered indiscernible; and so much the more, as no argument or proof of any importance, nothing but popular rumour and surmise, could be thrown into the opposite scale.

Perceiving, the Prince of Orange's declaration was dispersed over the kingdom, and met with universal approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated: the dispensing and suspending power; the party of ecclesiastics, in the filling of all offices with catholics, and the raising of a Jesuit to be privy counsellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, and seminaries, for that sect; the displacing of communicants by those banished to give sentence according to orders received from court; the annulling of the charters of all the corporations, and the subjecting of elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; the treating of petitions, even the most reasonable, from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exclaiming in that kingdom an obedience without reserve; and the violent pros- spectrum against the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. in order to redress all these grievances, that he intended to come over to England with an armed force, which might protect him from the king's evil counsellors: and that his sole aim was to have a legal and free establishment of the church and liberty of the nation, as well as examine the proofs of the Prince of Wales's legitimacy. No one, he added, could entertain such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, either that he had formed any design whatever of a full and lasting settlement of religion, liberty, and property. The force which he meant to bring with him was totally disproportionate to any views of conquest; and it was absurd to suspect, that so many persons of high rank, both in church and state, would have given him so many solemn invitations for such a pernicious purpose. Though the English ministers, terrified with this enterprise, had pretended to repress some of the grievances complained of; there still remained the foundation of all grievances, upon which they could in an instant be again erected, an arbitrary and despotic power in the crown. And for this usurpation there was no possible remedy, but by a full restoration of all the rights of the subject in a free parliament.

So well concerted were the prince's measures, that, in three days, about four hundred transports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimrod to Camber, the natural and necessary embarkation; and the prince set sail from Helvoet,

of Oct.

St succoured, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men. The first encountered the storm, which drove him back: but his loss being soon repaired, the fleet put to sea under the command of Admiral Herbert, and made sail with a fair wind towards the west of England. The same wind dispersed the king's squadron, and enabled the Dutch to pass the straits of Dover without opposition. Both shores were covered with multitudes of people, who, besides admiring the grandeur of the spectacle, were held in anxious suspense with respect to the success of an enterprise, the most important which, during some ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The prince had a prosperous voyage, and landed his army safely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason.

The Dutch army marched first to Exeter; and the prince's declaration was there published. That whole county was so terrified with the executions which had been already made in London, that forty thousand men joined the prince. The Bishop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to court intelligence of the invasion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbishopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was universally believed, of bestowing it on some catholic. The first person who joined the prince was Major Burnington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees the Earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in a state of commotion, London took arms in Cheshire, the Earl of Danby seized York, the Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince, the Earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in the north. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. Even those who took not the field against him, were able to do him service and confound his counsels. A petition for a free parliament was signed by twenty-four bishops and peers of the greatest distinction, and was presented to the king. No one thought of opposing or resisting the invader.

But the most surprising event was the capitulation, which, from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. The officers
seemed all disposed to prefer the interests of their country and of their religion to those principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly esteemed the most sacred duties of men by men of that profession. Lord Col-
chester, son of the Earl of Rivers, was the first officer that deserted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like attempt to desert, but was detained some time by the Duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner: Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, was more successful. He attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought a considerable part of them to the prince’s quarters. Several officers of distinction informed Fevers-
ham, the general, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange.

Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in Ireland, and had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the king’s favour: yet even he could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever showed extreme confidence in him. He carne
with him the Duke of Grafton, natural son of the late
king, Colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons.

This conduct was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and requisite, even after the most upright, disinterested, and public-spirited behaviour to render it justifiable. The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, and was received that day by a shower of stones, and sincere friend, and he was extremely shocked with this, as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. There remained none in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discover-
ed symptoms of discontent, he concluded it final of treachery; and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would find a similar preference in his service. During this ar-
my, his conduct, and perplexity, he embraced a sud-
den resolution of drawing off his army, and retreating to London: a measure which could only send more tears, and serious harm to the treacherous.

But Churchill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendancy over the family of Prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy king, who was already staggering with the violent shocks which he had received. Andover was the
first stage of James’s retreat towards London; and Prince George, together with the young Duke of Ormond, Sir George Hoot, and some other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night-time, and retired to the prince’s camp. No sooner did this news reach London, than the Princess Anne, in her seeding fear of the injuries which she had
exerted in company with the Bishop of London and Lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham; where the Earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the county of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection.

The late king, in order to gratify the nation, had intrusted the education of his nieces entirely to protestants; and as these processes were deemed the chief resource of the established religion after their father’s defection, great care had been taken to instil into them, from their earliest in-
fluence, the strongest prejudices against popery. During the violence of such popular currents as now prevailed in England, all private considerations are commonly lost in the general passion; and the more principle any person possesses, the more apt he is, on such occasions, to neglect and abandon his domestic duties. Though these causes may account for the behaviour of these nieces, they had
nowise prepared the king to expect so astonishing an event.

King’s concern. He burst into tears, when the first intelli-
genue of it was conveyed to him. Undoubtedly he foresaw the hazard of his project, that he might extricate himself from his present misfortune, was, as an act of firmness and resolution. The Prince of Orange had with good reason embraced a coarty opinion; and he
deemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the nation, so long as the king kept possession of the crown. Acting, therefore, by the public motive, and with
no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he
determined to use every expedient which might inti-
midate the king, and make him quit that throne which he himself was the first to establish, and the most unfor-

3 His grandfather, the first Duke of Gironay, had died this year, on the

moved by any means to the exasperation of his Cloak authority; but the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent laid hold of his heart; when he found himself

abandoned in his uttermost distress by a child, and a vir-
tuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the most
tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extre-
me of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" It
was indeed singular, that a prince whose chief
blame consisted in imprudences, and misguided
principles, should be exposed, from religious antipathy, to
such treatment at the hands of his own religion, or to the
enemies of tyrants that have disgraced the records of history,
never met with from their friends and family.

So violent were the prejudices which at this time pre-
vailed, that the country, as well as the court, was not averse by the
favour of their esteem or recommendation. Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it; but seemed in this eminence as much de-
pressed with adversity, as he had been before highly elated
by prosperity. He was called a public enemy by many late
whom were in London; and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament, and in sending Halifax,
Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat
with the Prince of Orange, in behalf of royal authority which he exercised. He even heartened to imprudent counsel, by which he was prompted to de-
sert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what
their fondest hopes could have promised them.

The question of the succession, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was
struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a
parliamentary impeachment, from which, she was told, the
majority of the peers were not exempted. The high
and mighty, counsels and above, all the prelates, were aware, that they
should be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual
punishment was the smallest penalty which they must ex-
pect from national resentment. They were, therefore, de-
sirous of carrying the king along with them; whose
presence, they knew, would still be some resource and
protection to them to foreign countries, and whose restora-
tion, if it was successfully followed up, would again establish
in power and authority. The general defection of the
protestants made the king regard the catholics as his only
subjects, on whose counsel he could rely; and the fatal
catastrophe of his father afforded them a plausible reason for making him a sacrifice. The influence of circumstances was not, during his present dis-
tructions, sufficiently weighed. Even after the people were
inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles I.
alone could not be deemed a national deed; it was perpetrated
by a fanatical army, pushed on by a daring and eschatolo-
gical leader; and the whole kingdom had ever entertained,
and did still entertain, a violent abhorrence against that
denomination. The situation of public affairs, therefore,
more resembled what it was forty years before, than the
Prince of Orange, either in birth, character, fortune, or con-
nections, could be supposed a parallel to Cromwell.

The emissaries of France, and among the rest, Barillon,
the French ambassador, were busy about the king; and
they had entertained a very false notion, which they in-
stilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard
the public settlement, and beguile universal confusion, than
his deserting the kingdom. The Prince of Orange had
with good reason embraced a coarty opinion; and he
deemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the
nation, so long as the king kept possession of the
crown. Acting, therefore, by the public motive, and with
no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he
determined to use every expedient which might inti-
midate the king, and make him quit that throne which he
himself was the first to establish, and the most unfor-

31st of July.
which he proposed, implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; and he stopped not a moment the march of his army towards London.

The news, which the king received from all quarters, served to continue the panic into which he was fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Colonel Copel, deputy governor of Hull, made himself master of that important fortress; and threw into prison Lord Langdale, the governor, a catholic; together with other noblemen of the same religion. The town of Newcastle received Lord Larmes, and declared for the Prince of Orange and a free parliament. The Duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, joined forces. They entered切成乔town and rilenced its capitulation was read at Oxford by the Duke of Ormond, and received with great applause by that loyal university, who also made an offer of their plate to the prince. Every day, some person of quality or distinction, and among the rest the Duke of Somerset, went over to the enemy. A violent declaration was dispersed in the prince's name, but without his participation; in which every one was commanded to seize and punish all papists, who, contrary to law, pretended either to carry arms, or exercise any act of authority. It may not be unworthy of notice, that a merry ballad, called Lilibullero, being at this time published in derision of the papist and its adherents, was greatly depended on by the populace and was sung by all ranks of men, even by the king's army, who were strongly seized with the national spirit. This incident both discovered, and served to increase, the general discontent of the kingdom.

The contagion of mutiny and disobedience had also reached Scotland, whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Halkarins, the treasurer, were withdrawn, in order to receive the applications to the Duke of Argyll. The Marquis of Athole, together with Viscount Tarbat, and others, finding the opportunity favourable, began to form intrigues against Perth, the chancellor; and the presbyters and other magistrates of that city, did not shun to second them. The chancellor, apprehensive of the consequences, found it expedient to abscond; and the populace, as if that event were a signal for their insurrection, immediately rose in arms, and ruled the city. The Marquis of Athole, and all the zealous royalists, were obliged to conceal themselves; and the privy council, instead of their former submissive strains of address to the king, and violent ex post facto their fellow-subjects, now made applications to the Prince of Orange, as the restorer of law and liberty.

The king, every moment alarmed, more and more, by these proofs of a general disaffection, not daring to repose trust in those whom he had formerly exposed to more danger than himself, agitated by disdain towards ingratitude, by indignation against disloyalty, impelled by his own fears and those of others, precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; and he sent off beforehand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of Count Laurain, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales; and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. As if this measure had not been the most grateful to his enemies of any that he could adopt, he had carefully concealed his intention from all the world; and none was surprised which he left the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the discovery of this strange event. Men beheld, all of a sudden, the ruins of government thrown up by the hand which held them; and saw some who had any right, or even pretension, to take possession of them.

The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, the king appointed not one, who should, in his absence, succeed him. The nobles were exposed to more danger than himself, agitated by disdain towards ingratitude, by indignation against disloyalty, impelled by his own fears and those of others, precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; and he sent off beforehand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of Count Laurain, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales; and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. As if this measure had not been the most grateful to his enemies of any that he could adopt, he had carefully concealed his intention from all the world; and none was surprised which he left the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the discovery of this strange event. Men beheld, all of a sudden, the ruins of government thrown up by the hand which held them; and saw some who had any right, or even pretension, to take possession of them.

But it must be considered, that his subjects had first deserted him, and entirely lost his confidence; that he might reasonably be supposed to entertain fears for his liberty, if not for his life; and that the conditions would not probably be moderate, which the nation, sensible of his insubordinate temper, enraged with the violation of their laws and the danger of their religion, and foreseeing his resentment on account of their past resistance, would, in his present circumstances, exact from him.

By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace were masters; and there was no disorder, which, during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult and destroyed all the massacre excuses. They even connected and rioted the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassador, where many of the catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jefferes, the chancellor, who had disguised himself in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused, that he died a little after. Even the army, which should have suppressed these tumults, would, it was apprehended, serve rather to increase the general disorder. Faversham had no sooner heard of the king's flight, than he disbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and, without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country.

In this extremity, the bishops and peers who were in town, for the remaining authority of the state, (for the privy council, composed of the king's creatures, was totally disregarded,) thought proper to assemble, and to purpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the Marquis of Halifax, and appointed the members of the lord of all the action to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city; they issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons; and they made application to the parliament, who, it was highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated.

The prince, on his part, was not wanting to the tide of success; he, better in all things, knowing the esteem which authority which the present exiguity had put into his hands. Besides the general popularity attending his cause, a new incident made his approach to London still more grateful. In the present trepidation of the people, a rumour arose, either from chance or design, that the disband ed Irish had taken arms, and had commenced an universal massacre of the Protestants. This ridiculous belief was spread all over the kingdom in one day; and beguine every where the consternation, the deepseated distress, the deep and urgent needs, which there were not in the range which naturally succeeds to such popular panics. While everyone, from principle, interest, or animosity, turned his back on the unhappy king, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived, and the king seized that he had been seized by the populace at Faversham, as he was making his escape in disguise; that he had been much abused, till he was known; but that the gentility had then interposed and protected him, though they still refused to consent to his escape. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent Zouch with orders, that the king should approach no nearer than Rochester; but the message came too late. He was already arrived in London, where the populace, moved by compassion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, had received him with shouts and acclamations.

During the king's abode at Whitehall, little attention was paid to him by the nobility or any persons of distinction. They had all of them been previously disgusted on account of his blind partiality to the catholics, and they knew that they were now become criminal in his eyes by their late public application to the Prince of Orange. He himself showed not any symptom of spirit, nor discovered any intention of opposing the design of his new master, who, he had once thrown aside. His authority was now plainly expired; and as he had exercised his power, while possessed of it, with very precipitate and haughty counsels,
he relinquished it by a despair equally precipitate and pusillanimous.

Nothing remained for the now ruling powers, but to deliberate how they should dispose of his person. Besides that the prince might justly be supposed to have possessed more generosity than to think of offering violence to an unhappy monarch, so nearly related to him, he knew that nothing would so effectually promote his own views as the king's returning into France, a country at all times obnoxious to the English. It was determined, therefore, to push him into that measure, which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. The king having sent Lord Faversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference with him, was brought to the public sentiment, that nobleman was put in arrest, under pretence of his coming without a pass: the Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where James then resided, and to displace the English; and Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delaware brought a message from the prince, which they delivered to the king in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the Duchess of Lauderdale's. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of returning to Chester, a town near the sea-coast. It was perceived, that the artifact had taken effect; and that the kingdom, terminated with this harsh treatment, had renewed his former resolution about the kingdom.

He lingered, however, some days at Chester, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed desirous of an invitation still to keep possession of the throne. He was, however, sensible, that a stay too long in his own power, was too much to his people's loyalty, and, in confidence of their submission, had offered the greatest violence to their principles and prejudices; so had he, at last, on finding his disappointment, gone far in the other extreme, and bad himself arrested and despoiled of all sense of duty or allegiance. But observing that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own counsels, he submitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earnest letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which

Second escape, waited for him; and he arrived safely at Amblie, in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain. Louis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard; a conduct which, more than his most signal victories, contributes to the honour of that great monarch.

The first act of the new prince, whom, if we consider his personal character rather than his public conduct, we may safely pronounce more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of those qualities which form a good citizen: even some of those which, had they been combined in one man, as well as in the millenial had served to compose a good sovereign. In domestic life, his conduct was irreproachable, and is entitled to our approbation. Severe but open in his enmities, steady in his counsels, diligent in his schemes, brave in his enterprises, faithful, sincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men; such was the character with which the Duke of York mounted the throne of England. In that high station, his frugality of public money was remarkable, his industry exemplary, his application to naval affairs successful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealousy of national honour laudable: what then was wanting to make him an excellent sovereign? A due regard and affection to the religion and constitution of his country. Had he been possessed of this essential quality, even his middling talents, added by so many virtues, would have rendered his reign honourable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellence which he possessed became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

The success of this prince (a virtue on which he highly valued himself) has been much questioned in those regions which he had under his rule: liberties and religion of the nation. It must be confessed, that his reign was almost one continued invasion of both; yet it is known, that, to his last breath, he persisted in asserting, that he never meant to subvert the laws, or procure more power than at first; yet he could not have been surprised, if his adherents had too fancied the state of the Roman Catholics. This question can only affect the personal character of the king, not our judgment of his public conduct. Though by a stretch of casuistry we should admit of his sincerity in these professions, the people were equally justifiable in their resistance of him. So lofty was the idea which he had entertained of his legal authority, that it left him no thought of obtaining it from his own people. His conduct, therefore, was dependent on his sovereign will and pleasure. And such was his zeal for proselytism, that whatever he might at first have intended, he plainly stopped not at toleration and equality: he confined all power, encouragement, and favour, to the catholics: converts from interest would soon have multiplied upon him: if not the greater, at least the better, part of the people, he would have flattered himself, that in a short time after his accession to the throne, a little time have thought it just, as well as pious, to bestow on them all the public establishments. Rigours and persecutions against heretics would speedily have followed; and thus liberty and the protestant religion would, in the issue, have been totally subverted; though we should not suppose that James, in the commencement of his reign, had formally fixed a plan for that purpose. And, on the whole, allowing this king to have possessed good qualities and good intentions, his conduct serves only, on that account, as a stronger proof, how dangerous it is to allow any prince, infected with the catholic superstition, to wear the crown of these kingdoms.

After the prince's escape, the courage and abilities of the Prince of Orange, seconded by surprising fortune, had effected the deliverance of this island; and with very little effusion of blood (for only one officer of the Dutch army and a few private soldiers died in that attempt); they had deposed a great prince, supported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army. Still the more difficult task remained, and what perhaps the prince regarded as not the least important: the obtaining for himself that crown which had fallen from his predecessors. Other men, enraged, entangled in the subtleties and forms of their profession, could think of no expedient, but that the prince should claim the crown by right of conquest; should immediately assume the title of sovereign; and should convene a parliament, which, being thus legally summoned by a king in possession, could ratified whatever had been transacted before they assembled. But this measure, being destructive of the principles of liberty, the only principles on which his future throne could be established, was prudently rejected by the prince, who, finding himself possessed of the goodwill of the nation, resolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction. The peers and bishops, the lords and commons, the great number of men assembled, desiring him to summon a convention by circular letters; to assume, in the mean time, the management of public affairs; and to concert measures for the security of Ireland. At the same time, and arming himself with the weight of his title, he had left, in order to apologize for his late desertion, by the violence which had been put upon him. This step was a sufficient indication of their intentions with regard to that unhappy monarch.

The prince seemed still unwilling to act upon an authority which might be deemed so imperfect: he was desirous of obtaining a more express declaration of the public consent. A solemn expedition was therefore fitted out, for that purpose. All the members who had sat in the House of Commons during any parliament of Charles II. (the only parliament whose election was regarded as free,) were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. This was regarded as the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned during the present emergency. They unanimously voted the same address with the Lords: and the prince, being thus supported by all the House, which could possibly be obtained in this critical juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and Corporation com-

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enpowered sent letters to the counties and Corporation corporations of England; and his orders were universal, not only of preserving tranquillity throughout the kingdom; and the prince's administration was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received the orders: the army, without murmur or opposition, allowed the royal ensign to be unfurled, and instantly supplied him with a loan of two hundred thousand pounds.
The conduct of the prince with regard to Scotland, was founded on the same prudent and moderate maxims. Finding that there were many Scotchmen of rank at that time never regarded with suspicion, and before them his intentions, and asked their advice in the present emergency. This assembly, consisting of thirty noblemen and about fourscore gentlemen, chose Duke Hamilton as a master to sympathise, whose character, was determined to pay court to the present authority. This eldest son, the Earl of Arran, professed an adherence to King James; a usual policy in Scotland, where the father and son, during civil commotions, were often preserved by the mischance of concerted schemes, and all events, the family from atander. Arran proposed to invite back the king upon conditions; but as he was vehemently opposed in this motion by Sir Patrick Hume, and seconded by anybody, the assembly made an offer to the prince of the present administration, which he willingly accepted. To anticipate a little in our narration; a convention, by circular letters from the prince, was summoned at Edinburgh on the twenty-second of March; where it was soon visible, that the interest of the malcontents would entirely prevail. The more zealous royalists, regarding this assembly as illegal, had foreborne to appear at elections; and the other party were returned for most places. This assembly was immediately seconded by a coalition of whip and tory: the former party alone had overpowered the government, and were too much enraged by the past injuries which they had suffered, to adopt a perpetual revolution. No sooner was it appointed that the purpose of the convention was discovered, the Earl of Balcarres and Viscount Dundee, leaders of the tores, withdrew from Edinburgh; and the convention having ceased a bold and decisive vote, that King James, by his mal-administration and his abuse of power, had forfeited all title to the crown, they made a tender of the royal dignity to the Prince of Orange.

The English convention was assembled; and it immediately appeared, that the House of Commons, both from the prevailing humour of the people, and from the influence of present authority, were mostly chosen from among the whig party. After thanks were unanimously given by both Houses to the Prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them, a less decisive vote than that of the Scottish convention was in the present case passed by a great majority of the Commons, and sent up to the Peers for their consideration. It was contained in these words: "That King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the Crown and the people, and by revoking the laws and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper House, met with great opposition; of which it is here necessary for us to explain the causes.

The tores and the high-church party, finding themselves once more in a lower assembly of the laws and of their religion, zealously promoted the national revolution, and had on this occasion departed from those principles of non-resistance, of which, while the king favoured them, they had formerly made such loud professions. Their present apprehensions had prevailed over their political tenets; and the unfortunate James, who had too much trusted to those general declarations, which never will be reduced to practice, found in the issue, that both parties were secretly united against him. But no sooner was the danger past, and the general fears somewhat allayed, than party prejudices resumed, in some degree, their former authority; and the tores were abashed at that victory, which their agents, during the preceding transactions, had obtained. The view of the events, therefore, to steer a middle course; and, though generally determined to oppose the king's return, they resolved not to consent to deposing him, or altering the constitution of the country. A recent coalition, with a great power was the expedition which they proposed; and a late instance in Portugal seemed to give some authority and precedent to that plan of government.

In favour of this scheme, the tores urged, that, by the uniform tenor of the English laws, the title to the crown was never ever regarded as secret, and could only be seized by a coalition, and by no mal-administration, be forfeited by the sovereign: that to dethrone a king and to elect his successor, was a practice quite unknown to the constitution, and had a tendency to render monarchies precarious; and that the sovereign, from his tender years, from lunacy, or from other natural infirmity, was incapacitated to hold the reins of government, both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, and the latter, if vested with the crown, would invest himself with the power of the administration: that the invertebrate and dangerous prejudices of King James had rend red him as unfit to sway the English sceptre, as if he had fallen into lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourse to the same remedy: that the election of one king was a precedent for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or what was worse, into a turbulent and audacious monarchy: that the case was still more dangerous, if there remained a prince, who claimed the crown by right of succession, and disputed, on so plausible a ground, the title of the present sovereign: that though the doctrine of non-resistance might hold good, a king being the absolute, yet was the belief of it very expedient; and to establish a government which should have the contrary principle for its basis, was to lay a foundation for perpetual revolutions. A question of the constitution of a regent was indeed exposed to many inconveniences; but so long as the line of succession was preserved entire, there was still a prospect of putting an end, some time or other, to the public discord, and that secret and insidious occurrence in history, especially in the English history, whereby disputed title had not, in the issue, been attend ed with much greater ills, than all those which the people had sought to shun, by departing from the lineal successor. The leaders of the whig party, on the other end, asserted, that if there were any ill in the precedent, that ill would result as much from establishing a regent, as from dethroning one king, and appointing his successor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and rashly embraced by the people, be less the source of public convulsions than the other: that if the laws gave no express permission to depose the sovereign, neither did they authorize resisting his authority, or separating the power from the throne: that a regent was unknown, except where the king was dethroned by reason of his tender age or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that case, his will was supposed to be involved in that of the regent; that it would be the same means for an interregnum, if the commission, received from a prince, whom we ourselves acknowledged to be the lawful sovereign, and no jury would decide so contrary both to law and common sense, as to condemn such a pretended criminal: that even the prospect of being delivered from this monstrous inconvenience was, in the present situation of affairs, more distant than that of putting an end to a disputed succession: that allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been born abroad; he would be educated in principles destructive of the constitution and established religion; and he would probably leave a son liable to the same insupportable objection; that if the whole line of the crown were consumed, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for, while the administration was conducted in their name, and while they were still acknowledged to possess the legal title; and that a nation incapable of governing by regents or protectors, approached much nearer to a republic than one subject to monarchs, whose hereditary regular succession, as well as present authority, was fixed and appointed by the people. This question was opposed with great zeal, by the opposite parties in the House of Peers. The chief speakers among the tores were Clarendon, Rochester, and Nottingham; among the whigs, Halifax and Dunby. The question was carried by two votes, one against forty-one. All the pretates, except two, the
bishops of London and Bristol, voted for a regent. The
primate, a disinterested but pulilous man, kept, at a
distance both from the prince's court and from parliament.
The House of Peers proceeded next to examine pieces
of evidence, and to bring them up to the Commons. After
a long debate, "Whether there were an original contract
between king and people?" and the affirmative was carried
by fifty-three against forty-six; a proof that the tones
were already losing ground. The next question was,
"Whether King James had broken the original contract
and, after a slight opposition, the affirmative prevailed.
The Lords proceeded to take into consideration the word
"abated," and it was carried that "abated" was more
properly applied to James, having broken the original contract and "deverted" the government, the throne was thereby vacated?" This question was debated with more heat and contention than any
of the former; and upon a division, the tones prevailed by
clever voices, and it was carried, to omit the last article
with regard to the vacancy of the throne. The vote was
sent back to the Commons with these amendments.

The Earl of Danby had entertained the project of be-
coming the crown solely upon the Prince of Orange,
and of admitting her as hereditary legal successor to King
James; passing by the infant prince, as illegitimate or
supposititious, His change of party in the last question
gave the Lords no considerable majority in the number of
voices. The Commons still insisted on their own
freedom to deliberate, and sent up reasons why the Lords
should be requested to depart from this amendment. The
Lords were not convinced; and it was necessary to have
a free conference, in order to settle this controversy. Never
suredly was national debate more important, or managed
by more able speakers; yet it is surprising to find the topics
insisted on by both sides so frivolous; more resembling
the verbal disputes of the schools, than the solid reason-
ings of statesmen and legislators. In public transac-
tions of such consequence, the true motives which produce any
measure are seldom arrowed. The whigs, now the ruling
party, having united with the tones, in order to bring about
the revolution, had so much deference for their new allies,
as not to insist that the crown should be declared forfeited,
an account of the king's mal-administration; such a de-
claration, they thought, would imply too great a censure
of the old Tory principles, and too open a preference of
their own. They agreed, therefore, to combine together
the king's abusing his power, and his withdrawing from the
king's house by his own counsel and inclination; whether
he had given a virtual, though not a verbal, consent to
dethroning himself. The tones took advantage of this ob-
vious impropriety, which had been occasioned merely by
the king's averse to the Caroline succession, and the
determined upon the word "deverted" as more significant and
intelligible. It was retorted on them, that however that
expression might be justly applied to the king's withdraw-
ing himself, it could not, with any propriety, be extended
to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both
parties, while they warped their principles from regard to
their antagonists, and from prudential considerations, lost
the praise of consistence and uniformity.

The managers for the Lords next insisted, that even
allowing the king's abuse of power to be equivalent to an
abdication, or, in other words, to a civil death, it could
operate on no other than his voluntary resignation, or his
natural death, and could only make way for the next suc-
cessor. It was a maxim of English law, "that the throne was
never vacant: but instantly, upon the demise of one king,
was filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to all the
authority of his predecessor. And however young or unfit
for government the successor, however unfortunate in his
situation, though he were even a captive in the hands of
public enemies; yet no just reason, they thought, could be
advanced, against the default of his own, he should lose a
crown, to which by law he was fully entitled.

The managers for the Commons might have opposed this
reasoning by many specious, and even solid, arguments.
They might have said, that the great security for alleg-
iance, being merely opinion, any scheme of their own
being adopted in which it was most probable the people
acquiesce and persevere; that though, upon the natural
death of a king whose administration had been agreeable
*to the laws, many and great inconveniences would be
endured, rather than exclude his lineal successor; yet the
same might happen to any successor proscribed by his
rivals, by their revolt, to dethrone a prince whose illegal
means had, in every circumstance, violated the constitution:
that, in these extraordinary revolutions, the government reverted,
in some degree, to its first principles, and the commu-
nity acquired a new original contracting principle; that
expedients, which, on other occasions, might be deemed
violent and irregular; that the recent use of one extrava-
tional remedy reconciled the people to the practice of
another, and that the king's principle, quite as much as
theirs, was to recur to that which had run in on its usual tenor:
and that King James, having carried abroad his son, as well
withdrawn himself, had given such just provocation to the
kingdom, had voluntarily involved it in such difficulties,
that the interests of his family were justly sacrificed to
the public settlement and tranquillity. Though these topics
seem reasonale, they were entirely forborne by the whig
managers; both because they implied an acknowledgment
of the infant prince's legitimacy, which it was agreed to
keep as a secret, and because they contained too express
a condemnation of Tory principles. They were content to
maintain the vote of the Commons by shifts and evasions;
and both sides parted at last without coming to any agree-
ment.

But it was impossible for the public to remain long in
the present situation. The perseverance, therefore, of the
lower House in its amendments, and the desertion of some Peers to the whig party, the vote of the
Commons, without any alteration, passed by a majority
of fifteen in the upper House, and received the sanction
of every part of the legislature which then subsisted.

It happens unluckily for those who maintain an original
contract between the magistrate and people, that great
revolutions of government, and new settlements of civil
constitutions, are commonly conducted with such violence,
humiliation, and disorder, that the public voice can scarcely
ever be heard; and the opinions of the citizens are at that
time less attended to than even in the common course of
administration. The present transactions in England, it
must be confessed, are a singular exception to this ob-
ervation. The new elections had been carried on with
great tranquillity and freedom: the prince had ordered
the troops to depart from all the towns where the voters
assembled: a tumultuary petition to the two Houses having
been politely received; the action of the House of Lords
delayed for his advantage, effectually to suppress it: he
entered into no intrigues, either with the Whig or Legis-
ators: he kept himself in a total silence, as if he had
been nowise over-heard; and the people, forborne to
form cabals with the leaders of parties, he dissuaded
even to bestow caresses on those whose assistance
might be useful to him. This conduct was highly merr
tious, and discovered great moderation and magnanimity:
even though the prince, unfortunately, through the whole
course of his life, and on every occasion, was noted for an
address so cold, dry, and distant, that it was very difficult
for him, on account of any interest, to soften or fam-
iliarize it.

At length the prince designed to break silence, and to
express, though in a private manner, his sentiments on
the present situation of affairs. He called together Hal-
ifax, Shrewsbury, Darby, and a few more; and he told
them, that having been invited over to restore their liberty,
he had engaged in this enterprise, and had at last happily
effected his purpose. That it belonged to the parliament,
now chosen and assembled, with his advice and deter-
mined measures for the public settlement; and he pretended
not to interpose in their determinations. That he heard of
several schemes proposed for establishing the government:
some insisted on a regent; some on majorities; others
proposing the crown to be annually disputed: the only scheme
he could see, so far from forming cabals with the leaders of parties, he dissuaded
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JAMES II

whole line of Stuart; to maintain, that their administration was one continued encroachment on the *incontestable* rights of the people; is not giving due honour to that great event, which not only put a period to their hereditary succession, but made a new settlement of the whole constitution. The increased power which they had attained by either of these two plans of settlement, that it would be totally out of his power to assist them in carrying it into execution; his affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned, but such as were left were to show him so much leisure as would be requisite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

These views of the prince were seconded by the princess herself, who, as she possessed many virtues, was a most obsequious wife to a husband, who, in the judgment of the generality of her sex, would have appeared so little attractive and amiable. All considerations were neglected, when they came in competition with what she deemed her duty to the prince. When Danby and others of her Tartars wrote her an account of their schemes and proceedings, she expressed great displeasure; and even transmitted their letters to her husband, as a sacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The Prince was concerned in the same plan for the settlement of the crown, and being promised an ample revenue, was content to be postponed in the succession to the crown. And as the title of her infant brother was, in the present establishment, entirely neglected, she might, on the whole, deem herself, in point of interest, a gamer by this revolution.

Settlement of the crown. The chief parties, therefore, being agreed, the convention passed a bill, in which they settled the crown on the Prince of Orange; the sole administration to remain in the prince: the Princess of Denmark to succeed after the death of the Prince and Princess of Orange; her posterity after those of the prince, but before those of the prince by any other wife. The convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points which had, of late years, been disputed between the king and people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the English government.

Manners, arts. Thus have we seen through the whole age of the principality of four reigns, a continual struggle maintained between the crown and the people: privilege and prerogative were ever at variance: and both parties, beside the present object of dispute, had many latent claims, which, on a favourable occasion, they produced against their adversaries. Governments too steady and uniform, as they are seldom free, so are they, in the judgment of some, attended with another sensible inconvenience: they abate the active powers of men: deprive, corrupt, injure, and genius; and produce a universal lethargy in the people. Though this opinion may be just, the fluctuation and contest, it must be allowed, of the English government were, during these reigns, much too violent both for the repose and safety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or managed to pernicious purposes: and in the domestic administration there was left a continued fever, either секрет or manifest, which they transmitted to the crown and disorders. The revolution forms a new epoch in the constitution; and was probably attended with consequences more advantageous to the people, than any thing from an exceptional administration. By deciding many important questions in favour of liberty, and still more by that great precedent of deposing one king, and establishing a new family, it gave such an ascendant to popular principles, as has put the nature of the English constitution beyond all controversy. And it may justly be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that we, in this island, have ever since enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the most entire system of liberty, that ever has appeared in the British empire.

To decry with such violence, as is affected by some, the
imposture of the popish plot, a fiction which exceeds the ordinary bounds of vulgar credulity. But however singular these events may appear, there is really nothing alto- either new in any period of modern history: and it is remarkable, that the delusion and prejudice which have been so useful in a free constitution, have usually been such as men of profanity and humour could not bring themselves either to practise or approve. The other fact, which, since the revolution, has been obliged to cultivate popularity, sometimes found itself necessary to employ like artifices.

The whig party, for a course of near seventy years, has, almost without interruption, enjoyed the whole authority of the three estates, and has obtained no less a success than was obtained by them by their coun-}
five thousand men, of guards and garrisons. At the end of his reign he augmented this number to near eight thou-
sand. James, on Monmouth's rebellion, had on foot about fifteen thousand men; and when the Prince of Orange invaded England, the army was no fewer than thirty thousand regular troops in England.

The English navy, during the greater part of Charles's reign, made a considerable figure, for number of ships, value of the men, and conduct. In 1665, in the fleet composed of eighty-three ships; besides thirty which were at that time on the stocks. On the king's restoration he found only sixty-three vessels of all sizes. During the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell into decay; and of the numerous vessels, the narrowness of the king's revenue; but James soon after his accession restored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne earned it much further. The administration of the admiralty under Pepys, is still regarded as a model for order and economy. The fleet at the revolution consisted of one hundred seventy-three vessels of all sizes; and required forty-two thousand seamen to man it. That king, when Duke of York, had been the first inventor of sails.

The ministry of Charles, during these two reigns, had not totally decayed among the young nobility. Dorset, Mulgrave, Rochester, not to mention Ossory, served on board the fleet, and were present in the most furious en-
gagements, as well as in the most peaceful times.

The commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of England, did much to retard the progress of foreign and domestic trade. But after Charles had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed, unmolested, the trade of Europe. The only disturbance which they met with, was from a few French provinciers who infested the channel; and Charles interposed not in behalf of his subjects with sufficient spirit and vigour. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and together with the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, which was effected during that reign, extended the English empire in America. The persecutions of the dissenters, or, more properly speaking, the restrictions imposed upon them, contributed to augment and people these colonies. Dr. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were established; in iron, brass, silk, hosiery, glass, paper, glass, China, and anv other." The trade was encouraged and the manufactures increased by careful restrictions, and by the natural progress of these industries. But the shipping of England more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were established; in iron, brass, silk, hosiery, glass, paper, glass, China, and anv other. The trade was encouraged and the manufactures increased by careful restrictions, and by the natural progress of these industries.

The Duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and crystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures: he himself was the inventor of etching. He had some idea of etching as a means of reviving the arts of painting and sculpture. But the Duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and crystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures: he himself was the inventor of etching. He had some idea of etching as a means of reviving the arts of painting and sculpture. But the Duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and crystal into England.

In 1663, was passed the first law for allowing the ex-
portation of foreign coin and bullion. In 1667 was concluded the first American treaty be-
tween England and Spain: this treaty was made more general and comprehensive in 1670. The treaty pro-
ounced all right of trading with each other's colonies; and the title of England was acknowledged to all the ter-
ritories in America, of which she was then possessed.

The French king, about the beginning of Charles's reign, laid some impositions on English commodities: and the English, partly displeased with this innovation, partly moved by their animosity against France, retaliated, by laying such restraints on the commerce with that kingdom as amounted to a total destruction to a proper part of our manufactures; by such restraints as were only meant to intimidate and to deter foreign powers and nations from any further measures. The French king, about the beginning of Charles's reign, laid some impositions on English commodities: and the English, partly displeased with this innovation, partly moved by their animosity against France, retaliated, by laying such restraints on the commerce with that kingdom as amounted to a total destruction to a proper part of our manufactures; by such restraints as were only meant to intimidate and to deter foreign powers and nations from any further measures.

Lord Clarendon tells us, that in 1663, when money, in consequence of a treaty, was to be remitted to the Bishop of Munster, it was found, that the whole trade of England could not supply above 1000 pounds a-month to Frank-fort and Cologne, nor above 20,000 pounds a-month to Hamburg: these sums appear surprisingly small.

At the same time that the borougus of England were deprived of their privileges and liberties, the colonies were on the liberties were secured; and he sent over governors invested with absolute power. The arbitrary principles of that monarch seemed to be in every part of the world. The people, during these two reigns, were, in a great measure, cured of that wild fanaticism, by which they had formerly been so much agitated. Whatever new views they might acquire, it may be questioned, whether, by this change, they were, in the main, much losers in point of morals. By the example of Charles II. and the cavaliers, licentiousness and debauchery became prevalent in the nation. The pleasures of the table were much pursued. Love was treated more as an appetite than a passion. The one sex began to abuse of the national character of chastity, without being able to inspire the other with sentiment or delicacy. The abuses in the former age, arising from overstrained pretensions to purity, had much propagated the spirit of irreligion; and many of the ingenious men of this period lie under the imputation of deism. Besides wits and scholars by profession, Shaftesbury, Halifax, Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Essex, Roches, Sidney, Temple, are supposed to have adopted these principles.

The same factions which formerly disturbed the nation, were revived, and exerted themselves in the whole universe and mutually imagined, and disturbed each other's. The great man, being in his whole deportment a model of easy and gentlemanlike behaviour, improved the politeness of the nation; as much as faction, which of all things is most destructive to that virtue, could possibly permit. His courtiers were long distinguishable in England by their obliging and agreeable manners.

Till the revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and during a very short period. The star-chamber, while that court subsisted, put effectual restraints upon printing. On the suppression of that tribunal in 1644, the long parliament, after their rup-
ture with the king, ejected the bishops, and imposed a tax on the licensing of books; and this authority was con-
tinued during all the period of the republic and protectorate. Two years after the restoration, an act was passed reviving the republican ordinances. This act expired in 1679; but was revived in the first of King James's reign. The liberty of the press did not even commence with the revo-
lution. It was not till 1694, that the restraints were taken off: to the great displeasure of the king and his ministers, who were, seeing no where any government, in any present or past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought that no books or writings would ever so much improve the
general understanding of men, as to render it safe to intrust
them with an indulgence so easily abused.
In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed:
a prudent measure, while the nation was in continual dread of the
result of the act of toleration. Amidst the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance which
overspread the nation, during the communwealth and pro-
tectionist, there were a few sedate philosophers, who, in
the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reason, and ever
with a consideration for the more serious eccentricities of their
discourses in physics and geometry. Wilkins a clergyman,
who had married Cromwell's sister, and was
afterwards Bishop of Chester, promoted these philosophica-
convulsions immediately on the restoration, these
men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number,
were denominated the Royal Society. But this patent was
all they obtained from the king. Though Charles was a
lover of the sciences, particularly chemistry and mechanics;
he amused them by his example alone, not by his bounty.
His crotchets courtiers and mistresses, by whom he was per-
petually surrounded, engrossed all his expense, and left
him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His
contemporary, Lewis, who fell short of the king's genius and
knowledge in this particular, much exceeded him in libe-
rality. Besides pensions conferred on learned men
throughout all Europe, his academies were directed by rules
sanctioned by salaries, which gave great honour to his memory;
and in the eyes of all the ingenuous part of mankind, will be esteemed an atonement
for many of the errors of his reign. We may be surprised the state would not be more blessed by promoting
since it is certain that that bounty, so extensive, so benefi-
cial, and so much celebrated, cost not this monarch so great a sum as is often conferred on one useless overgrown
favourite or courtier.
But though the French academy of sciences was direct-
ed, encouraged, and supported by the sovereign, there
arose in England some men of superior genius, who were
more than sufficient to cast the balance, and who drew on
themselves and on their native country the regard and at-
tention of Europe. Besides Wilkins, Wen, Wallis,
eminent mathematicians; Hooke, an accurate observer by
microscopes; and Seldenham, the restorer of true physic;
there flourished during this period a Boyle and a Newton;
men who trod with caution, and therefore the more se-
ure, steps, the only road which leads to true philosophy.
Boyle improved the pneumatic engine invented by Otto
Guericke, and was thereby enabled to execute several new
and curious experiments on the air, as well as on other
bodies: his chemistry is much admired by those who are
acquainted with that art: his hydrostatics contain a greater
number of facts than any other experiment in nature or an-
other of his works; but his reasoning is still removed from
that boldness and temerity which had led astray so
many philosophers. Boyle was a great partisan of
the mechanical philosophy; a theory which, by discovering
some of the secrets of nature, and allowing us to imagine
the rest, is so agreeable to the natural vanity and curiosity
of men. He died in 1691, aged 65.
In Newton this island may boast of having produced
the greatest and rarest genius that ever rose for the orna-
ment and instruction of the species. Caution in admit-
ting no principles but such as were founded on experiment;
but readiness to adopt every such principle, however new or
unorthodox, utility, beyond the rest of mankind; and thence less careful to accommo-
date his reasonings to common apprehensions: more
anxious to merit than acquire fame; he was, from these
courses, long unknown to the world; but his reputation at
last broke out with a lustre, which scarcely any writer, dur-
ing his own life-time, had ever before attained. While
Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mys-
teries of nature, he showed at the same time the imperfe-
tions of the mechanical philosophy, and it is evident he aimed at
her ultimate secrets to that obscurity in which they ever
died and ever will remain. He died in 1727, aged 85.
This age was far from being so favourable to polite li-
terature as to the sciences. Charles, though fond of wit,
though possessed himself of a considerable share of it,
though his taste in conversation seems to have been sound
and just, served rather to corrupt than improve the poetry
and eloquence of his time. When the theatres were open-
ated at the restoration, and freedom was again given to plea-
sing and fine poetry; men, and even the women, were
sed on these delicacies with less taste and avidity, and the
most and rarest species of wit was received by
the court as well as by the people. The productions re-
ferreded to proceeded Hooke, who was such a monster
of extravagance and folly; so utterly destitute of all reason,
or even common sense; that they would be the disgrace of
English literature, had not the nation made atonement for
its former admiration of them, by the total oblivion to
which they are now condemned. The Duke of Bucking-
ham's rehearsal, which exposed these wild productions,
seems to be a piece of ridicule carried to excess; yet in
reality the copy scarcely equals some of the absurdities
which we meet with in the originals.
This severe satire, together with the good sense of the
nation, corrected, after some time, the extravagances of the
fashionable wit; but the productions of literature still
wanted much of that correctness and delicacy which we so
greatly admired in the ancients, and in the French writers,
their judicious imitators. It was indeed during this period
chiefly that that nation left the English behind them, in the
productions of the previous century which gave them
branches of polite letters; and acquired a superiority,
which the efforts of English writers, during the subsequent
age, did more successfully contest with them. The arts
were revived, and science in the main was so far
from early as into France; and made at first more sensible ad-

dances. Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon, Jonson, were
superior to their contemporaries, who flourished in that
kingdom. Dryden, Pope, Walton, Etheridge, were at least equal to their contemporaries. The reign of
Charles II. which some preposterously represent as our
Augustan age, retarded the progress of polite literature in
this island; and it was then found, that the immeasurable
pompousness, indulged or rather applauded at court, was
more destructive to the refined arts, than even the cant,
nonse, and enthusiasm of the preceding period.
Most of the celebrated writers of this age remain monu-
ments of genius perverted by indolence and bad taste;
and none more than Dryden, both by reason of the greatness
of his talents, and the gross abuse which he made of them.
His plays, excepting a few scenes, are utterly disfigured
by a vice of which he was so fond. He made several
pieces, and even much of the offspring of haste and hunger: even his fables
are ill-chosen tales, conveyed in an incorrect, though
spiritu-
ed version. Yet, amidst this great number of loose productions, he refused to
produce some pieces, there are found some
small pieces, his Ode to St. Cuthbert, the
tale of Absalom and Ahithophel, and a few more, which dis-
cover so great genius, such richness of expression, such
calm, and variety of numbers, that they leave us equally
full of regret and indignation, on account of the inferiority,
or rather great absurdity, of his other writings. He died in
1701, aged 69.
The very name of Rochester is offensive to modest ears;
yet does his poetry discover such energy of style and such
propriety of satire, as give ground to imagine what so fine a
genius, had he fallen in a more happy age, and had fol-
lowed better models, was capable of producing. The
ancient sagacity, the superiority above all others;
but their freedom no more resembles the leisured
ness of Rochester, than the nakedness of an Indian
does that of a common prostitute.
Wycherley was ambitious of the reputation of wit and
libertinism: and he attained it: he was probably capable
of reaching the fame of true comedy and instructive

drama. Otway had a genius finely turned to the pathetic;
but he neither observes strictly the rules of the drama,
or understands them. The rules, such as they are, thereby render
the comedy of wit and common sense.
By one single piece, the Duke of Buckingham did both
great service to his age, and honour to himself. The
Earls of Mulgrave, Dorset, and Roscommon, wrote in a
good taste, but their productions are either feeble or care-

b The Duke of Buckingham died on the 16th of April, 1689.
less. The Marquis of Halifax discovers a refined genius; and nothing but leisure and an inferior station seem wanting to have procured him eminence in literature.

Of all the considerable writers of this age, Sir William Temple is almost the only one that kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation. The style of this author, though extremely negligent, and even infected with foreign idioms, is agreeable and interesting. That mixture of vanity which appears in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the perusal of a book, but in conversation with a companion. He died in 1698, aged 70.

Though Hudibras was published, and probably composed, during the reign of Charles II., Butler may justly, as well as Milton, be thought to belong to the foregoing period. No composition abounds so much as Hudibras in strokes of just and inimitable wit; yet are there many performances which give us greater or greater entertainment on the whole perusal. The allusions in Butler are often dark and far-fetched; and though scarcely any author was ever able to express his thoughts in so few words, he often employs too many thoughts on one subject, and thereby becomes profuse after an unusual manner. It is surprising how much erudition Butler has introduced with so good a grace into a work of pleasantry and humour. Hudibras is perhaps one of the most learned compositions that is to be found in any language. The advantage which the royal cause received from this poem, in exposing the fanaticism and false pretensions of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The king himself had so good a taste, as to be highly pleased with the merit of the work, and had even got a great part of it by heart; yet was he either so careless in his temper, or so little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or, more properly speaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, a man of virtue and probity, to live in obscurity, and die in want.

Dryden is an instance of a negligence of the same kind. His Absalom sensibly contributed to the victory which the tories obtained over the whigs, after the exclusion of parliaments; yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him an establishment which might exempt him from the necessity of writing for bread. Otway, though a professed royalist, could not even procure bread by his writings; and he had the singular fate of dying literally of hunger. These incidents throw a great stain on the memory of Charles, who had discernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praise of true generosity.

*Butler died in 1660, aged 66.*
APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE ANGLO-SAXON GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.

First Saxon government.—Succession of the kings.—The Witenagemot.
The arbitrary.—The several orders of men.—Courts of justice.—Criminal law—Rules of proof.—Military force.—Public revenue.—Value of money.—Manners.

The government of the Germans, and that of all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always extremely free; and those fierce people, accustomed to independence and accustomed to arms, were more guided by persuasion than authority, in the submission which they paid to their princes. The military despotism, which had taken place in the Roman empire, and which, previously to the irruption of those conquerors, had sunk the genius of men, and destroyed every noble principle of science and virtue, was unable to resist the vigorous efforts of a free people; and Europe, as from a new epoch, rekindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base servitude to arbitrary will and authority under which she had so long laboured. The free constitutions then established, however impaired by the encroachments of succeeding princes, still preserve an air of independence and legal administration, which distinguish the European nations; and if that part of the globe maintain sentiments of liberty, honour, equity, and valour, superior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages chiefly to the seeds implanted by those generous barbarians.

First Saxon government. The Saxons, who subdued Britain, as they very well enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that inviolable possession in their new settlement; and they imported into this island the same principles of independence, which they had inherited from their ancestors. The chieftains (for such they were, more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in those military expeditions, still possessed a very limited authority; and as the Saxons exterminated, rather than subdued, the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed transplanted into a new territory, but preserved unaltered all their civil and military institutions. The language was pure Saxon; even the names of places, which often remain while the tongue entirely changes, were almost all affixed by the conquerors; the manners and customs were wholly German; and the same picture of a fierce and bold liberty, which is drawn by the masterly pencil of Tacitus, will suit those founders of the English government. The king, so far from being invested with arbitrary power, was only considered as the first among the citizens; his authority depended more on his personal qualities than on his station; he was even so far on a level with the people, that a stated price was fixed for his head, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer, which, though proportionate to his station, and superior to that paid for the life of a subject, was a sensible mark of his subordination to the community.

Succession of the kings. It is easy to imagine, that an independent people, so little restrained by law and cultivated by science, would not be very strict in maintaining a regular succession of their princes. Though they paid great regard to the royal family, and ascribed to it an undisputed superiority, they either had no rule, or none that was steadily observed, in filling the vacant throne; and present convenience, in that emergency, was more attended to than general principles. We are not, however, to suppose that the crown was considered as altogether elective; and that a regular plan was traced by the constitution for supplying, by the suffrages of the people, every vacancy made by the demise of the first magistrate. If any king left a son of an age and capacity fit for government, the young prince naturally stepped into the throne: if he was a minor, his uncle, or the next prince of the blood, was promoted to the government, and left the sceptre to his posterity: any sovereign, by taking previous measures with the leading men, had it greatly in his power to appoint his successor; all these changes, and indeed the ordinary administration of government, required the express concurrence, or at least the tacit acquiescence, of the people; but possession, however obtained, was extremely apt to secure their obedience, and the idea of any right, which was once excluded, was but feeble and imperfect. This is so much the case in all baronies, monarchies, and occurs so often in the history of the Anglo-Saxons, that we cannot consistently entertain any other notion of their government. The idea of an hereditary succession in authority is so natural to men, and is so much fortified by the usual rule in transmitting private possessions, that it must retain a great influence on every society, which does not exclude it by the refinements of a republican constitution. But as there is a material difference between government and private possessions, and every man is not as much qualified for exercising the one, as for enjoying the other, a people, who are not sensible of the general advantages attending a fixed rule, are apt to make great leaps in the succession, and frequently to pass over the person, who, had he possessed the requisite years and abilities, would have been thought entitled to the sovereignty. Thus, these monarchies are not, strictly speaking, either elective or hereditary: and though the destination of a prince may often be followed in appointing his successor, they can as little be regarded as wholly testamentary. The states by their suffrage may sometimes establish a sovereignty; but they more frequently recognise the person whom they find established: a few great men take the lead; the people, overawed and influenced, acquiesce in the government; and the reigning prince, provided he be of the royal family, passes undisputedly for the legal sovereign.

It is confessed, that our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities is too imperfect to afford us means of determining, with certainty, all the prerogatives of the crown and privileges of the people, or of giving an exact delineation of that government. It is probable, also, that the constitution might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the heptarchy, and that it changed considerably during the
course of six centuries, which elapsed from the first invasion of the Saxons till the Norman conquest. But most of these differences and changes, with their causes and effects, are unknown to us. It only appears, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, called a Wittenagemot, or assembly of the wise men, (for that in the import of the term,) whose consent was requisite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration. The preambles to all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, and Edgar, tell us that there was a 'king's court' or 'law court'; even those to the laws of Canute, though a kind of conqueror, put this matter beyond controversy, and carry proofs everywhere of a limited and legal government, by the concurrence of the ecclesiastics who were the constitutional members of this Wittenagemot. It has not been determined with certainty by antiquaries. It is agreed, that the bishops and abbots were an essential part; and it is also evident, from the tenor of those ancient laws, that the Wittenagemot enacted statutes which regulated the ecclesiastical as well as civil government, and that those dangerous principles, by which the church is totally severed from the state, were hitherto unknown to the Anglo-Saxons. 4 It also appears, that the aldermen, or governors of counties, who, after the Danish times, were often called earls, 4 were admitted into this council, and gave their consent to the public statutes. But besides the prelates and aldermen, there is also mention of other persons, who were members of the Wittenagemot; but who were, is not so clearly ascertained by the laws or the history of that period. The matter would probably be of difficult discussion, even were it examined impartially; but as our modern parties have chosen to do upon this point, the question has been disputed with the greatest obstinacy, and the arguments on both sides have become, on that account, the more captious and deceitful. Our monarchical faction maintain, that those were the judges, or which learned in the law: the popular faction assert them to be representatives of the barons, or what we now call the Commons.

The expressions employed by all ancient historians, in mentioning the Wittenagemot, seem to contradict the latter supposition. The members are almost always called the \\
principes, satrape, opolmati, magneata, proceors terms which signify a supposition aristocratical and excluded from the Commons. The boroughs also, from the low state of commerce, were so small and so poor, and the inhabitants lived in such dependence on the great men, 5 that it seems nowise probable they would be admitted as a part of the nation. We have, however, no other information of what had no share in the governments established by the Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations; and we may conclude that the Saxons, who remained longer barbarous and independent than others of the British nation, must have adhered to conferring such an extraordinary privilege on trade and industry. The military profession alone was honourable among all those conquerors: the warriors subsisted by their possessions in land: they became considerable by their influence over their vassals, retainers, tenants, and slaves: and it requires strong proof to convince us that they would admit any of a rank so much inferior as the burgesses, to share with them in the legislative authority. Tacitus indeed affirms, that, among the ancient Germans, the consent of the all the members of the community was required in every important deliberation; but he speaks not of representatives; and this ancient practice, mentioned

by the Roman historian, could only have place in small tribes, where every citizen might, without inconvenience, be assembled upon any extraordinary emergency. After the principalities became extensive; after the difference of property had formed distinctions more important than those which arose from personal strength and valour, we may conclude, that the national assemblies must have been more limited in their number, and composed only of the more considerable citizens.

But though we must exclude the burgesses, or Commons, from the Wittenagemot, we may suppose, that the prelates, abbots, aldermen, and the judges or privy council. For as all these, excepting some such as were anciently appointed by the king, had there been no other legislative authority, the royal power had been in a great measure absolute, contrary to the tenor of all the historians, and to the practice of all the northern nations. We may therefore conclude, that the more considerable proprietors of land were, without any election, constituent members of the national assembly; there is reason to think that forty hides, or between four and five thousand acres, was the estate requisite for entitling the possessor to this honourable privilege. We find a passage in an ancient author, 6 by which it appears, that a person of very noble birth, even one allied to the crown, was not esteemed a princeps (the term usually employed by the ancient historians) until he had acquired a fortune of that amount. Nor need we imagine that the public council would become disorderly or confused by admitting so great a multitude. The landed property of England was probably in few hands during the Saxon times; at least during the latter part of that period; and as men had hardly any ambition to attend those public councils, there was no danger of the assembly's becoming too numerous for the dispatch of the little business which was brought before them.

It is certain, that, whatever we may determine concerning the constituent members of the Wittenagemot, in whom, with the king, the legislature resided, the Anglo-Saxon government, in the period preceding the Norman conquest, was become extremely aristocratical: the royal authority was very limited; the people, even if admitted to this assembly, were without weight and consideration. We have hints given us in historians, of the great power and riches of particular noblemen: and it could not but happen, after the abolition of the heptarchy, when the king lived at a distance from the great provinces, that the parliament, or national council, which had no share in the governments established by the Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations; and we may conclude that the Saxons, who remained longer barbarous and independent than others of the British nation, must have adhered to conferring such an extraordinary privilege on trade and industry. The military profession alone was honourable among all those conquerors: the warriors subsisted by their possessions in land: they became considerable by their influence over their vassals, retainers, tenants, and slaves: and it requires strong proof to convince us that they would admit any of a rank so much inferior as the burgesses, to share with them in the legislative authority. Tacitus indeed affirms, that, among the ancient Germans, the consent of the all the members of the community was required in every important deliberation; but he speaks not of representatives; and this ancient practice, mentioned

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* We know of one change not inconsiderable, in the Saxons constitution. The laws (p. 40, former ed.) tell us, in early times, that the persons of the king in name the dukes, earls, aldermen, and sheriffs of the counties, and the tenants on fee, were all the persons of the commons, and appointed men of none capacity in their place. Yet the laws of Edward the Confessor, § 23, expressly, that the hereditary or dukes, and the sheriffs, were chosen by the freemen; and the tenures in freehold, and the duchies in the hand of the king, and where all the freemen was allegiance to the king. It is evident, therefore, that the sheriffs were chosen by the freemen; and the tenures in freehold, and the duchies in the hand of the king, and where all the freemen was allegiance to the king.

1 If it appears to the ancient translators of the Saxons annals and laws, and was a great political, which was an assembly of all the aldermen, and the tenants in freehold, and the tenants in fee; and the prelates and abbots, which was an assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and priests; and the tenants in freehold, which was an assembly of all the freemen; and the tenants in fee, which was an assembly of all the tenants in fee. It is very evident, that the name in Latin, alderman in Saxons, and earl in Dano-Swedish, is taken from the Saxon word earl, which is equal to the Latin earl, earl, and the Italian ercole. 2 The Witenagemot at the account of the great monasteries. 3 See Speller, Gloss. In verbis Parliament. 4 The weight, or the price of an earl's honours, is there fixed at 15,000 pounds, equal in that of the baronies, whereas that of a bishop is 3 2 2
from father to son, and became in a manner hereditary in the families. The circumstances attending the invasions of the Danes would also serve much to increase the power of the principal nobility. Those free-booters made unexpected inroads on all quarters; and there was a necessity that each county should resort to its own forces, and undertake the conduct of its own nobility and its own magistrates. For the same reason that a general war, managed by the united efforts of the whole state, commonly augments the power of the crown; those private wars and inroads turned to the advantage of all the smaller men.

Among that military and turbulent people, so averse to commerce and the arts, and so little inured to industry, justice was very ill administered, and great oppression and violence seem to have prevailed. These disorders would be increased by the exorbitant power of the aristocracy; and would, in their turn, contribute to increase it. Men, not daring to rely on the guardianship of the laws, were obliged to devote themselves to the service of some chieflain, whose orders they followed, even to the disturbance of the government, or the injury of their fellow-citizens, and who afforded them, in return, protection from the insult or injustice of strangers. Hence, we find, by the extracts which Dr. Brady has given us from Domesday, that almost all the inhabitants, even of towns, had placed themselves under the chancellorship of some particular nobleman, whose patronage they purchased by certain payments, and whose protection they considered as their sovereign, more than the king himself, or even the legislature. A client, though a freeman, was supposed so much to belong to his patron, that his murder was obliged by law to pay a fine to the latter, as a compensation for his loss; in like manner as he paid a fine to the master for the murder of his slave. Men who were of a more considerable rank, but not powerful enough, each to support himself under the authority, entered into formal confederacies with each other, and composed a kind of separate community, which rendered itself formidable to all aggressors. Dr. Hickes has preserved a curious Saxon bond of this kind, which he calls a Societate, and which contains many particulars characteristic of the manners and customs of the times. All the associates are there said to be gentlemen of Cambridgeshire, and they swear before the holy relics to observe their confederacy, and to be faithful to each other; they promise to bury any of the associates who dies, in whatever place he had appointed; to contribute to his funeral charges, and to attend at his interment; and whoever is in the last business to pay a fine, as a measure of honey. When any of the associates is in danger, and calls for the assistance of his fellows, they promise, besides flying to his succour, to give information that no, if he be negligent in protecting the person exposed to danger, they engage to levy a fine of one pound upon him; if the president of the society himself be wanting in this particular, he binds himself to pay one pound; unless he has the reasonable excuse of sickness, or of duty to his superior. When any of the associates is murdered, they are to exact eight pounds from the murderer; and if he refuse to pay it, they are to prosecute him for the same at their joint expense. If any of the associates, who happens to be poor, kills a man, the society are to contribute, by a certain proportion, to pay his fine: a mark-a-piece, if the fine be 700 shillings; less if the person killed be a clown or covele; the half of that sum, again, if the murdered person be himself a clown. But where a murder kills a man, wilfully and without provocation, he must himself pay the fine. If any of the associates kill any of his fellows in a like criminal manner, besides paying the usual pecuniary satisfaction, he must pay eight pounds to the society, in addition to the fine, at which they bind themselves, under penalty of one pound, never to eat or drink with him, except in the presence of the king, bishop, or alderman. There are other regulations to protect themselves and their servants from all injuries, to revenge snubs, and to prevent their giving abusive language to each other; and the fine, which they engage to pay for this last offense, is a measure of honey.

It is not yet disputed but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of friendship and attachment; when men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppressors, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the assistance of their friends or patrons. As armies were then more violent, connections were also more intimate, whether voluntary or derived from blood; the most remote degree of propinquity was regarded: an indelible memory of benefits was preserved: severe vengeance was taken for injuries, both from a point of honour, and as the best means of future security; and the civil union being weak, many private engagements were contracted in order to supply its place, and to procure men that safety which the laws and their own inoffensive were not afofe able to assure to them.

On the whole, notwithstanding the seeming liberty, or rather licentiousness, of the Anglo-Saxons, the great body, even of the free citizens, in those ages, really enjoyed much less true liberty, than where the execution of the laws is the most severe, and where subjects are reduced to the strictest subordination and dependence on the civil magistracy. In those times they were only the possessors of what is called that liberty. Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and where they receive not protection from the laws and magistrates, they will seek it by submission to superiors, and by belonging in some private confederacy which acts under the direction of a powerful leader. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals of which it consists. Security was provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittengemot, both in going and returning, except they were notorious thieves and robbers.

The German Saxons, as the other nations of that continent, were divided into three sorts of men, the noble, the free, and the slaves. This distinction they brought over with them into Britain.

The nobles were called thanes; and were of two kinds, the king's thanes and lesser thanes. The latter seem to have been dependent on the former; and to have received lands, for which they paid rent, services, or attendance in peace and war. We know of no title which raised any one to this rank, but to duty, and to the personal session of land. The former was always much regarded by all the German nations, even in their most barbarous state; and as the Saxon nobility, having little credit, could scarcely retire from their estates, and as the Commons had little trade or industry by which they could accumulate riches, these two ranks of men, even though they were not separated by positive laws, might remain long distinct, and the noble families continue many ages in opulence and splendour. There were no middle ranks of men, that could gradually mix with their superiors, and insensibly procure to themselves honour and distinction. If by any extraordinary accident a mean person acquired riches, a circumstance so singular made him known and remarked; he became the object of envy, as well as of indignation, to all the nobles; he would have great difficulty to defend what he had acquired; and he would find it impossible to get a hold of any wealth, except by courting the patronage of some great chieflain, and paying a large price for his safety.

There are two statutes among the Saxon laws which seem calculated to confound and destroy the ranks of men; that of Allodium, and that by which a merchant, who had made three long sea-voyages on his own account, was entitled to the quality of thane; and that of the same prince, by
which a coelee or husbandman, who had been able to purchase five hides of land, and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a ball, was raised to the same distinction as a villein or husbandman, by which a meretricious or criminal outcome, the latter of which the law could never overcome the reigning prejudices; the distinction between noble and base blood would still be indelible; and the well-born thanes would entertain the highest regard for the peasants among the vagabonds. Though we are not informed of any of these circumstances by ancient historians, they are so much founded on the nature of things, that we may admit them as a necessary and inevitable consequence of the situation of the kingdom during those ages.

The cities appear by Domesday-book to have been at the conquest little better than villages. York itself, though it was always the second, at least the third, city in England, and was the capital of a great province, which never was thoroughly united with the rest, contained then but 1418 families. Malmsbury tells us, that the great distinction between the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and the French or Norman, was, that the latter built magnificent and stately castles; whereas the former consumed their immense fortunes in riot and hospitality, and in mean houses. We may thence infer, that the arts in general were much less adored by the Anglo-Saxons than by the French; idle servants and retainers lived about the great families; and as these, even in France, were powerful enough to disturb the execution of the laws, we may judge of the authority acquired by the aristocracy in England. When Edward the Confessor wished to remove the nobility, he was prevented from it by the rest of his barons, and the barons were removed from all parts its husaries, or housecarles and retainers, and thereby constrained his sovereign to accept of the conditions which he was pleased to impose upon him.

The lower rank of freemen were denominated coeles or householders among the Anglo-Saxons; and, where they were industrious, they were chiefly employed in husbandry: whence a coelee and a husbandman become in a manner synonymous terms. They cultivated the farms of the nobility or thanes, for which they paid rent; and they seem to have been removable at pleasure. For there is little mention of leases among the Anglo-Saxons: the pride of the nobility, together with the general ignorance of writing, must have rendered those contracts very rare, and must have kept the husbandmen in a dependent condition. The rents of farms were then chiefly paid in kind. 7

The most numerous rank by far in the community seems to have been the slaves or villains, who were the property of their lords, and were consequently incapable, themselves, of possessing any property. Dr. Brady assures us from a survey of Domesday-book, that in all the counties of England, the number of freemen or freeholders and the number of tenant families were the same, but that the thanes and noble families, who possessed the greater property, were caught by them, and that the husbandmen, and still more the serfs, who were tenants that could not be removed at pleasure, were very few in comparison. This was not the case with the German nations, as far as we can collect from the account given us by Tacitus. The perpetual wars in the Heptarchy, and the depredations of the Danes, seem to have been the cause of this great alteration with the Anglo-Saxons. Freemen taken in battle, or curtailed off in the frequent inroads, were then reduced to slavery; and became, by right of war, entirely at the disposal of their lords. Great property in the nobles, especially if joined to an irregular administration of justice, naturally favours the practice of the aristocracy, and if at all, the practice of slavery be admitted, and has become very common. The nobility not only possess the influence which always attend riches, but also the power which the laws gave them over their slaves and villains. It then becomes difficult, and almost impossible, for a private man to remain altogether free and independent.

There were two kinds of slaves among the Anglo-Saxons: household slaves, after the manner of the ancients, and personal or private retainers. These latter resembled the serfs, which are at present to be met with in Poland, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. The power of a master over his slaves was not unlimited among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was among their ancestors. If a man beat out his slave's eye, or teeth, the slave recovered his liberty: a if he killed him, he paid a fine to the king; provided the slave died within a day or the wound or the bite otherwise it passed unheated.

The selling of themselves or children to slavery was always the practice among the German nations; and was continued by the Anglo-Saxons. 8

The great lords and nobles among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their territories, and could punish, without appeal, any thieves or robbers whom they caught there. This institution must have had a very contrary effect to that which was intended, and must have procured robbers a sure protection on the lands of such noblemen as did not sincerely mean to discourage crimes and violence.

But though the general strain of the Anglo-Saxon government, as we have seen, had become aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy, which were not indeed sufficient to protect the lowest of the people, without the patronage of some great lord, but might give security, and even some degree of dignity, to inferior individuals. The administration of justice, in particular, by the courts of the decennary, the hundred, and the county, was well calculated to defend general liberty, and to restrain the power of the nobles, or the county courts, or sheriffs, who the freeholders were assembled twice a-year, and received appeals from the inferior courts. They there decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and the bishop, together with the alderman or earl, presided over them. The affair was determined in a summary manner, without much pleading, formality, or delay, by a majority of voices; and the bishop and alderman had no further authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and interpose with their judgment. 9 Where justice was denied during three sessions by the hundred, and then by the county court, there lay an appeal to the king's court; but this was not practised on slight occasions. The alderman received a third of the fines levied in those courts; and as most of the punishments were then pecuniary, this prepossession formed a considerable part of the profits belonging to his office. The two-thirds also, which went to the king, made no contemptible part of the public revenue. Any freeholder was fined wholesale-sold as the freeholder of the future, if he had not been caught by the thanes, or if his family were mentioned, which, at the rate at five persons in a family, was an inconsiderable fine. 10

As the extreme ignorance of the age made deeds and writings very rare, the county or hundred court was the place where the most remarkable civil transactions were finished, in order to preserve the memory of them, and prevent all future disputes. Here testaments were promulgated, slaves manumitted, bargains of sale concluded; and sometimes, for greater security, the most considerable of these deeds were inserted in the latest leaves of the parish Bible, which thus became a kind of register too sacred to be falsified. It was not unusual to add to the deed an imprecation on all such as should be guilty of that crime. Among a people, who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the personal power had laws of greater importance than the legislative. There were few or no taxes imposed by the states; there were few statutes enacted; and the nation was less governed by laws than by customs, which admitted a great latitude of interpretation.

1 Selden, Table of Honour, p. 318. Williams, p. 70.
2 Westminster, being the capital of the West-Saxon monarchy, was an exception. There were several towns in Essex, and Notts, with 8000 houses.
3 Such towns contained 700 houses, Essex, 335, Ipswich, 308. Northampton, 215, Westminster, 202. Mr. C. Miller, who published a Prospect of England, p. 5, 6, 56, gives these the most considerable.
4 Dr. Brady's Treatment of costumes, p. 51. There were seven wards, houses and families 20000, 7000, 1200, 1000, 700, 500, 300.
5 These families were mentioned, which, at the rate at five persons in a family, was an inconsiderable fine.
6 Thence the word at a house or a homestead, from the Danish." 7 8 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
9 The hundred was treated as a court de placet, or court of appeal, in its decisions, as in other cases.
10 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
11 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
12 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
13 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
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18 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
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20 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
21 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
22 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
23 L. Jones, in his Ancient society, gives us an account of these towns.
tion. Though it should, therefore, be allowed that the
Wittgenstein was altogether composed of the principal
nobility, the county courts, where all the freeholders were
admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of
life, formed a wide basis for the government, and were
ever controllable checks on the aristocracy. But there
was another power still more important than either the judicial
or legislative; to wit, the power of injuring or serving by
immediate force and violence, for which it is difficult to
obtain redress in courts of justice. In all extensive go-
vernments, the executive of the laws is feeble, this
power naturally falls into the hands of the principal
nobility; and the degree of it which prevents, cannot be
determined so much by the public statutes, as by small
incidents in history, by particular customs, and sometimes
by the reason and nature of things. The highlands of
Scotland have long been entituled by law to every privilege
of British subjects; but it was not till very lately that the
common people could in fact enjoy these privileges.

The powers of all the members of the Anglo-Saxon
government are disputed among historians and antiquaries:
the extreme obscurity of the subject, even though fiction
has never entered into the question, would naturally have
begotten those controversies. But the great influence of
the lords over their slaves and tenants, the dominion of the
burghers, the total want of a middling rank of men,
the extent of the monarchy, the loose execution of the laws,
the liberty of orders and customs of the subject:
all these circumstances evince that the Anglo-Saxon go-
vernment became at last extremely aristocratical; and the
events, during the period immediately preceding the con-
quest, confirm this inference or conjecture.

Both the punishments inflicted by the
Criminal Law. Anglo-Saxon courts of judicature, and the
methods of proof employed in all causes, appear some-
what singular, and are very different from those which
prevail at present among all civilized nations.

We must conceive that the ancient Germans were little
removed from the original state of nature: the social con-
ferences were more natural than civil; they who
had chiefly in view the means of attack or defence against
public enemies, not those of protection against their fellow-
citizens; their possessions were so slender and so
equal, that they were not exposed to great danger; and
the natural bravery of the people made every man trust
to himself, and to his particular friends, for his defence or
vendange. This defect in the political union drew much
closer the knot of particular confederacies: an insult
upon one man was regarded by all his kindred and asso-
ciates as a common injury: they were bound by honour
as well as by a sense of common interest, to revenge his
death, or any violence which he had suffered: they retali-
ated, not by the law, but by private vengeance; and if the
murder was as
 murder, the
murderer was obliged to pay the master of a slave or renal a sum
equivalent to the loss of his slave, as a compensation.

This was called the Manhred. See Spell.

a L.L. fixing the time of the 'prison of the
position was fixed, which must have been by the laws and the interprct
the measuring the occupation.

b He refers to the terms, but his words in Italicus appear necessary
what follows in the same law.'


1. The face of the panel was opened, the door of the

2. He refers to the terms, but his words in Italicus appear necessary
what follows in the same law.

3. He refers to the terms, but his words in Italicus appear necessary
what follows in the same law.
after renouncing him, receive him into their house, or give him assistance, they are liable to the king, and are involved in the feud. If the kindred of the murdered person take revenge on any but the criminal himself, after he is aban-
doned by his kindred, all their property is forfeited, and they are deprived of the benefits of the kindred of all his friends.

It is also ordained, that the fine for murder shall never be remitted by the king; and that no criminal shall be killed who flies to the church, or any of the king's towns; and it was also declared, that he house shall give no protection to murderers, till they have satisfied the church by their penance, and the kindred of the deceased, by making compensation. The method appointed for trans-
acting this took his stolen coin for forty shillings, and the latter was obliged to show the tracks out of it, or pay their value. Rebellion, to whatever excess it was carried, was not capital, but might be redeemed by a sum of money.

The legislators, knowing it impossible to prevent all disorders, only imposed a higher fine on breaches of the peace com-
mited in the king's court, or before an alderman or bishop. An alehouse too seems to have been considered as a privi-
leged place; and any quarrels that arose there were more severely punished than elsewhere. If the manner of punishing crimes among the Anglo-Saxons appear singular, the proofs were not less so; and were also the natural result of the practice of the kindred. Whatever was considered as con-
cerning the usual truth and sincerity of men who live in a rude and barbarous state, there is much more falsehood, and even perjury among them, than among civilized nations: virtue, which is nothing but a more enlarged and more cultivated reason, never flourishes to any degree, unless it is founded on steady principles of honour, except where a good education becomes general; and where men are taught the pernicious consequences of vice, treachery, and self-interest.

By the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, a man might be killed and his goods taken, if he had killed another, if that man was a relation of his, or had committed murder on the ground of any passion.

In the Anglo-Saxon laws, there were severe penalties for murder, and the murderer was liable to death. The method of punishing murder was by a fine, and the punishment was in proportion to the amount of the fine.

The Anglo-Saxons had a system of justice which was based on the principle of retribution. If a man was killed, the murderer was liable to death, and the estate of the deceased was forfeited. If the murderer was not caught, the estate of the deceased was taken over by the king, and the money was paid to the next of kin.

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eleven compurgators. He next took two pieces of wood, one of which was marked with the sign of the cross, and wrapping both up in wool, he placed them on the altar, censing a hole in front. As soon as the cross had entered the success of the experiment, a priest, or, in his stead, some inexperienced youth, took up one of the pieces of wood, and if he happened upon that which was marked with the figure of the cross, the person was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. This practice, as it arose from superstition, was abolished by it in France. The Emperor, Lewis the Debonnaire, prohibited that method of trial, not because it was uncertain, but lest that sacred figure should be profaned, should be prostituted in common disputes and controversies.

The ordeal was another established method of trial among the Anglo-Saxons. It was practised either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The former was appropriated to the common people; the latter to the nobility. The water or iron was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms, after which the person accused rather took up a stone sunk in the water, to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain distance; and his hand being wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days, if there appeared, on examining it, no marks of burning, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. The water or the iron was different; if the person was thrown into consecrated water; if he swam, he was guilty; if he sunk, innocent. It is difficult for us to conceive how any innocent person could ever escape by the trial, or any guilty person be convicted by it. But this was a more usage admirably calculated for allowing every criminal to escape who had confidence enough to try it. A consecrated cake, called a corned, was produced; which if the person could swallow and digest, he was pronounced innocent.

Military force.

The feudal law, if it had place at all among the Anglo-Saxons, which is doubtful, was not certainly extended over all the landed property, and was not so close a code of liens, leases, wardship, marriage, and other burdens, which were inseparable from it in the kingdoms of the continent. As the Saxons expelled, or almost entirely destroyed, the ancient Britons, they planted themselves in this island on the same footing with their ancestors in Germany, and found no occasion for the feudal institutions, which were calculated to maintain a kind of standing army, always in readiness to supress any insurrection among the conquered people. There was no rent for passing the state in England lay equally upon all the land; and it was usual for every five hides to equip a man for the service. The trinoda necessitas, as it was called, or the burden of military service, of repairing highways and supporting bridges, was inseparable from landed property, even though it belonged to the church or monasteries, unless exempted by a particular charter. The peasants or husbandmen were provided with arms, and were obliged to take their turn in military duty. There were computed to be 243,600 hides in England; consequently the ordinary military force of the kingdom consisted of 48,720 men; though, no doubt, on extraordinary occasions, a greater number might be assembled. The king and nobility had some military tenants, who were called Sítican-men. And there were some lands annexed to the office of aldermen, and to other offices; but these probably were not extended, as were possession only, turning pleasure, as in the commencement of the feudal law in other countries of Europe.

Public revenue.

The revenue of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in his demesnes, which were large; and in the tolls and imports which he probably levied at discretion on the boroughs and seaports that lay within his demesnes. He could not alienate any part of the crown lands, even to religious uses, without the consent of the states. Danegeld was a land-tax of a shilling a hearth; for the payment of the sums exacted by the Danes, or for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence against those invaders.

The Saxons pound, as likewise that which was coined for some centuries after the conquest, was near three times the weight of our present money: there were forty-eight shillings in the pound, and five pence in a shilling; consequently a Saxon shilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy. As there were sometimes in different times, compared to commodities, there are some, though not very certain, means of computation. A sheep, by the laws of Athelstan, was estimated at a shilling; that is, fifteen pence of our money. The fleece was two-thirds of the value of the whole sheep, much above its present estimation; and the reason probably was, that the Saxons, like the ancients, were little acquainted with any clothing but what was made of wool. Silk and cotton were quite unknown; linen was not much used. An ox was computed at six times the value of a sheep; a cow at four. If we suppose that the cattle in that age, from the defects in husbandry, were not so large as they are at present in England, we may think that money at that time was three times of greater value. A horse was valued at about thirty-six shillings of our money, or thirty Saxon shillings; a mare a third less. A man at three pounds. The board wages of a craftsman were three shillings a week. But the wages of a journeyman were taken together with a cow's pasture in summer, and an ox's in winter. William of Malmesbury mentions it as a remarkably high price, that William Rufus gave fifteen marks for a horse, or about thirty pounds of our present money. Between the years 993 and 1000, Edward I. brought as sale of land for about 118 shillings of present money. This was little more than a shilling an acre, which indeed appears to have been the usual price, as we may learn from other accounts. A halfpenny was sold for a very shilling of the year 966. The value of an ox in King Ethelred's time was between seven and eight shillings; a cow about six shillings. Gervas of Tilbury says, that in Henry I.'s time, bread which would suffice a hundred men for a day was rated at three shillings, or a shilling of that age; for it is thought that soon after the conquest, a pound sterling was divided into twenty shillings: a sheep was rated at a shilling, and so of other things in proportion. In Athelstan's time, the value of a pound of salt was fifteen shillings. The tenants of Shireburn were obliged, at their choice, to pay either sixpence or four hens. About 1232, the Abbot of St. Alban's, going on a journey, hired seven hand-some stout horses and a coach of building, to carry him and his household, to pay the owner 30 shillings a-piece of our present money. It is to be remarked, that in all ancient times the raising of corn, especially wheat, being a species of manufactures, that commodity always bore a higher price, compared to cattle, than it does in our times. The Story of Chronicl tells us, that in the reign of Edward the Con- fessor there was the most terrible famine ever known; insomuch that a quarter of wheat rose to sixty pence, or fifteen shillings of our present money. Consequently it was as dear as if it now cost seven pounds ten shillings. This much exceeds the great famine to the end of Queen Elizabeth; when a quarter of wheat was sold for four pounds. Money in this last period was nearly of the same value as in our time. These severe famines are a certain proof of bad husbandry.

On the whole, there are three things to be considered, wherever a sum of money is mentioned in ancient times. First, the change of demonetation, by which a third weight has been reduced to the third part of its ancient weight in
silver. Secondly, the change in value by the greater plenty of money, which has reduced the same weight of silver to ten times less value compared to commodities; and consequently a pound sterling to the thritieth part of the ancient value. This is the reason people, both abroad and at home, in our times; and in the same manner that a sum, a hundred thousand pounds, for instance, is at present more difficult to levy in a small state, such as Bavaria, and can produce greater effects on such a small community, than on England. This last difference is not easy to be calculated: but allowing that England has now six times more industry, and three times more people than it had at the conquest, and for some reign after that period, we are upon that supposition to conceive, taking all circumstances together, every sum of money mentioned by historians, as if it were multiplied more than a hundred-fold above a sum of the same denomination at present.

In the Saxon times, land was divided equally among all the male children of the deceased, according to the custom of Gavelkind. The practice of entail is to be found in those times. 1 Land was chiefly of two kinds, hackland, or land held by book or charter, which was regarded as full landlordship, and not to be touched by his tenants; and folkland, or the land held by the cottiers and common people, who were removable at pleasure, and were indeed only tenants during the will of their lords.

The first attempt which we find in England to separate the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, was that of Edward, by which all disputes among the clergy were to be carried before the bishop. 2 The penances were often very severe; but as a man could bow them off with money, or make substitutes to perform them, they lay easy upon the rich. 3

Manners.

With regard to the manners of the Anglo-Saxons, we can say little; but that they were in general rude uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in the mechanical arts, untamed to submission under law and government, addicted to intemperance, riot, and disorder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was not supported by discipline or conduct. Their want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their later periods; and that want of humanity in all their actions. Even the Norman historians, notwithstanding the low state of the arts and sciences of the time, described them as barbarians, when they mention the invasion made upon them by the Duke of Normandy. 4 The conquest put the people in a situation of receiving slowly, from abroad, the improvements of art and civilization; and of correcting their rough and licentious manners.

No. II.

THE FEUDAL AND ANGLO-NORMAN GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.


The feudal law is the chief foundation, both of the political government and of the jurisprudence established by the Normans in England. Our subject therefore requires, that we should form a just idea of this law, in order to explain the state, as well of that kingdom, as of all other kingdoms of Europe, which, during those ages, were governed by similar institutions. And though I am sensible that I must here repeat many observations and reflections which have been communicated by others; yet, as every book, agreeably to the observation of a great historian, 5 should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer, for any thing material, to other books, it will be necessary, in this place, to deliver a short plan of that prodigious fabric, which, for several centuries, preserved such a mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, as it never was experienced in any other age, or any other part of the world.

After the northern nations had subdued Origin of the the provinces of the Roman empire, they were obliged to establish a system of government, which might secure their conquests as well against the revolt of their numerous subjects, who remained in the provinces, as from the inroads of other tribes, who might be tempted to ravage and destroy their new acquisitions. The great change of circumstances made them here depart from those institutions which prevailed among them, while they remained in the forests of Germany; yet it was still natural for them to retain, in their present settlement, as much of their ancient customs as was compatible with their new situation.

The German governments, being more a confederacy or independent warriors, than a civil subjection, derived their principal force from many inferior and voluntary associations, which individuals formed under a particular head or chieftain, and which it became the highest point of honour to maintain with inviolable fidelity. The glory of the chief consisted in the number, the bravery, and the zealous attachment of his followers; the duty of the followers was supposed to be performed, they should accompany their chief in all wars and dangers, and that they should fight and perish by his side, and that they should esteem his renown or his favour a sufficient reward for all the services they rendered to themselves. Such a thing was nothing but a great chieftain, who was chosen from among the rest, on account of his superior valor or dignity; and who derived his power from the voluntary association or attachment of the other chieftains.

When a tribe, governed by these ideas, and actuated by these principles, subdued a large territory, they found, though it was necessary to keep themselves in a military posture, they could neither remain united in a body, nor take up their homes in one country, but they distributed their several parts and their inhabitants in various garrisons, and that their manners and institutions departed from the customary as the various situations, or even the customs, or those towns, or even the customs, or even the provinces of their former states. The devastations inseparable from such violent conquests, rendered it impracticable for them to levy taxes payable for the support of the troops; and their revenue was to be supported by the tributes paid them by the districts of the conquered country, or by the life of the camp or garrison, or by the division among them of the spoil taken by the conquest.

They seized, therefore, such a portion of the conquered lands as appeared necessary; they assigned a share for the maintenance of their principal garrisons; they distributed the rest, to the several parts of the provinces, or to those parts which had, by their military service, the most merit; and the people, who were at liberty to take up their homes wherever they pleased, and to continue at home, or to remove abroad; this was always ready, on any emergency, the interests and honour of the community. We are not to imagine, that all the conquered lands were seized by the northern conquerors; or that the whole of the land thus seized was subjected to their jurisdiction. This supposition is confuted by the history of all the nations on the continent. Even the idea given us of the German manners by the Roman historian, may be considered as little more than a factitious invention. The people of the north never had any such system of domicile, as we have described, nor ever engaged in any such operation as that which was performed for the good pleasure of their sovereign. Though the northern

1 1st, Sec. 6, 8, Note, Wilkins, p. 64.
2 Wilkins, p. 81.
3 1st, Sec. 6, 8, Fuller, p. 121. 4 Sec. 9, Fuller, p. 292.
5 See Mr. Sir., Dr. Robertson’s History of Scotland.
6 See Dr. Mr. Sir., Dr. Hall, Dr. Mr. Sir., Dr. Hall.
chieftains accepted of lands, which, being considered as a kind of military pay, might be resumed at the will of the king or general; they also took possession of estates, which, being hereditary and independent, enabled them to maintain a constant chivalric liberty, and in support of the idea of impunity thus necessarily occasioned the extension of the feudal: the kingdoms of Europe were universally divided into baronies, and these into inferior fefts: and the attachment of the vassals to their lords, which is an essential part of the German manners, was still supported by the same causes from which it at first arose; the necessity of mutual protection, and the continued intercourse, between the head of the family and the vassal.

But there was another circumstance which corroborated these feudal dependencies, and tended to connect the vassals with their superior lord by an indisissible bond of union. The northern conquerors, as well as the more early Greeks and Romans, embraced a policy, which was unavoidable to all nations that have made sudden advances in refinement; they everywhere united the civil jurisdiction with the military power. Law, in its commencement, was not an intricate science, and was more governed by maxims of equity, which seem obvious to common sense, than by numerous and subtle principles, applied to a variety of cases by profound reasonings from analogy. An officer, originally the servant of the king, was able to determine all legal controversies which could occur within the district committed to his charge; and his decisions were the most likely to meet with a prompt and ready obedience, from men who respected his person, and were accustomed to his authority. The profit arising from punishments, which were then chiefly pecuniary, was another reason for his desiring to retain the judicial power; and when his fief became hereditary, this authority, which was essential to it, was also transmitted with his posterity. The courts and other magistrates, whose power was merely official, were tempted, in imitation of the feudal lords, whom they resembled in so many particulars, to arrogate their dignities and hereditary; and in the decline of the regal power, they found no difficulty in making good their pretensions. After this manner the vast fabric of feudal subordination became quite solid and comprehensive; it formed every where an essential part of the political constitution; and the Norman and other barons, who followed the fortunes of William, were so accustomed to it that they could scarcely form an idea of any other species of civil government.

The Saxons, who conquered England, as they exterminated the ancient inhabitants, and thought themselves secured by the sea against new invaders, found it less requisite to maintain themselves in a military posture: the quantity of land which they annexed to offices seems to have been of small value; and for that reason continued the longer in its original situation, and was always possessed during pleasure by those who were intrusted with the command. These conditions were too precarious to satisfy the Norman barons, who enjoyed more independent possessions and jurisdictions in their own country; and William was obliged, in the new distribution of land, to copy the tenures, which were now become universal on the continent. England of a sudden became a feudal kingdom; and received all the advantages, and was exposed to all the inconveniences, incident to that species of civil polity.

According to the principles of the feudal law, the king was the supreme lord of the landed property: all possessors who enjoyed...
APPENDIX.

Defence of the king and kingdom. But besides these military services, which were usual, there were others imposed of a civil nature, which were more constant and durable.

The northern nations had no ideas, that any man, trained up to a succession to his barony or governance, could discharge his duties without his own consent, by the absolute will of another; or that the administration of justice was ever to be exercised by the private opinion of any one magistrate, without his consent. Such was the case of the state; and as these inquisitions might induce them to check his arbitrary and iniquitous decisions. The king, therefore, when he found it necessary to demand any service of his barons or chief tenants, beyond what was due by their tenures, was obliged to assent to the same, as an evidence of their obedience; and as these inquisitions did not oblige them to return upon him, and that others should undergo the burden in his stead. The king, on the other hand, was usually anxious, for several reasons, that the assembly of the barons should be full at every stated or casual meeting: this attendance was the chief halter of their subordination to his crown, and drew them from that independence which they were apt to affect in their own castles and mansions; and where the meeting was thin or ill attended, its determinations had less authority, and commanded not so ready an obedience from the whole community.

The case was the same with the barons in their courts, as with the king in the supreme council of the nation. It was requisite to assemble the vassals, in order to determine by their vote any question which regarded the barony; and they sat along with the chief in all trials, whether civil or criminal, which occurred within the limits of their jurisdiction. They were bound to pay suit and attendance at the courts of their lord; and as their tenure was military, and consequently honorable, they were admitted into his society, and partook of his friendship.

Thus, a kingdom was considered only as a great barony, and a baron as a small kingdom. The barons were peers to each other on national occasions; and, in some degree, companions to the king: the vassals were peers to each other in the court of barony, and companions to their baron.

But though this resemblance so far took place, the vassals, by the natural course of things, universally, in the feudal constitutions, fell into a greater subordination under the baron, than the baron himself under his sovereign; and the higher governments had a necessary and inflammatory tendency to augment the power of the nobles. The great chief, residing in his county-seat, where he was commonly allowed to fortify, lost, in a great measure, his connection or acquaintance with the prince; and added daily strength to the court at the baron's seat, as the seat of the barony. They received from him education in all military exercises: his hospitality invited them to live and enjoy society in his hall: their leisure, which was great, made them spend it in his sports; and where they partook of his country sports and amusements: they had no means of gratifying their ambition but by making a figure in his train: his favour and countenance was their greatest honor: their companionship at his table was their greatest protection, both in the controversies which occurred with other vassals, and, what was more material, in the daily ills and injuries which were committed by the neighbouring barons. During the time of general war, the sovereign, who marched at the head of his armies, and was the great protector of the state, always acquired some sway, which he might be tempted to abuse, in view of the maxims of peace and tranquility: but the loose police, incident to the feudal constitutions, maintained a perpetual, though secret hostility, between the several members of the state; and the vassals found no reserve of community against the injuries to which they were continually exposed, but by closely adhering to their chief, and falling into a submissive dependence upon him.

If the feudal government was so little favourable to the true liberty even of the baronial vassal, it was still more destructive of the independence and security of the other members of the state, or what, in a proper sense, we call the people. A great part of them were serfs, and lived in a state of absolute slavery or servitude: the other inhabitants of the country paid their rents in services, which were in a great measure arbitrary; and they could expect no redress of injuries, in a court of baron, from men who thought they had a right to oppress them. The state of the great barons was almost entirely subjected to the absolute will of their master. The languishing state of commerce kept the inhabitants poor and contemptible; and the political institutions were calculated to render that poverty perpetual. The barons and gentry, living in rustic plenty and hospitality, gave no encouragement to the arts, and had no demand for any of the more elaborate manufactures: every profession was held in contempt but that of arms: and if any merchant or manufacturer rose by industry and frugality to a degree of opulence, he found himself but the more exposed to injuries, from the envy and avowdity of the military nobles.

These concurrence causes gave the feudal governments so strong a bias towards aristocracy, that the royal authority was extremely eclipsed in all the European states; and, instead of dreading the growth of monarchical power, we might rather expect, that the community would every where crumble into so many independent baronies, and lose the political union by which they were cemented. In elective monarchies, the event was commonly answerable to this expectation; and the barons, gaining ground on every vacancy of the throne, raised themselves almost to a state of sovereignty, and sacrificed to their power both the rights of the crown and the liberties of the people. This was the case in England, where the barons had a perpetual right of consultation, which was not so easily subverted; and there were several causes which still maintained a degree of influence in the hands of the sovereign.

The greatest baron could never lose view entirely of those principles of the feudal constitution which bound him, as a vassal, to submission and fealty towards his prince; because he was every moment obliged to have recourse to those principles, in exacting fealty and submission from his own vassals. These lesser barons, finding that the annihilation of royal authority left them exposed, without protection, to the insults and injuries of more potent neighbours, naturally adhered to the crown, and promoted the execution of general and equal laws. The people had, in this case, a stronger interest to desire the grandeur of the sovereign; and the king, being the legal magistrate, who suffered by every internal convulsion or oppression, and who regarded the great nobles as his immediate rivals, assumed the salutary office of protecting and repressing the commons. Besides the prerogatives with which the law invested him, his large demesnes and numerous retainers rendered him, in one sense, the greatest baron in his kingdom; and, as such, he had a political advantage, (for his situation required these advantages,) he was commonly able to preserve his authority, and maintain his station as head of the community, and the chief fountain of law and justice, and attempt to restore it.

The first kings of the Norman race were favoured by another circumstance, which preserved them from the
The ecclesiastics of their barons. They were generally of a conquering army, which was obliged to continue in a military posture, and to maintain great subordination under their leader, in order to secure themselves from the ravages of those enemies, who despised the wealth and the properties and privileges. But though this circumstance supported the authority of William and his immediate successors, and rendered them extremely absolute, it was by no means the Norman方式进行, with a crown to recognize their vassals, tenants, and slaves. And the immense fortunes which the Conqueror had bestowed on his chief captains, served to support the independence, and make them formidable to their sovereigns.

He gave, for instance, to Hugh de Abernies, his sister's son, the whole county of Chester, which he erected into a palatinate, and rendered by his grant almost independent of the crown. Robert, Earl of Mortaigne, had 973 manors and lordships; Allan, Earl of Brittany and Richmond, 442: Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 439; Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, 280: Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, 107: William, Earl Warrenne, 296, besides 28 towns or hamlets in Yorkshire: Violence, 81: Roger Bigod, 123: Robert, Earl of Eu, 119: Roger Mortimer, 132, besides several hamlets: Robert de Suffolk, 150: Walter de Ely,Earl of Hereford, 46: Simon, 118: Richard de Clare, 171: Hugh de Beauchamp, 47: Baldwin de Redver, 164: Henry de Ferrars, 222: William de Percy, 119: Norman d'Arcey, 33: Sir Henry Speed, 34: William Marshal, 280. There were not, in the Conqueror's time, above sixty-six proprietors of land. Men, possessed of such princely revenues and jurisdictions, could not long be retained in the rank of subjects. The great Earl Warrenne, in a subsequent reign, when he was questioned concerning his right to the lands which he possessed, drew his sword, which he produced as his title; adding, that William the Bastard did not conquer the kingdom itself, but the barons; that he was the ancestor of the rest, were joint adventurers in the enterprise.

The supreme legislative power of England was vested in the king and great council, or what was afterwards called the parliament. It was not doubted but the archbishops, bishops, and most considerable abbots were constituent members of this council. They sat by a double title: by prescription, as having always possessed that prerogative, through the whole Saxon period, from the first establishment of Christianity; and by their right of baronage, as holding of the king in capite, by military service. These two titles of the prelates were never accurately distinguished. When the usurpations of the English kings and barons took place, such as bishops and abbots affect a separate dominion, and regard their seat in parliament as a degradation of their episcopal dignity; the king insisted, that they were byrons, and, on that account, obliged, by the general principles of the feudal law, to attend on him in his great councils. Yet there still remained some practices, which supposed their title to be derived merely from ancient possession: when a bishop was elected, he sat in parliament before the king had made him restitution of his temporalities; and during the vacancy of a see, the guardian of the spiritualities was summoned to attend along with the bishops.

The barons were another constituent part of the great council of the nation. These held immediately of the crown by a military tenure: they were the most honourable members of the state, and had a right to be consulted in all public deliberations: they were the immediate vassals of the crown, and owed as a service their attendance in the court of their supreme lord. A resolution taken without their consent was likely to be but ill executed; and no determination of any cause or controversy among them had any validity, where the vote and advice of the body did not concur. The dignity of earl or count was official and territorial, as well as hereditary; and as all the earls were also barons, they were considered as military vassals of the crown, were admitted in that capacity into the general council, and formed the most honourable and powerful branch of it.

But there was another class of the immediate military tenants of the crown, no less, or probably more, numerous than the barons, the Norman magnates, by kindred, wealth, and influence, were exempted from these, however inferior in power or property, held by a tenure which was equally honourable with that of the others. A barony was commonly composed of several knights' fees; and though the number seems not to have been exactly fixed, seldom, according to the ancient Hydes of land, where a man held the king only one or two knights' fees, he was still an immediate vassal of the crown, and as such had a right to a seat in the general councils. But as this attendance was usually esteemed a burden, and one too great for a man of slender fortune to bear constantly; it is probable, that, though he had a title, if he pleased, to be admitted, he was not obliged, by any penalty, like the barons, to pay a regular attendance. All the immediate military tenants of the crown amounted not fully to 700, when Doomsday book was framed; and as the members were well pleased, on any pretext, to excuse themselves from attendance, the number of those who could become too numerous for the despatch of public business.

So far the nature of a general council, or The Commons, of ancient parliament, is determined without any doubt. This body of the nation seems to be with regard to the Commons, or the representatives of counties and boroughs; whether they were also, in more early times, constituent parts of parliament? This question was once disputed in England with great acrimony: but such is the force of time and evidence, that they can sometimes prevail even over faction; and the question seems, by general consent and even by their own, to be at last determined against the rising party. It is agreed, that the Commons were of great part in the council of the great council, till some ages after the conquest; and that the military tenants alone of the crown composed that supreme and legislative assembly.

The vassals of a baron were by their tenure immediately dependent on him, owed attendance at his court, and paid all their duty to the king, through that dependence which their lord was obliged by his tenure to acknowledge to his sovereign and superior. Their land, comprehended in the barony, was represented in parliament by the baron himself, who was supposed, according to the fictions of the feudal law, to possess the direct property of it; and it would have been deemed incongruous to give it any other representation. They stood in the same capacity to him, that he and his forefathers did to such one who was supposed to have a barony; the latter were peers of the realm: the vassals possessed a subordinate rank within their district: the baron enjoyed a superior dignity in the great assembly: they were in some degree his companions at home: he was the baron's companion at court: and nothing can be more evidently repugnant to all feudal ideas, and to that gradual subordination, which was essential to those ancient institutions, than to imagine that the king would apply either for the advice or consent of men, who were of a rank so much inferior, and whose duty was immediately paid to the monarch, that was interposed between them and the throne. If it be reasonable to think that the vassals of a barony, though their tenure was military and noble and honourable, were ever summoned to give their opinion in national councils, much less can it be supposed, that the traders or inhabitants of boroughs, whose condition was so much inferior, would be admitted to that privilege. It appears from Doomsday, that the greatest boroughs were, at the time of the conquest, scarcely more than country villages; and that the inhabitants lived in entire dependence.
vices, that no state or should be imposed, either on land or towns, but by consent of the great council; and for more security, it enumerates the persons entitled to a seat in that assembly, the prelates and immediate tenants of the crown, without any mention of the Commons; an authority so full, certain, and explicit, that nothing but the zeal of party could ever have procured credit to any contrary hypothesis.

It was probably the example of the French barons which first emboldened the English to require greater independence. It is also clear from the communications of the Commons and the city people with the consorts of the French court, that there was an invention of Lewis the Gross, in order to free the people from slavery under the lords, and to give them protection, by means of certain privileges and a separate turning wheel. An ancient French writer has spoken of a new and wicked device, to procure liberty to slaves, and encourage them in shaking off the dominion of their masters. The famous charter, as it is called, of the Conqueror to the city of London, though granted at a time when he assumed the appearance of gentleness and lenity, is nothing but a letter of protest, and a declaration that the citizens should not be treated as slaves. By the English feudal law, the superior lord was prohibited from marrying his female ward to a burgess or a villain; so near were these two ranks esteemed to each other, and so much inferior to the nobility and gentility. Besides possessing the advantages of birth, riches, civil powers, and privileges, the nobles and gentlemen alone were armed; a circumstance which, in the ancient state, was of such importance, that nothing but the military profession was honourable, and when the loose execution of laws gave so much encouragement to open violence, and rendered it so decisive in all disputes and controversies.

The great similarity among the feudal governments of Europe is well known to every man that has any acquaintance with ancient history; and the anachronisms of all foreign countries, where the question was never embroiled, by party disputes, have allowed, that the Commons came very late to be admitted to a share in the legislative power. In Norman particular, whose constitution was most likely to be William's model in making his new fabric of English government, the states were entirely composed of the clergy and nobility; and the first incorporated boroughs or communities of that country were Roten and Falaise, which enjoyed their privileges by a grant of Philip Augustus in the year 1207. All the ancient English historians, when they mention the great council of the nation, call it an assembly of the baronage, nobility, or great men; and none of their expressions, though several hundred passages may be adduced from the national chronicles, violate the torture to a meaning, which will admit the Commons to be constituent members of that body. If in the long period of 200 years, which elapsed between the conquest and the latter end of Henry III., and which abounded in faction and dispute, it was the power and authority of the House of Commons never performed one single legislative act, so considerable as to be once mentioned by any of the numerous historians of that age, they must have been totally insignificant; and in that case, what reason can be assigned for their ever being assembled? It can be supposed, that men of so little weight or importance possessed a negative voice against the king and the barons? Every page of the subsequent histories discovers their existence, though these histories are not written with greater accuracy than the preceding ones, and indeed scarcely equal them in that particular.

The Magna Charta of King John pro-
king's court, to give sentence among the barons themselves. But this plan, though simple, was attended with some circumstances which, being derived from a very extensive authority assumed by the Conqueror, contributed to some influence over the royal person, and so long as the state was not disturbed by arms, reduced every order of the community to some degree of dependence and subordination.

The king himself often sat in his court, which always attracted a considerable person: he there heard causes and pronounced judgment; and though he was assisted by the advice of the other members, it is not to be imagined that a decision could easily be obtained contrary to his inclination. In his absence, the chief justice proceeded, who was the first magistrate in the state, and a kind of viceroy, on whom depended all the civil affairs of the kingdom. The other chief officers of the crown, the constable, marshall, seneschal, chamberlain, treasurer, and chancellor, were members, together with such feudal barons as thought proper to attend, and the barons of the exchequer, who at first were also feudal barons appointed by the king. This court, which was sometimes called the king's court, sometimes the court of exchequer, judged in all causes, civil and criminal, and comprehended the whole business which is now shared out among four courts, the chancery, the king's bench, the common pleas, and the exchequer.

Such an accumulation of powers was itself a great source of authority, and rendered the jurisdiction of the court formidable to all the subjects; but the turn, which justice took soon after, was to augment the royal prerogatives. William, among the other violent changes which he attempted and effected, he had introduced the Norman law into England; he had ordered all the pleadings to be in that tongue, and had interwoven, with the English jurisprudence, all the maxims and principles, which the Normans, more advanced in cultivation, and naturally litigious, were accustomed to observe in the distribution of justice. Law, it may be, was a science, which at first fell entirely into the hands of the Normans; and which, even after it was communicated to the English, required so much study and application, that the latty, in those ignorable ages, were incapable of attaining it, and it was a mystery almost solely confined to the clergy, and chiefly to the monks. The great officers of the crown, and the feudal barons, who were military men, found themselves unfit to penetrate into those obscurities; and though they were of course sent in title, the business of the court was wholly managed by the chief justices and the law barons, who were men appointed by the king, and entirely at his disposal. This natural course seemed to effect a multiplication of the court, a business which flowed into that court, and which daily augmented by the appeals from all the subordinate j udiciaries of the kingdom.

In the Saxon times, no appeal was received in the king's court, except upon the denial or delay of justice by the inferior courts; and the same practice was still observed in most of the feudal kingdoms of Europe. But the great power of the Conqueror established, at first, in England, an authority, which the monarchs in France were not able to attain till the reign of St. Lewis, who lived near two centuries after; he empowered his court to receive appeals both from the courts of barony and the county courts, and by that means brought the administration of justice ultimately into the hands of the sovereign. And lest the expense or trouble of a journey to court should discourage suitors, and make them acquiesce in the decision of the inferior judicatures, itinerant judges were afterwards established, who made their circuits throughout the kingdom, and tried all causes that were brought before them. By this expedient the courts of barony were kept in awe; and if they still preserved some of the old contests, the power the vassals might entertain, of disobliging their superior, by appealing from his jurisdiction. But the county courts were much discredited; and as the freeholders were found ignorant of the intricate principles and forms of the new law, the lawyers gradually brought all business before the king's judges, and abandoned the ancient simple and popular judicature. After this manner, the formalities of justice, which, though they appear tedious and cumbersome, are for the most part, the chief justiciary, still preserved in all the monarchical governments, proved at first by a combination of causes, very advantageous to royal authority in England. The power of the Norman kings was also Revenue of the crown, which was now made perpetual and independent of the subject. The people, without betaking themselves to arms, had no check upon the king, and no regular security for the due administration of justice. In those days, there are many instances of oppression passed unheeded; and soon after were openly pleaded as precedents, which it was unlawful to dispute or control. Princes and ministers were too ignorant to be themselves the more formidable than the hands of the judges of justice; and there was no established council or assembly which could protect the people, and, by withholding supplies, regularly and peacefully admonish the king of his duty, and the court of his dependence. The first branch of the king's stated revenue was the royal demesnes or crown lands, which were very extensive, and comprehended, beside a great number of manors, most of the chief cities of the kingdom. It was established by law, that the king could alienate no part of his domain, and that he himself, or his successor, could at any time resume such domains; but this law was never regularly observed; which, in the time of the crown somewhat more dependent. The rest of the crown lands, considered merely as so much riches, was a source of power: the influence of the king over his tenants and the inhabitants of his towns, increased this power; but the numerous branches of his revenue, besides supplying his treasury, gave, by their very essence, an authority superior to arbitrary authority, and were a support of the prerogative; as will appear from an enumeration of them.

The king was never content with the stated rents, but levied heavy fines, on the non-payment of justice, on the feudal vassals of town and country, who lived within his demesne. All bargains of sale, in order to prevent theft, being prohibited, except in boroughs and public markets, he provided for the collection of heavy duties. He seized two heathgods, one before and one behind the mast, from every vessel that imported wine. All goods paid to his customs a proportionable part of their value: passage over bridges and on rivers was loaded with tolls at pleasure; and though the boroughs by degrees bought the liberty of farming these impositions, yet the revenue profited by these bargains: new sums were often exacted for the renewal and confirmation of their charters, and the people were thus held in perpetual dependence. Such was the situation of the inhabitants within the royal demesnes. But the possessors of land, or the military tenants, though they were better protected both by law, and by the great privilege of carrying arms, were, from the nature of their tenures, much exposed to the inroads of power, and possessed not what we should esteem, in our age, a very durable security. The Conqueror ordained, that the barons should be obliged to pay nothing...
APPENDIX.

beyond their stated services, except a reasonable aid to ransom his person if he were taken in war, to make his eldest son a knight, and to marry his eldest daughter. What should, on these occasions, he deemed a reasonable aid, was not determined; and the demands of the crown were not infixed, but what it pleased, and sometimes called a seignage. The sum was, during some reigns, precarious and uncertain; it was sometimes levied without allowing the vassal the liberty of personal service; and it was an usual artifice of the king to pretend an expedition, that he might be entitled to another demand. The practice, however, of taxing land by the early Norman kings, arbitrarily, and contrary to the laws of the Conqueror, was also a general land-tax of the same nature, levied by the two first Norman kings, and abolished by the charter of Henry I. It was a shilling paid every three years by each hearth, to induce the king not to use his prerogative in debasing the coin. In short, it appears from that charter, that, though the Conqueror had granted his military tenants an immunity from all taxes and tallages, he and his son William had never thought themselves bound to observe that rule, but had levied impositions at pleasure on all the landed estates of the king. There was a land cultivated by the military tenant himself shall not be so burdened; but he reserves the power of taxing the vassals; and as it is known that Henry's charter was never observed in any one article, we may be assured that this prince and his successors retracted even this small indulgence, and levied arbitrary impositions on all the lands of all their subjects. These taxes were sometimes very heavy; since Malbury tells us, that in the reign of William Rufus, the farmers, on account of them, abandoned tillage, and a famine ensued.

The escheats were a great branch both of power and of revenue to the first monarchs. In default of posterity from the first baron, his land reverted to the crown, and continually augmented the king's possessions. The prince had indeed by law a power of alienating these escheats; but by this means he had an opportunity of establishing the fortunes of his friends and servants, and thereby enlarging his authority. Sometimes he retained them in his own hands; and they were gradually confounded with the royal demesnes, and became perpetual grants to his successors. This confusion is probably the reason why the king acquired the right of alienating his demesnes.

But besides escheats from default of heirs, those which ensue from debts, whose, or breach of duty towards the superior lord, were frequent. If the tenant being thrice summoned to attend his superior's court and do fealty, neglected or refused obedience, he forfeited all title to his land. If he denied his tenure, or refused his service, he was exposed to the same penalty. If he sold his estate without licence from his lord, or if he sold it upon any other tenure or title than that by which he himself held it, he lost all right to it. The adhering to his lord's enemies, deserting him in war, betraying his serents, deserting his wife or his near relations, or even using indecent freedoms with them, might be punished by forfeiture. The higher crimes, rapes, robbery, murder, arson, &c. were called felons, and he underwent the utmost fidelity to his lord, made him lose his fief. Even where the felon was vassal to a baron, though his immediate lord enjoyed the forfeiture, the king might retain possession of his estate during a twelvemonth, and, after the right of appealing and destroying it, unless the baron paid him a reasonable composition.

We have not here enumerated all the species of felonies, or of crimes by which forfeiture was incurred: we have said enough to prove, that the possession of feudal property was anciently somewhat precarious, and that the primary idea was never lost, of its being a kind of fee or benefice.

When a baron died, the king immediately took possession of the estate; and the heir, before he recovered his right, was obliged to take an oath to make his desire that he might be admitted to do homage for his land, and pay a composition to the king. This composition was not at first fixed by law, at least by practice: the king was often exorbitant in his demands, and kept possession of the land till they were complied with.

If the heir were a minor, the king retained the whole profit of the estate till his majority; and might grant what sum he thought proper for the education and maintenance of the young baron. This practice was also founded on the notion, that a fief was a benefice, and that, while the heir could not perform his military services, the revenue devolved to the superior, who employed another in his stead. It is obvious, that a great proportion of the landed property must, by means of this device, be continually in the hands of the prince, and that all the noble families were thereby held in perpetual dependance. When the king granted the wardship of a rich heir to any of his benefactors, he had the opportunity of enriching a favourite or minister: if he sold it, he thereby levied a considerable sum of money. Simon de Montfort paid Henry III. 10,000 marks, an immense sum in those days, for the marriage of Gilbert de Umfreynville, who was the eldest son of the king. The sum was equal to the marriage of the eldest son of the king. The same prince the sum of 20,000 marks, that he might marry Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, and possess all her lands and knights' fees. This sum would be equivalent to 300,000, perhaps 400,000, pounds in our time.

If the heir were a female, the king was entitled to offer her any husband of her rank whom he thought proper; and if she refused him, she forfeited her land. Even a male heir could not marry without the royal consent; and it was usual for men to pay large sums for the liberty of making their own choice in marriage. No man could dispose of his land, either by sale or will, without the consent of his superior. It was even sometimes the practice to require the escheat from the new proprietor: he was still kind of beneficiarius; and could not oblige his superior to accept of any vassal that was not agreeable to him.

Fines, amortisations, and oblates, as they were called, were another considerable branch of the royal power and revenue. The ancient records of the exchequer, which are still preserved, give surprising accounts of the numerous fines and amortisations levied in those days, and of the strange inventions in which they were kept. It appears that the ancient kings of England put themselves entirely on the footing of the barbarous eastern princes, whom no man must approach without a present, who sell not the good they give, and intrude themselves into every business that they may have a pretence for extracting money. Even justice was avowedly bought and sold; the king's court itself, though the supreme judicature of the kingdom, was open to none that brought not presents in the king; the bribes given for the expedition, delay, suspension, and, doubtless, for the perversion of justice, were entered in the public registers of the royal revenue, and remain as monuments of the perpetual iniquity and tyranny of the times. The business of the exchequer, for instance, the first nobility of the kingdom, were not ashamed to insert, as an article in their records, that the county of Norfolk paid a sum that they might be fairly dealt with; the borough of Yarmouth, that the king's charters, which they have for their liberties, might not be violated; Richard, son of Gilbert, for the king's helping him to recover his debt from the Jews; Serlo, son of Terlavanost, that he might be permitted to make his defence, in case he were accused of a certain homicide; Walter de Burton, for free law, if accused of wounding another; Robert de Essvat, for having an inquest to find whether Roger the Butcher, and Wace and
Humphrey, accused him of robbery and theft out of envy and ill-will or not;* William Buhurst, for having an inquest to find whether he was accused of the deaths of one Godwin, out of ill-will, or for just cause.† I have selected these few instances from a great number of a like kind, which Madox had selected from a still greater number, preserved in the ancient rolls of the exchequer.#

Sometimes the party litigant offered the king a certain portion, a half, a third, a fourth, payable out of the deists, which he might have it in charge of a creditor of his, who should assist him in recovering.‡ Thelopanna de Westland agreed to pay the half of 212 marks, that she might recover that sum against James de Fuchleston;§ Solomon, the Jew, engaged to pay 4 marks and 21 d. of every seven marks recovered against Hugh de la Hosc;‖ Nicholas Morel promised to pay 300 marks, that the Earl of Flanders might be distrained to pay him 343 pounds, which the Earl had taken from him; and these sixty pounds were to be paid out of the first money that Nicholas should recover from the earl.

As the king assumed the entire power over trade, he was to be paid for a permission to exercise commerce or industry of any kind.¶ Hugh Ossel paid 400 marks for liberty to trade in England;‖ Nigel de Havene gave fifty marks for the partnership in merchandize which he had with Gervase de Lanton:|| the men of Worcester paid 100 shilings, and William bought land of the liberty of selling and buying dyel cloth, as formerly:§ several other towns paid for a like liberty. The commerce indeed of the kingdom was so much under the control of the king, that he erected guilds, and monopolies, wherever he pleased; and levied sums on these exclusive privileges.||

There were no profits so small as to be below the king's attention. Henry, son of Arthur, gave ten dogs, to have a recognition against the Countess of Cornwall for one kind of land; Roger de Columbus gave twenty marks, and twenty shillings and twenty shillings for an inquest to find, whether Gilbert, son of Aulre, gave to Roger 200 muttins to obtain his confirmation for certain lands, or whether Roger took the land by violence.†† Roger Fitz-Peter, the chief justiceary, gave two good Norwegian hawks, that Walter le Madine might have leave to export a hundredweight of cheese out of the king's dominions

It is really amusing to remark the strange business out of which the king sometimes interfered, and never without a present: the wife of Hugh de Neville gave the king 200 hens, that she might lie with her husband one night; and she brought with her two hones, who answered each for a hundred hens. It is probable that her husband was a prisoner, which debared her from having access to him. The Abbot of Rofford paid ten marks for leave to erect a lych-gate upon his land in Wellingham, in order to secure his wood there from being stolen:‖ Hugh, Archdeacon of Wells, gave one tun of wine for leave to carry 600 sumns of corn without which he would: Peter de Perrams gave twenty marks for leave to sail fishes, as Peter Cheverler used to do.||

It was usual to pay high fines, in order to gain the king's good-will, or mitigate his anger. In the reign of Henry II. Gilbert, the son of Fergus, fines in 919 pounds 8 shillings to obtain that prince's favour, William de Chataignes, a thousand marks, that he would remit his displeasure. In the reign of Henry III. the city of London fines in no less a sum than 20,000 pounds on the same account:* The king's protection and good offices of every kind were bought and sold. Robert Grislet paid twenty marks of silver, that the king would help him against the Earl of Mortagne, in a certain plea:* Robert de Cundet gave thirty marks of silver that the king would bring him to an accord with the Bishop of Lincoln:* Ralph de Brecham gave a haunch, that the king would give him land; and it was a very frequent reason for payments: John, son of Ordar, gave a Norwegian hawk, to have the king's request to the King of Norway to let him have his brother Godard's chattels:‖ Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain that he might recover his chattels in his lands, which the king took for a husband:‖ Roger Fitz-Walter gave three good palfreys to have the king's letter to Roger Bertram's mother, that she should marry him:‖ Elang, the dean, paid 100 and 20 marks, that he should recover his old land out of fief:‖ the Bishop of Winchester gave one tun of good wine for his not putting the king in mind to give a gable to the Counties of Albemarle:‖ Robert de Vaux gave five of the best palfreys, that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife.†† There are, in the records of exchequer, many other singular instances of a like nature. It will, however, be just to remark, that the same ridiculous practices and dangerous abuses prevailed in Normandy, and probably in all the other states of Europe:§ England was not, in this respect, more barbarous than its neighbours.

These notorious practices of the Norman kings were so well known, that on the death of Hugh Bigod, in the reign of Henry II. the best and most just of these princes, the eldest son and the widow of this noleanor came to court, and strongly, but ineffectually, attempting large presents to the king, each of them to acquire possession of that rich inheritance, the king was so equitable as to order the cause to be tried by the great council! But in the mean time, he seized all the money and treasure of the deceased. Peter of Bious, in the reign of the emperor, provost of Reggio, practised a pathetic description of the vanity of justice, and the oppressions of the poor, under the reign of Henry: and he scruples not to complain to the king himself of these oppressions. Nor did the kings refrain from doing the same to the government of worse princes. The articles of inquiry concerning the conduct of sheriffs, which Henry promulgated in 1170, show the great power, as well as the licentiousness, of the officers.

Amencorments or fines for crimes and trespasses were another considerable branch of the royal revenue. Most crimes were atoned for by money; the fines imposed were not limited by any rate or statute; and frequently occasioned the total ruin of the person, even for the slightest trespasses The forest-laws, particularly, were a great source of oppression. The king possessed sixty-eight forests, which were celebrated as deer parks, in different parts of England; and, considering the extreme passion of the English and Normans for hunting, these were so many snares laid for the people, by which they were allure into trespasses, and brought within the reach of arbitrary and rigorous laws, which the king had thought proper to exact by his own authority.

But the most barefaced acts of tyranny and oppression were practised against the Jews, who were entirely out of the protection of law, were extremely odious from the bigotry of the people, and were abandoned to the immeasurable rapacity of the king and his ministers. Besides many other indignities, to which they were continually exposed, I apprehend that they were once all thrown into prison, and the sum of 66,000 marks exacted for their liberty at...
another time, Isaac the Jew paid alone 5100 marks; 2. Brun, 3000 marks; 3. Jurnet, 2000; Bennett, 500: at all these, La- cercia, widow of David, the Jew of Oxford, was required to pay 6600 marks; and she was delivered over to six of the richest and most distinguished Jews in England; and by concluding with her several sentences of high rank and power, he could throw the state into con- vulsions. And, on the whole, though the royal authority was confined within bounds, and often within very narrow lines, yet the check imposed was so strong, and frequently the source of great disorders; nor was it derived from the liberty of the people, but from the military power of many petty tyrants, who were equally dangerous to the prince, and oppressive to the subject.

The power of the church was another ram- part against royal authority; but this defence was also the cause of many mischiefs and inconveniences. The dignified clergy, perhaps, were not so prone to immediate violence as the barons; but as they pretended to a total independence on the state, and could always cover themselves with the appearances of religion, they proved, in one respect, an obstruction to the settlement of the kingdom, and to the regular execution of the laws. The policy of the Conqueror was in this particular liable to some exception. He augmented the stupendous veneration for Rome, to which that age was so much inclined; and he did not even take the trouble to make a union of the clergy with the secular clergy of the state. The bishops and abbots, both in England and in France, were generally brought up under the influence of the Roman See; and the clergy, by the practice of some very great and cruel tyrants, were suggested with a disposition to regard the church as a separate power, and to become the protectors of the oppressed, the defenders of the weak, and the avengers of wrongs.

The right of primogeniture was introduced, with the feudal law and institutions, which is hurtful, by producing and maintaining an unequal division of private property; but is advantageous, in another respect, by accustoming the people to a preference in favour of the eldest son, who was the only person beneficent to them, by the alliance of his name, and the properties of his family, and by the subordination of his authority, without process of law, to imprisonment, banishment, and the deprivation of their kingdom.

A great baron, in ancient times, considered himself as a king in his own country, as sovereign of all the land, by courts and dependencies more zeloously attached to him than the ministers of state and the great officers were commonly to their sovereign. He often maintained in his court the parade of royalty, by establishing a justiciary, armed officers, marshals, chamberlains, seneschals, and chamberlains, and assigning to each of these officers a separate province and command. He was usually very audacious in exercising his jurisdiction; and took such delight in that image of sovereignty, that it was found necessary to restrain his activity, and prohibit him by law from holding courts too frequently. It is not to be doubted, but the example, set by him, the prince, of a mercenary and sedate exiles, who were a great power in the state, and their salaries, and bad offices, his justice and injustice, were equally put to sale. He had the power, with the king's consent, to exact tithes even from the free citizens who lived within his barony; and as his necessities made him rapacious, his authority was usually found to be more oppressive and tyrannical than that of the sovereign. He was ever engaged in baronial wars for personal or his neighbours, and often gave protection to all desperate adventurers and criminals, who could be useful in serving his violent purposes. He was able alone, in times of tranquillity, to obstruct the execution of justice within his barony, and to combine with a very few discontented barons of high rank and power, he could throw the state into con- vulsions. And, on the whole, though the royal authority was confined within bounds, and often within very narrow lines, yet the check imposed was so strong, and frequently the source of great disorders; nor was it derived from the liberty of the people, but from the military power of many petty tyrants, who were equally dangerous to the prince, and oppressive to the subject.

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ment. The credulity of the age grafted on this stock the notion of giants, enchanters, dragons, spells, and a thousand wonders, which still multiplied during the times of the Crusades; when men, returning from so great a distance, used the liberty of imposing every fiction on their believing audience. These ideas of chivalry infected the writings, conversation, and behaviour of men, during some ages; and even after they were, in a great measure, banished by the general increase, they left modern gaudlery, and the point of honour, which still maintain their influence, and are the genuine offspring of those ancient affections.

The concession of the Great Charter, or rather its full establishment, (for there was a considerable interval of time between the one and the other,) gave rise, by degrees, to a new species of government, and introduced some order and justice into the administration. The ensuing scenes of our history are therefore somewhat different from the preceding. Yet the Great Charter contained no establishment of new courts, magistrates, or senates, nor abolition of the old. It introduced no new distribution of the powers of the commonwealth, and no innovation in the political or public law of the kingdom. It only guarded, and that merely by verbal clauses, against such tyrannical practices as are incompatible with civilized government, and, if they became too frequent, are incompatible with all government. The barbarous license of the kings, and perhaps of the nobles, was thenceforth somewhat more restrained: men acquired some more security for their properties and their liberties: and government approached a little nearer to that end for which it was originally instituted, the distribution of justice, and the equal protection of the citizens. Acts of violence and iniquity in the crown, which before were only deemed injurious to individuals, and were of no considerable proportion in the number, power, and dignity of the persons affected by them, were now regarded, in some degree, as public injuries, and as infringements of a charter, called the Great Charter, which had established general securities. And thus the establishment of the Great Charter, without seeming anywise to innovate in the distribution of political power, became a kind of epoch in the constitution.

No. III.


The party among us who have distinguished themselves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long indulged those prejudices against the succeeding race of princes, by bestowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wisdom of Elizabeth. They have been so extremely ignorant of the transactions of this reign, as to extol her for a period, which, of all others, she was the least possessed of; a tender regard for the constitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is scarcely possible for the prepossessions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts so palpable and undeniable, there is danger lest the public should run into the opposite extreme, and should entertain an antipathy to the memory of a princess who exercised the royal authority in a manner so contrary to all the ideas which we at present entertain of a legal constitution. But Elizabeth only supported the prerogatives transmitted to her by her predecessors; she believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed: she found that they entirely acquiesced in her arbitrary administration:

1 In all legal sense combinis, it was part of the champion's oath, that he carried not about him any birth, spell, or enchantment, by which he might prove himself a conjurer. Greg. Jard. in Vir. Illust. vol. i. p. 343.

2 By the ancient constitution, it was meant that which prevailed before theTAUNCE of Simonides, a so-called poet, in his attack on the government, where, though the king did have perhaps less liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had also less authority; the power of the baron was a great check upon him, and exercised with great tyranny over him. For the position of the barons is in every case protected, that before the establishment of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almost wholly in the king. The English constitution, like all political combinations, has its defects. Greg. Jard. in Vir. Illust. vol. i. p. 343.

3 It is a memorial of the state of the realm, drawn by Secretary Cecil, in 1562. For the history of the time, there is more authentic and more authentic information. Civil policy, which being compared with the flourishing and rectitude of the preceding times, appears to have been a period of reactionary and considerate person, in the behavior of despotism of repression. Or. E E

4 See the 1st motion, that before the establishment of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular
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suffered to decline, either on the left, or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions.

But the law went beyond even these two courts in a prompt, and arbitrary, and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people. If one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law, granted to the Lord of Essex and his fellow-conspirators, was a favour; for that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law. We have seen instances of its being employed by Queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of Queen Elizabeth's to the Earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she sharply reproves him because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law; though it is probable that near eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of the slight insurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or insurrection, there was an opinion that there was a necessity of martial law; and empowered the commissioners to execute it, as should be thought by their directions most necessary. Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Barchet, a puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel, ran into the streets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Barchet to a court of common law; but she continued not always so reserved in executing this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which she orders martial law to be used against all such as import bulbs, or even forbidden books and pamphlets, from abroad; and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, any law or statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. We have another act of hers still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons. The lord mayor had endeavoured to repress this disorder; the star-chamber had exerted its antitrust powers; and both these courts, to the queen, finding those remedies insufficient, employed martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-martial: "Granting him authority, and commanding him, upon significant, given by the justices of peace in London or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders not worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attact and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and scourrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences."

I suppose it would be difficult to produce an instance of such direct authority in any place nearer than Muscovy. The patent of high constable, granted to Earl Rivers, by Edward IV., proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force during peace as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament in Edward the VI.'s reign, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the constable and martial's court to be part of the law of the land.  

The star-chamber, and high commission, and court-martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, had still some pre-
tence of a trial, at least of a sentence; but there was a grievous punishment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the president of the court, and the sentence in any jail, and during any time, that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with chains, and cast into the cold, and cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

This practice was an indirect way of employing torture: but the rack itself, though not admitted in the lord chancellor's execution of justice, was frequently used, upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant from a secretary, or the privy council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture whenever they thought proper. There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story told by Lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: "The queen was mighty incensed against Hayware, on account of a book he dedicated to Lord Essex, being a story of the first year of Henry IV.; thinking it a seditious prelude, to put into the people's heads boldness and faction. She said, she had been guilty of nothing in it, since she could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within the case of treason. Whereeto I answered, For treason, sure I found none; but for felony very many; and when her justice hastily asked, How many? I told her, she had committed very apparent theft: for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time, when the queen could not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked, to produce his author; I replied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but rack his books, and put them into your hands, and help of books, and be enquired to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the histories, to judge whether he was the author or no." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack, for a most innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the arts, the Earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majesty's displeasure.

The queen's menace, of trying and punishing Hayware for treason, could easily have been executed, let this book have been ever so innocent. And if the authors hung over the people, no one must have acquitted a man, if the court was resolved to have him condemned. The practice, also, of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance, during all these reigns, that the sovereign or the ministers were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Tupid jurys, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common, of fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing the judges, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; it is obvious that juries were then no manner of security to the liberty of the subject.

The power of pressing, both for sea and land service, and obliging any person to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Osborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this preroga-

tive. In case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions," says he, she did seasonably prevent him, by
a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon
some service at home, which she knew beast grateful
to the people; contrary to a false maxim, since practised
with far worse success, by such princes as thought it be-
ter to husband their force off enemies than reward friend.
The practice with Elizabeth, on the other hand, was to
imply the immediate successors of Elizabeth, proceeded partly from
the extreme difficulty of their situation, partly from the
greater lenity of their disposition. The power of pressing,
as little as any other, was in her hands, in all respects,
by men of inferior rank; and officers often ex-
acted money for freeing persons from the service.
The government of England, during that age, however
difficult in particular respects, bore a less resemblance to that of
Turkey at present: the sovereign possessed every power, except that of imposing taxes;
and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by
other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people.
In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the exortion of
the bashaws and governors of provinces, from whom he
awards squires presents, or takes forfeitures; in En-
land, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant
permissions for exclusive trade; an invention, that
grew out of the difficulties of the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her preced-
cessors. She often exacted loans from her people; an
arbitrary and unequal kind of imposition, and which individu-
als felt severely: for though the money had been regularly
paid, which was seldom the case, it lay in the people's
hands without interest, which was a sensible loss to
the persons from whom the money was borrowed.

The queen in her distress could, however, request the
Lord Burleigh, by levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a sub-
sidy, a scheme which would have laid the burden more
equally, but which was, in different words, a taxatin
imposed without consent of parliament. It is remarkable,
that the scheme thus proposed, without any visible neces-
sity, by that wise minister, is the very same which Henry
VIII. executed, and which Charles I., engrossed by ill
usage from his parliament, and reduced to the greatest
difficulties in his reign, turned to. In fact, to the great
discon-
tenation of the nation.

The demand of benevolence was another invention of
that age for taxing the people. This practice was
so little conformable to the laws, that the people
offered the queen a bounty, which she was gen-
erously refused, as having no occasion at that time for
money. Queen Mary also, by an order of council, in-
curred the utmost in some branches; and her sister
imitated the example. There was a species of ship
money imposed at the time of the Spanish invasion: the
several ports were required to equip a certain number of
vessels at their own charge; and such was the acrancy of
the people for the public defence, that some of the ports,
particularly London, sent double the number demanded
of them. When any levies were made for Ireland, France,
or the Low Countries, the crown obliged the counties to
equip them in some branches, and her sister
sent them to the sea-ports at their own charge. New-year's gifts
were at that time expected from the nobility, and from the
more considerable gentry.

The queen's pre-emption were also methods of
taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppressive. The whole
kingdom sensibly felt the burden of those impositions;
and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Ox-
ford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking
any monopolies within five miles of these universities.

The queen victualled her navy by means of this preroga-
tive, during the first years of her reign.

Warship was the most regular and legal of all these
impositions by prerogative; yet was it a great bulge of
levying and oppression to all the commerce of the
kingdom, not only to the subject itself, but also to the
trade of the kingdom.

When an estate devoted to a female, the sovereign obliged
her to marry any one he pleased: whether the heir were
male or female, the crown ensured the whole profit of the
estate during the minority. The giving of a warship was a
usual method of releasing a royal ward before his
majority.

The inventions were endless which arbitrary power
might employ for the extorting of money, while the people
imagined that their property was secured by the crown's
being deemed an absolute, and not a revenue, power for
favoring particular

And the Queen's College of Oxford, see Mrs. Petyt's History of Oxford, vol. ii.


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The queen’s prohibition of the prophesying, or the assemblies, instituted for fanatical prayers and conferences, which, by exposing them all to the utmost extent of her prerogative. Any number of persons could not meet together in order to read the Scriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever so orthodox a manner, without her permission.

There were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permission from the sovereign. The queen detained the Earl of Essex’s commission, because he privately married the Earl of Essex’s cousin. No man could travel without the consent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a severe persecution because he had presumed to pay a private visit to the King of Scots. The sovereign even assumed a supreme and uncontrolled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any person to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported without his consent.

The parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praised her for not imitating the practice usual among her predecessors, of stopping the course of justice by particular warrants. There could not possibly be a greater abuse, more unjust, more illiberal, than the practice of refraining from it was very laudable. But she was by no means constant in this reserve. There remain in the public records some warrants of hers, for exempting particular persons from all lawsuits and prosecutions; and these warrants, she says, she grants from her royal prerogative, which she will not allow to be disputed.

It was very usual in Queen Elizabeth’s reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counsellors to commit to prison any one who had happened to displease them, by suing for his just debts; and the unhappy person, though he gained his cause in the courts of justice, was commonly obliged to relinquish his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some likewise, who had been delivered from prison by the judges, were again committed to custody in secret places, without any possibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and servants of the courts of law were punished for executing the writs in favour of these persons. Nay, it was usual to send for people by pursuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commission; and they were brought up to London, and constrained by impediments and fines, to come and appear in the court; but also to pay the pursuivants great sums of money.

The judges, in the 34th of the queen, complain to her majesty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable that the force of his majesty’s name was stronger than the reign of Elizabeth; since the parliament, who presented the petition of right, found no later instances of it. And even these very judges of Elizabeth, who thus protect the people against the tyranny of the great, expressly allow, that a person committed by special command of the queen is not bailable.

It is easy to imagine that in such a government no justice could by course of law be obtained of the sovereign, unless he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition undertaken by Raleigh and Frobisher against the Spaniards in the year 1592, a very rich carack was taken, worth two hundred thousand pounds. The queen’s share in the adventure was only a tenth, but as the prize was so great, and exceeded so much the expectation of all the adventurers, she determined not to rest contented with her share. Raleigh humbly and earnestly begged her to accept of a hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all demands, or rather of all the merchants, by which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that prince ever received from a subject.

But it is no wonder the queen in her administration should pay so little regard to liberty; while the practicability in enacting laws was entirely negligible of it. The persecuting statutes which they passed against papists and puritans are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and there is no more室ness to the clergy and bigots, accustomed the people to the most disgraceful subjection. Their conferring an unlimited supremacy on the queen, or, what is worse, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary servitude.

The law of the 33d of her reign, making seditionous words against the queen’s capital, is also a very tyrannical statute; and a use no less tyrannical was sometimes made of it.

The case of Udall, a puritanical clergyman, seems singular even in those arbitral times. This man had published a book called a Demonstration of Discipline, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen’s political body; and to speak against them was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by a statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udall was exposed. The judges went the very way to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udall had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers made a new question: they: only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udall had told him he was the author; another, that a friended had said so.

They would not allow Usall to produce an exculpatory evidence; which they said was never to be permitted against the crown. And they tended him an oath, by which he was required to depose, that he was not the author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It was almost needless to add, that notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udall: for, as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape. He died in prison before execution of the sentence.

The case of Penry, was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Brownist, a small sect which afterwards increased, and received the name of Independents. He had written against the hierarchy several tracts, such as Martin Marprelate, Theses Martiniana, and other compositions, full of low scribbling and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and, as the matter was a big one, he was required to stand in the court, to answer for his libels. He came, and produced in his pocket, the very book which was suspected of the, and the prosecution. It was also imputed to him, by the Lord-keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers, he had only acknowledged her majesty’s royal power to establish laws, ecclesiastical and civil; but had avoided the usual terms of making, enacting, enforcing, and ordaining laws: which, it is implied, says the lord-keeper, “a most absolute authority.” Penry, for these offences, was convicted and executed.

Thus we have seen that the most absolute authority of the sovereign, to make use of the lord-keeper’s expediency, was established on about twenty branches of prerogative, which are now abolished, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the subject. But what assured more effectually the slavery of the people, than even these branches of prerogative, was the established principles of the times, which attributed to the prince such an unlimited and indefeasible power as was supposed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumscribed by none, the government was quite a despotism, and all the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculeate every where a blind and unlimited passive obedience to the prince, which, on
no account, and under no pretense, it is ever lawful for subjects in the smallest article to depart from or infringe.

Much noise has been made because some court chaplains during the succeeding reigns were permitted to preach such a doctrine as that there is a difference between these sermons, and discourses published by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation.3 So thoroughly were these principles imbibed by the people, during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predecessors, that opposition to them was regarded as the most flagrant sedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praise and approbation which can alone support port men under such dangers and difficulties as attend them in this realm of tyrannical authority. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves under the shelter of parliamantal absurdities, became fashionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage usually ascribed to absolute monarchy, a greater regularity of government, and a more strict execution of the laws, did not attend the former English government, though in many respects it fell under that denomination. A demonstration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper which is preserved by Sturte,4 and which was written by an eminent justice of peace of Somersetshire, in the year 1580. He said in the outset of the quarrel: When the authority of that princess may be supposed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of which they were several in the country at Somerset. The author says, that forty persons there had been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-seven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three discharged: that those who were discharged were most wickeded and desperate persons, who never would come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: that, notwithstanding this great number of indentures, the rate of laborers in the fields continued to be not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over their sheepfolds, their pastures, their woods, and all their other belongings. And England were in no better condition than Somersetsshire; and many of them were even in a worse; that there was at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county who-lived by theft and rapine; and who, sometimes by such strange and unforeseen ways that though the innocent people were not the sufferers, still their property of that kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty a strong battle: and that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were instances of justices of peace, who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them, from the confederates of the felons.

In the year 1575, the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that if the magistrates were not for the future more vigilant, she would intrust authority to indigent and needy persons, who would find an interest in a more exact administration of justice.5 It appears that she was as good as her word. For in the year 1601 there were great complaints made in parliament, that there was too great a difference between these sermons, and discourses published by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation. So thoroughly were these principles imbibed by the people, during the reign of Elizabeth and her predecessors, that opposition to them was regarded as the most flagrant sedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praise and approbation which can alone support port men under such dangers and difficulties as attend them in this realm of tyrannical authority. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves under the shelter of parliamantal absurdities, became fashionable among the people. We shall close the present appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England during this period.

Queen Elizabeth's economy was remarkable; and in some instances seemed to border on the absurd. The smallest expense, if it could possibly be spared, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express during the most delicate transactions was not below her notice.6 She was also attentive to every profit; and embraced opportunities of gain which many appeared to despise. The French ambassador, for instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue;7 and it was usual with her, when she promoted a bishop, to take the opportunity of pilgaging the see of some of its monks.8 But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure; and even refused subsidies from the parliament when she had no present occasion for them. Yet we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that her economy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: she loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes levied in an
equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from her desire of independence, and her care to preserve her wealth, which could have been endangered had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies. In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successions and necessary wars, thought it more expedient to make a continual dissipation of the royal demesnes, than demand the most moderate supplies from the Commons. As she lived unmarried, and had no posterity, she was confirmed in her prudent economy. Long after the deaths of her successors, who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves, on a sudden, reduced to the most extreme indigence.

The splendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debts, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age.1 The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds; and the King of France, four hundred and fifty thousand.2 Though this prince was extremely frugal, and, after the peace of Verrins, was continually amusing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him. Surviving his generous promise, to the sum of twelve thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her.3 The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds granted her parliament.4 In the year 1599, she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months, on the service of Ireland.5 Sir Robert Cecil, affirmed, that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds.6 She gave the Earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds, upon his departure for the government of that kingdom.7 Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him.8 It was a common saying during this reign, The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly.9

In the year 1599, the queen raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smythe, who had farmed them, to refund to some of his former profits. This increase of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caermerthen; and was opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: but the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and economy. She received from the parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and

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2 D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it impossible to recollect this account of the subscriptions paid to the queen by Sir Thomas Smythe. In the year 1589, the crown paid Smyth 300,000 pounds. I own that this last sum allows a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of Queen Elizabeth, for the year 1601, was computed by Sir John Harington, who lived from 1575 to 1641, in his book, vol. i. 76. 77. 89.
3 D'Ewes, p. 177. 305. 107.
4 D'Ewes, p. 90. It appears to Sir John Harington that the queen was not above 500,000 pounds a-year.
5 D'Ewes, p. 177. 305. 107.
6 D'Ewes, p. 90. It appears to Sir John Harington that the queen was not above 500,000 pounds a-year.
7 D'Ewes, p. 177. 305. 107.
8 D'Ewes, p. 90. It appears to Sir John Harington that the queen was not above 500,000 pounds a-year.
9 D'Ewes, p. 90. It appears to Sir John Harington that the queen was not above 500,000 pounds a-year.
first patent to the East Indin company: the stock of that company was seventy-two thousand pounds; and they fitted out four ships, under the command of James Lancaster, for the prosecution of trade. The adventure was unsuccessful; and the ships returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

The communication with Muscovy had been opened in Queen Elizabeth's time, by the dispatch of the passage of Archangel: but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1565. The queen obtained from the czar an exclusive privilege for five years, by which the English merchants were fitted with the sole trade of Muscovy and she entered into a personal as well as national alliance with him. This czar was named John Basildon, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to insure this resource, he was purposed to marry an English woman; and the queen intended to have sent him Lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon: but when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, she wisely declined purchasing an empire at the expense of her ease and safety. 1

The English, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained from Basildon, ventured further into the countries than any Europeans had formerly done. They transported their goods along the river Dvina, in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the river as far as Valoga. They carried commodities seven days' journey by land to Yerselau, and then down the Volga to Astrakan. At Astrakan they built ships, crossed the Caspian sea, and distributed their manufactures into Ferra. But this bold attempt met with such disappointments as to make it appear to them what disadvantage and danger mankind are in, when it was otherwise considered. 2

After the death of John Basildon, his son Theodore renounced the privilege which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade: when the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that privileges must carry an indifferend hand, as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. So much just notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned Queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of the then having the discoveries of the commerce between Europe and his country.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by Queen Elizabeth. Before that time the Grand Sultan of Turkey had been dependent on England to be a dependent province of France; 3 but, having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had granted to the French.

The merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that as she would not innovate any thing, she would still protect them in their immunities and privileges of which she found them possessed. This answer not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants, who tried what they could themselves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and, their returns proving successful, they divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers, the former residing constantly at one place, and the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and states abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This success so enraged the Hanse-towns, that they tried all the methods to oblige the English merchants to return, and obtained sixty of their ships, which had been seized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading states; but when she was informed that many were in a very bad condition, a time was assigned to her at her desire, for the making up of the same; 4 by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, 5 yet, before the year 1640, that number of seamen was tried in England.

The navy was increased to its full extent, so that it could appear considerable, when we reflect that only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: but when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns, that for the most part there were but two ships of a thousand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet, were never more than seventy-four, 6 we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained. 7 In the year 1588, there were not above five vessels fitted out by the noblemen and sea-ports which exceeded two hundred tons.

In the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invasion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppose them. Nothing gave the foreigners more just cause of the power of England than this sudden armament.

In the year 1573, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thousand; and in the year 1595, of one hundred and forty thousand. A distribution was made in the year 1595, of one hundred and forty thousand, besides those which Wales could supply. 8 These arms were formidable by their numbers; but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over and plundered the east coast: so unfit was the militia, as it was

1 Cobham, p. 460. 2 Ibid. p. 188. 3 Ibid. p. 410. 4 Ibid. pp. 350, 356. 5 Ibid. p. 397. 6 Ibid. p. 196. 7 Ibid. p. 410. 8 Ibid. p. 420. 9 Ibid. p. 410. 10 King, the History of England, printed in 1727, has the following passage, chap. 17: 'Civitates, in no prince of Europe that hath a sea-coast, which is not rich enough to support a thousand ships, and to make over one thousand ships of them other countries, and either borrow them or put them to the use of others; but even Olympos, the city of the Niger, hath at this present already made and furnished to the number of one hundred ships of war, that they may be as necessary for the life of the place as the life of the people, so as they are all like one man, and the body of the same great empire, hurt and cut as one.' See also Bullen, the History of England, vol. i. p. 299. 11 Ibid. p. 420. 12 Ibid. p. 420. 13 Ibid. p. 420.
express only the taking of exorbitant and illegal interest.

An act, passed in 1571, violently condemns all usury; but permits ten per cent. interest to be paid. Henry IV. of France reduced it to six per cent. to meet the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howel says,1 that Queen Elizabeth, in the third of her reign, was presented with a pair of black silk stockings, by her silk woman, and never wore cloth hose any more. The author of the present state of England says, that about 1577, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the importation of these convenient instruments of novel and curious fashion was so much increased, that the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Cromwell says, that in 1581, Randolph, so much employed by the queen in foreign enterprises, possessed the office of postmaster-general of England. It appears, therefore, that posts were then established; though from Charles 1's regulations in 1635, it would seem that few posthouses were erected before that time.

In a remonstrance of the Hanne-town to the diet of the empire in 1592, it is affirmed that England exported annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth.2 This number seems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar observation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increase of enclosures and decay of tillage; and he ascribes the reason very justly to the restraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of pasturage, such as wood, hides, leather, tallow, &c. These prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious.

The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good success. From the same author we learn, that the companies, then held to be of the last century, concerning the high prices of every thing.3 There seems, indeed, to have been two periods in which prices rose remarkably in England, namely, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled; and that in the present age.

Between the two there seems to have been a stagnation. It would appear that industry, during that intermediate period, increased as fast as gold and silver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

There were two attempts made in this reign to settle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphry Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: but neither of these colonies had proved successful. All those noble settlements were made in the following reigns. The current specie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions.4

The Earl of Leicester desired Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a new master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a-year, beside maintaining himself and servant, and a couple of horses. "I know," says the Earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages in France; but let him consider, that a shilling in England goes as far as two shillings in France."5 It is known that every thing was much changed since that time.

The nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expenses in this last particular. The expense of hospitality she somewhat encouraged by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the sumptuous feasts which she received from them.6

\[\text{Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.}\]

\[\text{Dugast's Complete Historical Dictionary.}\]

\[\text{Nyer's vol. of Alphonso. p. 64.}\]

\[\text{Hartson, after examining the queen's palaces, says: "For what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what becomes the queen's faithful, both in her private and public life? Her table is stuffed with dainties of every sort, and her liquor is better than the dainties, as is evident to any person. She has many closets besides, full of dainties, and her table is never empty. And, I must say, that her table in the time of her son, King James, was never equalled. She has ten or eleven closets besides, which now contain twelve pieces, a good reason for three pieces or four there are in her house in London, you, neighbour, remember, say he, that, within these 30 years, I could in the queen's house, and in her retinue, have seen no money at all, but had been well entertained. In London, you, neighbour, remember, say he, that, within these 30 years, I could in the queen's house, and in her retinue, have seen no money at all, but had been well entertained.}\]

\[\text{Hinoes, p. 609.}\]

\[\text{M. P. 658.}\]

\[\text{A Journ. 4th April, 1621.}\]

\[\text{Dugast's Complete Historical Dictionary.}\]

\[\text{Nyer's vol. of Alphonso. p. 64.}\]

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\[\text{Hinoes, p. 609.}\]
The Earl of Leicester gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth castle, which was extraordinary for expense and munificence other particulars. We are told that three hundred and sixty-five long造假s of beer were drunk at it. The Earl had fortified this castle at great expense; and it contained arms for ten thousand men. The Earl of Leicester had a family consisting of two hundred and forty servants. Some remarks it as a singular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary revenues, to purchase the great pietas of the sovereign (what was almost unavoidable) he had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyrannizing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal estate, kept a family consisting of a hundred servants. He had a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his person he had people of great distinction, inasmuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thousand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary servants, who were worth from a thousand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thousand pounds. It is to be remarked, that though the revenues of the crown were at that time very small, the ministers and courtiers sometimes found means, by employing the boundless prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is possible for them to present to amass, from their salary, and from the management of their employments.

Burleigh entertained the queen several times in his country house, where she remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds. The quantity of silver plate possessed by this nobleman is surprising: no less than fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds' weight; which, besides the fashion, would be above forty-two thousand pounds sttering in value. Yet Burleigh left only four thousand pounds a-year in land, and 14,000 pounds in money; and as land was then commonly sold at ten years' purchase, his plate was nearly equal to all the rest of his fortune. It appears that the little wealth which was then put upon the fashion of the plate, which probably was but rude: the weight was chiefly considered.

But, though there were preserved great remains of the ancient customs, the nobility were by degrees acquiring a taste for elegant luxury; and many edifices in particular which had been built by them, next, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden; but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is of some concern to remark, that the cost of expense of this sort has been so great as this turn of expense promoted arts and industry; while the ancient hospitality was the source of vice, disorder, sedition, and idleness.

The external species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age; and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more desirous of making impression on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or studied more the variety and richness of her dresses. She appeared almost every day in different habit; and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to render herself agreeable. She was also so fond of her clothes, that she never could part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her lifetime.

The renunciation of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign; and, by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and the maintenance of the courts of justice. There were many peculiar causes in the situation and character of Henry VII. which augmented the authority of the crown: most of these causes concurred in succeeding princes; but the particular acquisition of the supremacy, a most important article of prerogative: but the manners of the age were a general cause which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminish the riches, and still more the power of the aristocracy, so formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury dissipated the immense fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expense gave subsistence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own industry, a nobleman, instead of that unlimited descendant which he was wont to assume over those who were maintained at his board, or subsisted by salaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which customers have over tradesmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors also, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the best advantage, and more regard was paid to increasing their fields, or joining many small farms into a few large ones, disposed those useless hands which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to subvert the government, or oppose a neighbouring baron. By all these means the cities increased; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who in effect was the same with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the further progress of the same cause brought about a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the Commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the rise of this order, the sovereign took advantage of the present situation, and assumed an authority almost absolute.

Whatever may be commonly imagined, from the authority of Lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the English constitution. The practice of breaking entails by a fire and recovery had been introduced in the preceding reign; and this prize only gave rise to another dissipation of the wealth and substance of some abusers which attended it. But the settled authority which he acquired to the crown, enabled the sovereign to encroach on the separate jurisdictions of the barons, and produced a more general reliance on the public force of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the same fate as the feudal powers; and by a statute of Henry VIII. the jurisdiction of these counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cause of the secret revolution of government, and substituted the power of the barons. There appear still in this reign some remains of the ancient slavery of the poor and peasants, but none of freemen.

Learning, on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles; and it was not yet prostituted by being too commonly to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldsmith to see it weighed out to them, without making any distinction of the pieces. 1 Page 647.

2 Harrington says, 'The greatest part was in building the citels and good towns of the country; only of thirty shillings a year.' It is surprising to keep out the wind. Cotton, this rude brick building might dispel the nazaries in Queen Mary's dark to wonder; but, although they saw that large door was used in many of those noblest cottages, much more the commoner sort of men, that they might in a large house have a place to keep out the wind. Cotton, this rude brick building might dispel the nazaries in Queen Mary's dark to wonder; but, although they saw that large door was used in many of those noblest cottages, much more the commoner sort of men, that they might in a large house have a place to keep out the wind.

3 The author, in his chief work, has the most exact and minute account of the state of the English church in his time, and must have had an extensive field for his labours. The bishopric of Bruges, which he knew, was of the two dioceses which were commonly impartial, either French, rel. or. French. Even thus a la. The author, in his chief work, has the most exact and minute account of the state of the English church in his time, and must have had an extensive field for his labours. The bishopric of Bruges, which he knew, was of the two dioceses which were commonly impartial, either French, rel. or. French. Even thus a la.
mon, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to
tain a character for literature. The four successive sove-
reigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on
one occasion, standing all the usual habits of authors,
Queen Catherine Parr translated a book: Lady Jane
Gray, considering her age, and her sex, and her station,
may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas
Smith was raised from being a professor in Cambridge,
first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state.
The despatches of those times, and among others those of
Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quota-
tions from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the laws
of our land are derive knowledge: Lady Bur-
leigh, Lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses
of the ancient as well as modern languages; and placed
more pride in their erudition than in their rank and
quality.

Queen Elizabeth wrote and translated several books;
and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well
as Latin tongues. It is pretended that she made an ex-
tensive study in Greek to the university of Cambridge,
who had addressed her in that language. It is certain
that she answered in Latin without premeditation, and in a
very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had
been wanting in respect to a minister of her court. She
was so moved about her hearters, and said, "God’s death
my lords!" (for she was much addicted to swearing). "I
have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that
hath long lain rusting." 5 Elizabeth, even after she was
queen, and when it was much more prudent to demonstrate
an author; and, next to her desire of ambition for beauty,
this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She
translated Boethius of the Consolation of Philosophy; in
order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV’s
change of religion. As far as we can judge from Eliza-
thet’s compositions, we may pronouuce, that notwith-
standing her application and her excellent parts, her taste
in literature was but indifferent; she was much inferior
to her niece in this particular, who was himself so per-
fected model of eloquence.

Unhappily for literature, at least for the learned of this
age, the queen’s vanity lay more in shining by her own
learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liber-
ality. Spenser himself, the finest English writer of his age,
was long neglected; and after the death of Sir Philip Sid-
ney, his patron, was allowed to die almost for want. This
poet contains great beauties, a sweet and harmonious ver-
sification, easy elocution, a fine imagination. Yet does
the perusal of his work become so tedious, that one never
finishes it from the mere pleasure which it affords: it soon
becomes a kind of task-reading; and its effects soon
wears out, and end to the end of his long performance.
This effect, of which every one is conscious, is
usually ascribed to the change of manners: but man-
ers have more changed since Homer’s age; and yet
that poet now remains all the favourite of every reader of taste
and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which,
however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agree-
able and interesting picture: but the pencil of the Engish
poet was employed in drawing the affections, and con-
cepts, and powers of choleric, which appear ridiculous
as soon as they lose the recommendation of the mode.
The tediousness of continued allegory, and that too seldom
strict or ingenious, has also contributed to render the
Forty Poets peculiarly tiresome; not to mention the too
great frequency of its descriptions, and the laegour of its
stanzas.

Upon the whole, Spenser maintains his place

5. The following are the words of Roger Ascham, the queen’s preceptor:

"Is it your pleasure, I will speak to you, all you young gentlemen of Eng-
land, that have not the least knowledge of the Latin tongue, and know not what
it is to be?” Point out six of the best given gentles-
men, and recommend yourselves to one of these men, and pray, that God
spare not so much time, haste not so many hours darkly, severely, of-
fendously, but turn your learning and studies to good and honest
use, and the knowledge of Christ’s true religion, count this the great-
lest it excel, and never mistake what different sort of things these are, but
not with the knowledge of men’s affairs. This is the best sort of learning: it
will contribute to your advantage in the world, and give you the power of
beholding the excellency of Christ’s true religion. This is the best sort of
learning: it will contribute to your advantage in the world, and give you
the power of beholding the excellency of Christ’s true religion. This is the
best sort of learning: it will contribute to your advantage in the world, and
give you the power of beholding the excellency of Christ’s true religion.

6. An account of the reign of James I.

The reign of James I.

I. The Reign of James I.

It may not be improper, at this period, to make a pause;
and to take a survey of the state of the kingdom with
regard to government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learn-
ing. Where a just notion is not formed of these particulars,
history can be little instructive, and often will not be
intelligible.

We may safely pronounce, that the English government,
at the accession of the Scottish monarch, was
in a state
of great decay, and Little strength present; the prerogative less limited, the liberties of the subject less accurately defined and secured. Without mentioning other particulars, the courts alone of high
commission and star-chamber were sufficient to lay the whole
kingdom at the mercy of the prince.

The court of high commission had been erected by
Elizabeth, in consequence of an act of parliament, passed
in the beginning of her reign; by this act, it was thought
proper, during the progress of religion, to arm the
sovereign with full powers, in order to discourage and
suppress opposition. All appeals from the inferior eccle-
siastical courts were carried before the high commission;
and, of consequence, the whole life and doctrine of the
clergy lay directly under its inspection. Every breach of
the act of uniformity, every refusal of the ceremonies, was
cognizable in this court; and during the reign of Eliza-
abeth, had been punished by deprivation, by fine, confisca-
tion, and imprisonment. James contented himself with
the gentleman penalty of deprivation; nor was that
punishment inflicted with rigour on every offender. Archiship
Spotswood tells us, that he was informed by Bancroft,
the archbishop, several years after the king’s accession, that
more than forty-five clergymen had then been deprived.
All the catholics too were liable to be punished by this court,
if they exercised any act of their religion, or sent abroad
their children or other relations, to receive that education
which they could not procure them in their own country.
Popish priests were thrown into prison, and might be de-
ferred over to the law, which punished them with death;
though that severity had been sparingly exercised by
Elizabeth, and never almost by James. In a word, that
liberty of conscience, which we so highly and so justly
value at present, was totally suppressed; and no exercise
of any religion, but the established, was permitted through-
out the kingdom. Any word or writing, which tended
thereby heresy or schism, was punishable by the high
commissioners, or any three of them: they alone were

No. IV.

The Reign of James I.

Civil government of England during this period—Ecclesiastical govern-
ment—Manners—Finance—Arms—Commerce—Manufactures—Colo-
nies—Learning and arts.

1. The history of the house of Stuart was written and published by the
author before the history of the house of Tudor. Hence it happens, that
some passages, particularly in the present Appendix, may be to re-
ference of what was formerly delivered in the reign of Elizabeth.
This is not the worse for that objection, as it has cancelled some few passages
for the foregoing chapters.
judges what expressions had that tendency: they proceeded not by information, but upon rumour, suspicion, or according to their discretion: they administered an oath, but disclosed the partaker before the hour was bound to answer any question which should be propounded to him. Who ever refused this oath, though he pleaded ever so justly, that he might thereby be brought to accuse himself, or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment; and, in after times, by his execution. He who resistance, and his ofplaces, was erected in the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; excepting only that corporal punishment was not inflicted, but the guilt was made a matter of appeal to the court which created the court, not by the act of parliament which empowered him. By reason of the uncertain limits which separate ecclesiastical from civil causes, all accusations of adultery and incest were tried by the court of high commission; and every complaint of wives against their husbands was there examined and discussed. On like pretences, every cause which regarded conscience, that is, every cause, could have been brought under their jurisdiction.

But there was a sufficient reason, why the king would not be solicitous to stretch the jurisdiction of this court: the star-chamber possessed the same authority in civil matters as they did in such circumstances, as equally arbitrary and unlimited. The origin of this court was derived from the most remote antiquity; it though it is pretended, that its power had first been carried to the greatest height by Henry VII. In all times, however, it is considered that the absolute authority, no time was ever exercised by any law or statute.

We have had already, or shall have sufficient occasion, during the course of this history, to mention the dispensing power, the power of imprisoning, of accusing laws 4 and benevolence, of pressuring and quartering soldiers, of altering the customs, of erecting monopolies. These breaches of the constitutional liberty of the people, and of the principle of all free government, must, at least, be acknowledged dangerous to freedom in a monarchical constitution, where an eternal jealousy must be preserved against the sovereign, and no discretionary powers must ever be ministered to him, by which the property or personal liberty of any subject can be affected. The kings of England, however, had almost constantly exercised these powers; and if, on any occasion, the prince had been obliged to submit to laws enacted against him, since however, in practice, studied these laws, and returned to the same arbitrary administration. During almost three centuries before the accession of James, the regal authority, in all these particulars, had never once been called in question. We may add, however, that the practice of the crown in general, which prevailed during that age, were so favourable to monarchy, that they bestowed on it an authority almost absolute and unlimited, sacred and indefeasible.

The measures of Henry VIII. were more violent; their sessions so short, compared to the vacations; that, when their eyes were turned upwards in search of sovereign power, the prince alone was apt to strike them as the only parliamentary institution, invested with the whole majesty and authority of the state. The great compliance too of parliaments during so long a period, had extremely degraded and obscured those assemblies; and as all instances of opposition to prerogative must have been drawn from a posture of weakness; and those popular assemblies were supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence. The prerogative of the crown was represented by an extent of power over the external and internal essentials of the schools which no time or force could alter. The sanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the Monarch of heavens was supposed to be interested in the government, and those popular assemblies was supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence. The prerogative of the crown was represented by an extensive grant of power on the external and internal essentials of the schools, which no time or force could alter. The sanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the Monarch of heavens was supposed to be interested in the government, and those popular assemblies was supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence. The prerogative of the crown was represented by an extensive grant of power on the external and internal essentials of the schools, which no time or force could alter. The sanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the Monarch of heavens was supposed to be interested in the government, and those popular assemblies was supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence. The prerogative of the crown was represented by an extensive grant of power on the external and internal essentials of the schools, which no time or force could alter. The sanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the Monarch of heavens was supposed to be interested in the government, and those popular assemblies was supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence.
which began to be promulgated by the puritanical party.  

In consequence of these excited ideas of knotty authority, the event which now preceded, was by many supposed to possess an inexhaustible fund of latent powers which might be exerted on every emergency. In every government, necessity, when real, supersedes all laws and levels all limitations; but in the reign of James, James had incurred blame on account of his edicts, it is only because he too frequently issued them at a time when they began to be less regarded, than he was not assumed or extended to an unusual degree that exercise of authority. Of his maxims in a parallel case, the following is a pretty remarkable instance.  

Queen Elizabeth had appointed commissioners for the inspection of prisons, and had bestowed on them full discretion, to adjudge all infringements between preachers and their creditors to compound debts, and to give liberty to such debtors as they found honest and unsovereign. From the uncertain and undefined nature of the English constitution, doubts sprang up in many, that this commission was contrary to law; and it was represented in that light to James. He forbore therefore renewing the commission till the fifteenth of his reign; when complaints rose so high, with regard to the abuses practised in prisons, that James thought proper to dissolve it, and to appoint new commissioners invested with the same discretionary powers which Elizabeth had formerly conferred.  

Upon the whole, we must conceive that monarchy, on the accession of the house of Stuart, was possessed of a very extensive authority: an authority, in the judgment of all, not exactly limited; in the judgment of some, not limited. But, at the same time, this authority was for ever repressed by the great parliamentary influence by ancient precedent and example. It was not supported either by money or by force of arms. And, for this reason, we need not wonder that the princes of that line were so extremely jealous of their prerogatives; being sensible that when those claims were ravished from them, they possessed no influence by which they could maintain their dignity, or support the laws. By the changes which have since been introduced, the liberty and independence of individuals has been rendered more complete, and national security; that of the public more uncertain and precarious. And it seems a necessary, though perhaps a melancholy, truth, that in every government, the magistrature must either partake the constitution of the society, or be excluded and abandoned in its whole, or part of its discretionary powers, in order to execute the laws and support his own authority.  

Ecclesiastical  
We have had occasion to remark, in so great a government, that many instances, the bigotry which prevailed in that age, that we can look for no toleration among the different sects. Two Anans, under the title of heretics, were punished by fire during this period; and no one reign since the Reformation had been free from like barbarities. Stowe says, that these Anans were offered their pardon at the stake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A madman who called himself the Holy Ghost, was, without any indulgence for his frenzy, condemned to the same punishment. The government punished the twenty principal men, a full, entire, unqualified liberty; that of the public more uncertain and precarious. And it seems a necessary, though perhaps a melancholy, truth, that in every government, the magistrature must either partake the constitution of the society, or be excluded and abandoned in its whole, or part of its discretionary powers, in order to execute the laws and support his own authority.  

The liberty of the press was incompatible with such maxims and such principles of government as then prevailed, and was therefore quite unknown in that age. Besides employing the two terrible courts of star-chamber and high commission, whose powers were unlimited, Queen Elizabeth exerted her authority by restraints upon the press. She passed a decree in her court of star-chamber, that is, by her own will and pleasure, forbidding any book to be printed in any place but in London, Oxford, and Cambridge; and another, in which she prohibited, under severe penalties, the publishing of any book or pamphlet against the form or meaning of any restraint or ordinance, contained in any act of parliament, or in any statute, or in any injunction made or set forth by her majesty or her privy-council, or against the true sense or meaning of any letters patent, commissions, or prohibitions under the great seal of England. James extended the same penalties to the importing of such books from abroad.  

And to render these edicts more effectual, he afterwards inflicted the printing of any book without a licence from
the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, or the vice-chancellor of one of the universities, or of some person appointed by them.

In consequence of the systems of modern theology, we may observe, that the doctrine of absolute decrees has ever been intimately connected with the enthusiastic spirit; as that doctrine affords the highest subject of contemplation, and security to the supposed elect, and exalts them by infinite degrees above the rest of mankind. All the first reformers adopted these principles; and the Jansenists too, a fanatical sect in France, not to mention the Mahometans in Asia, have ever embraced them. Several establishments were subjected to episcopal jurisdiction, their enthusiastic genius gradually decayed, and men had leisure to perceive the absurdity of supposing God to punish by infinite torments what he himself from all eternity had unchangeably decreed. The king, though at this time his Calvinistic education had riveted him in the doctrine of absolute decrees, yet, being a zealous partisan of episcopacy, was insensibly engaged, towards the end of his reign, to favour the milder theology of Arminius. Even in so great a doctor, the genus of the religion prevailed over its speculative tenets; and with him the whole clergy gradually dropped the more rigid principles of absolute repudiation and unconditional decrees; but he was at first influenced; but being drowned in the fury of factions and civil wars which ensued, the scholastic arguments made an insignificant figure amidst those violent disputes about civil and ecclesiastical power which the nation was agitated. And at the restoration, the church, though she still retained her old subscriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more suitable to the genius of her discipline and worship, without its being possible to assign the precise period in which the alteration was produced.

It may be worth observing, that James, from his great degree of reverence of the monarchical divinity, erected a college at Chelsea for the entertainment of twenty persons, who should be entirely employed in refuting the papists and puritans. All the efforts of the great Bacon could not procure an establishment for the cultivation of natural philosophy: even to this day, no society has been instituted for the polishing and fixing of our language. The only encouragement which the sovereign in England has ever given to any thing that has the appearance of science, was this short-lived establishment of James; an institution quite superfluous, considering the unhappy propension which at that time so universally possessed the nation for polemical theologians.

Manners.

The manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government which prevailed; and contained not that strange mixture which at present distinguishes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown of industry, delicacy, frugality and profusion, civility and rusticity, fanaticism and scepticism. Candour, sincerity, modesty, are the only qualities which the English of that age possessed in common with the present.

High pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and statefulness of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility distinguished themselves from the common people. Great riches acquired by commerce were more rare, and had not yet been able to confound the rich and poor, and render money the chief foundation of distinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourse of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages which result from opulence are so solid and real, that those who are possessed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors. The distinctions of birth and title being more empty and imaginary, soon vanish upon finer approaches and acquaintance.

The expenses of the greater part of the nobility are now, and show, a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleasure. The Earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by 500 persons. The Earl of Hertford, in that to Brussels, carried 300 gentlemen along with him. Lord Bacon has remarked, that the English nobility in his time maintained a larger retinue of servants than the nobility of any other nation, except, perhaps, the Polonians.

Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were at that time subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility, and sometimes of distinguishing themselves in arms. The fury of duels, too, prevailed more than at any time before or since. This was the turn that the romantic chivalry, for which the nation was formerly so renowned, had lately taken.

Liberty of commerce between the sexes was indulged; but without any licentiousness of manners. The court was very little an exception to this observation. James had rather entertained an aversion and contempt for the females, nor were those young couriers, of whom he was so fond, able to break through the established manners of the nation.

The first sedan-chair seen in England was in this reign, and was used by the Duke of Buckingham to give great indignation of the people, who exclaimed, that he was employing his fellow-creatures to do the service of beasts. The country life prevails at present in England beyond any cultivated nation of Europe; but it was then much more general. All the fine arts, all the sciences, all the arts of pleasures, and social commerce, was just beginning to produce an inclination for the softer and more civilized life of the city. James discouraged, as much as possible, such alterations in this respect, and repeated to his ministers, "the country gentlemen, to go from London to their country seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: Gentlemen, at London, you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things." He was not content with reproof and exhortation. As Queen Elizabeth had perceived with regret the increase of the London, and had restrained all public proclamation; James, who found that these edicts were not exactly obeyed, frequently renewed them; though a strict execution seems still to have been wanting. He also issued reiterated proclamations in imitation of his predecessor; containing severe menaces against the gentry who lived in town. This policy is contrary to that which has ever been practised by all princes who studied the increase of their authority. To allure the nobility to court, to engage them in expensive pleasures or employments, and to dissipate their fortune; to increase their subjection to ministers by attendance; to weaken their authority in the provinces by absence; these have been the common arts of arbitrary government. But James was so far from having laid no plan for extending his power, had not money to support a splendid court, or dowry on a numerous retinue of gentry and nobility. He thought, too, that by their living together, they became more sensible of their own strength, and were apt to indulge too curious researches into matters of government. To remedy the present evil, he was desirous of dispersing them into their country-seats; where, he hoped, they would bear a more submissive reverence to his authority, and receive less support from each other. But the contrary effect soon followed. The riches amassed during their residence at home rendered them independent. The influence acquired by them in the several ranks of the kingdom would not be led by the court: they could not be driven: and thus the system of the English government received a total and a sudden alteration in the course of less than forty years.

The first rise of commerce and the arts had contributed, in preceding reigns, to scatter those immense fortunes of the barons which rendered them so formidable both to king and people. The further progress of these advantages began during the reign of Henry VIII., and the new land; and by both events, the gentry, or that rank which composed the House of Commons, enlarged their power and authority. The early improvements in luxury were
seized by the greater nobles, whose fortunes placing them above frugality, or even calculation, were soon dissipated in expensive pleasures. These improvements reached, at last, all men of property; and those of slender fortunes, with some particular care. The state, rising, not only to that of a rank immediately above them, reduced themselves to poverty. Their lands, coming to sale, swelled the estates of those who possessed riches sufficient for the fashionable expenses; but these were not exempted from some care and attention to their domestic economy.

The gentry, also, of that age, were engaged in no expense, except that of country hospitality. No taxes were levied, no wars waged, no attendance at court expected, no banquets necessary to regain credit. The human nature ever reach happiness, the condition of the English gentry, under so mild and benign a prince, might merit that appellation.

The account of the king's revenue, as it stood in 1617, is thus stated: 1. Of crown lands, 80,000 pounds a-year; by customs and new impositions, near 190,000; by woads, and other various branches of revenue, besides purveyances, 180,000. The whole amounting to 450,000. The king's ordinary disbursements, by the same account, are said to exceed this sum thirty-six thousand pounds. 2 All the extraordinary sums which James had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, and other extraordinary means, was two millions two hundred thousand pounds: of which the sale of lands afforded seven hundred thousand, and the revenue of the extraordinaire, and the extraordinary disbursements of the king amounted to two millions; besides above four hundred thousand pounds given in presents. Upon the whole, a sufficient reason appears, partly from secondary causes, partly for want of a rigid economy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to support the government.

Farmers, not commissioners, levied the customs. It seems, indeed, requisite, that the former method should always be tried before the latter, though a preferable one. When men's own interest is concerned, they fall upon a hundred expedients to prevent frauds in the mercantile; and these the public may afterwards imitate, in establishing proper rules for its officers.

The customs were supposed to amount to five per cent. of the value, and were levied upon exports as well as imports. Nay, the imposition upon exports, by Jamaica additions, is said to amount, in some few instances, to twenty-five per cent. Thus practice, so hurtful to industry, prevails still in France, Spain, and most countries of Europe. The customs, in 1604, yielded 127,000 pounds a-year. 3 They rose to 190,000 towards the end of the reign.

Interest, during this reign, was at ten per cent. till 1624, when it was reduced to eight. This high interest is an indication of the great profits and small progress of commerce.

The extraordinary supplies granted by parliament during this whole reign, amounted not to more than 530,000 pounds; which divided among twenty-one years, makes 30,000 pounds a-year. I do not include those supplies, amounting to 300,000 pounds, which were given to the king by his last parliament. These were paid in to their own commissioners; and the expenses of the Spanish war were much more than sufficient to exhaust them. The distressed family of the Palatine was a great burden on James, during part of his reign. The king, it is pretended, possessed not frugality proportioned to the extreme narrowness of his revenue. Splendid equipages, however, he did not affect, nor costly furniture, nor a luxurious table, nor prodigious mistresses. His buildings, too, were not sumptuous; though the Banqueting-house must not be forgotten, as a monument which does honour to his reign. Hunting was his chief amusement, the cheapest pleasure in which a king can indulge himself. His expenses were the effects of liberality, rather than of luxury.

One day, it is said, while he was standing amidst some of his courtiers, who were all employed in comparing the sums of a rank immediately above them, reduced themselves to poverty. Their lands, coming to sale, swelled the estates of those who possessed riches sufficient for the fashionable expenses; but these were not exempted from some care and attention to their domestic economy.

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1 Men seem than to have enough ambitious representing the counties, but careless of their burgesses. 2 A seat in the House was, in itself, of small importance. 3 The oath, &c. cov, vol. xxx. A Yorks. 4 A Yorks. 5 An abstract or brief declarations of his majesty's revenue, with the calculations and declarations upon the same. 6 The excess was formerly greater, as appears by Salusbury's account. 7 See chap. 16. 8 Coke's last book iv. chap. 1. of fifteenths, quae. 9 T. 10 Coke's last book iv. chap. 1. of fifteenths, quae. 11 Abolishend terms. 12 Coke's last book iv. 1510. 13 Coke's last book iv. chap. 1. subsidies temporary. 14 The statutes of Large.
tended to have an eye to ancient estimations, were not bound to observe any such rule; but might rate anew any person, according to his present income. When rents fell, or land was sold off; the stock of every person, which represented these losses, and obtained a diminution of his subsist, but where rents rose, or new lands were purchased, he kept his own secret, and paid no more than for himself. The advantage, therefore, of every change, was taken against the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And to make the matter worse, the alterations which happened in property during this age, were generally more favourable to the owners than to the crown. The stock of the greater, or twenty-pound men, went continually to decay; and when their estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new purchaser increased not his subsist. So loose, indeed, is the whole method of rating subsidies, that the wonder is not how the tax should continually diminish; but how it yielded no revenue at all. It became at last so unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it into a land tax. The price of corn during this reign, and that of the other necessaries of life, was no lower, or was rather higher, than at present. By a proclamation of James, establishing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two shillings a quarter, the royal officers, or commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for the magazines.

These prices, then, are to be regarded as low; though they would rather pass for high by our present estimation. The usual boreal of the poor in the middle of this century was a forty-pounder, and some of twenty-pounders; the best would, in the greater part of James's reign, was at thirty-three shillings a yard. At present it is not above two-thirds of that value; though it is to be presumed, that our exports in wooden goods are somewhat increased. The finer manufactures, too, by the progress of arts and industry, have rather diminished in price, notwithstanding the great increase of money. In Shakespeare, the hostess tells Falstaff, that the shirts she bought him were holland at eightpence a yard; a high price, even in our day. Examining what is not probable, that the best holland at that time was equal in goodness to the best that can now be purchased. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two and twenty shillings. It appears from Dr. Birch's Life of Prince Henry, that that prince, by contract with his butcher, paid, near a great a-pound, throughout the year, for all the beef and mutton used in his family. Besides we must consider, that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting of all land into pasture; a certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and consequently that all butcher's meat, as well as that of other kind of beast, was then of better quality. These Acts have a regulation of the market, with regard to poultry and some other articles, very early in Charles I.'s reign, and the prices are high. A turker-cock four shillings and sixpence, and a pheasant-cock six, a pheasant-hen five, a partridge one shilling, a goose two, a capon two and sixpence, a pigeon one and sixpence, a rabbit eight-pence, a dray of pigeons six shillings.

We must consider that London at present is more than three times more populous than it was at that time: a circumstance which much increases the price of poultry, and of every thing that can conveniently be brought from a distance; not to mention that these regulations by statute are always calculated to this end. The number of hens continually increased, the market prices. The contractors for victualing the navy were allowed by government eight-pence a day for the diet of each man when in harbour, seven-halfpence when at sea, which would suffice at present. The chief difference in expense between that age and the present consists in the imaginary wants of men, which have since extremely multiplied. These are the principal reasons why James's revenue would go further than the same money in our time; though the difference is not near so great, as was supposed.

The public was entirely free from the danger and expense of a standing army. While James was vying his divine viceroyalty, and banishing his brother's court, he possessed not so much as a single regiment of guards to maintain his extensive claims; a sufficient proof that he sincerely believed his pretensions to be well grounded, and a strong presumption that they would be lasting. And, though his ability was not equal to the undertaking, he made no plausible arguments. The militia of England, amounting to 160,000 men, was the sole defence of the kingdom. It is pretended that they were kept in good order during this reign. The city of London procured officers who had served abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exercise in Artillery-garden; a practice which had been discontinued since 1588. All the counties of England, in emulation of the capital, were fond of showing a well-ordered and well-appointed militia. It appeared that the natural propensity of men towards military shows and exercises will go far, with a little attention in the sovereign, towards exciting and supporting that spirit in any nation.

The property of the Italian bankrupts, or undersell, was divided among their creditors. The debts were settled above this time, so that it was expected by their creditors, more than they could in any other way. The debtors, besides this, were at this time in a better situation, for the publick credit was much higher than at present. This is the reason why the French nation is in a better situation at present than it was at the time of Louis the Fourteenth; and the French nation has a higher credit than it had in the late reign.

The disorder of Ireland obliged James to keep up some forces there, and put him to great expense. The common pay of a private man in the infantry was eightpence a day, and in the horse, a shilling a day. The army was composed of men fit for war, and the private men, we may observe, were drawn from a better rank than at present, and approaching nearer to that of the officers.

In the year 1583 there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and these were found to amount to 1,172,000 men, according to Raleigh. It is impossible to warrant the exactness of this computation; or, rather, we may fairly presume it to be somewhat inaccurate. But if it approached near the truth, England has probably, since that time, increased in population. The growth of London, in riches and trade, as well as in numbers, is much greater than at present. From 1600 it doubled every forty years; and consequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants as at the beginning of the century. It has never been the centre of all the trade in the kingdom; and almost the only town that affords society and amusement. The affection which the English bear to a country life makes the provincial towns be little frequented by the gentry. Nothing but the allurements of the capital, which is favoured by the residence of the king, and by having the seat of government, and of all the courts of justice, can prevail over their passion for their rural villas.

London at this time was almost entirely built of wood, and in every house, was certainly a very ugly chimney. The Earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of brick buildings.

The navy of England was esteemed formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it consisted only of thirty-three ships, besides pinnaces. And the largest of these would not equal our fourth rates at present. Raleigh

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a Rymer, tom. xi. p. 305. To the same purpose, see also St Jan. Hist. cap. 26. b Rymer, tom. xii. p. 15. c A compendium or dialogue more fitted for the use of Wood, chap. 23. d Rymer, tom. vi. p. 811. e We may judge of the great arise of purveyance by this circumstance, that the subsidy was thought but for a crown of pigeons, and two-pence for a fox. f Journ. 11 May. 10/6. g Journ. 13 May. 11/11. h Journ. 11 May. i This volume was written about twenty-eight years before the edition of the history, but the prices have perhaps risen more than during the preceding hundred and fifty years. j Journ. 1 March. 1617. k Journ. 1 March. 1617. l Journ. 1 March. 1617. m Journ. 1 March. 1617. n See also Sir Walter Raleigh of the Prerogatives of Parliament, and John Mache, public writer. o Nearer. p Rymer, tom. i. p. 217. q Of the former defense of the nation. This number is much superior to that retained in Munster, and that delivered by Sir Edward Coke to the House of Commons; but is more likely. r Sir William Petty. s Sir Edward Coke's Political Discourses, p. 520. t Coke a fast. book iv. chap. 1. u Consultations in parliament for the navy.
advises never to build a ship of war above 600 tons. James was not negligent of the navy. In five years preceding 1623, he built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a-year on the fleet, beside the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the sea. The Last ship that had ever come from the English docks was built during this reign. She was only 1400 tons, and carried sixty-four guns. The merchant ships, in cases of necessity, were instantly converted into ships of war. The king affirmed to the parliament, that the navy had never before been in so good a condition.

Every session of parliament during this reign was occupied with complaints concerning the decay of trade, and the growth of poverty; such violent prosperity have men to complain of the present times, and to entertain discontent against their fortune and condition. The king himself was deceived by these popular complaints, and was at a loss to account for the total want of money, which he heard so much exaggerated. It may, however, be affirmed, that during no preceding period of English history, was there a more sensible increase than during the reign of this monarch, of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people. Not only the peace which he maintained was favourable to industry and commerce: his turn of mind inclined him to promote the low prices of wool. In its finery, all additions to it must have been the more evident to every eye, which was not blinded by melancholy prejucides.

A account which seems judicious and accurate, it appears that all the seamen employed in the merchant service amounted to 10,000 men, which probably exceeds not the fifth part of their present number. Sir Thomas Overbury says, that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their vessels were of inferior burden to those of the latter. Sir William Monson computed the English naval power to be little or nothing inferior to the Dutch, which is surely an exaggeration. The Dutch, this time exceeded England with 600 ships; England to Holland with sixty only.

Manufactures. A catalogue of the manufactures, for which the English were then eminent, would appear very considerable, in comparison of those of silk among them at present. Almost all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy, Holland, and the Netherlands. Ship-building, and the founding of iron cannon, were the most useful and most successful, yet the Dutch had been more fortunate in that respect than the English; for they had to possess alone the secret of the latter, and great complaints were made every parliament against the exportation of English ordnance.

The commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods. Wool, however, was allowed to be exported, till the nineteenth of the king. Its exportation was then forbidden by proclamation, though that edict was never strictly executed. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch; who gained, it is pretended, 700,000 pounds a-year by this manufacture. A proclamation issued by the king against exporting cloth in that condition, had succeeded so well during one year, by the refusal of the Dutch to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it; and this measure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the most impolitic in the world. It seems, indeed, to have been premature.

On Raleigh's account, in his Discoveries of the First Invention of Ships, page 255, is this blank, and there is no room for any figures or years, and was mortenswerd twelve or seventeen. He probably reckoned some to be, premium, which Cooke called doupes. i

7. Sir William Monson makes the number amount only to nine new ships for 1623.

Sloane, J. trans., p. 419. 8. The line of the lowest owner on the wool, in the common subjects of this land, especially the representatives of the public, which is within men's memory and clearly within these few years of peace, that, excepting two or three instances of no small importance, it never happened, to cause he held incredible, &c. In another place.

Among the manifold tokens and signs of the infinite blessings of Almighty God, to this people, both with respect to the establishment of peace within ourselves, and the full benefit conferred with all advantage upon the sea, there was one which the king's present preserves he can speak too much; whereas in truth there cannot be enough said, neither was there ever people less complainers and less thankful than at this time, being not willing to endure the memory of their fathers, nor less addicted to universal navigation, for the greater or lesser traffic throughout the kingdom, great building of cruel ships and by private merchants, the populating of cities, towns, and villages through the commerce and sudden increase of fair and costly buildings, as well within the city of London as the suburbs thereof, especially within those twenty years. 9. The Trade's increase, in the Harps://M. Misc. vol. iv. The Thames in its Travels, Harl. Misc. vol. ii, p. 304. 10. Naval Index., p. 50. 11. C. S. I. (1619), p. 505. 12. Raleigh's Observations. 13. Journ. 26th May, 1618. 14. Raleigh, in his Observations, compares the last at 40,000 pounds to the nation. There are about 40,000 settlings with the Dutch, says he, expostulating with them the English trade, and think not that any trade be run at all the while these nations remain in peace with each other. As for the trade with the East Indies, the merchant has been always, and is so still. To mention other articles, the number of 300,000 cloth wares, and 50,000 woollen wares, is not to be exaggerated.

Holinshed, p. 119: vol. viii, p. 415. 1. Journ. 26th May, 1618. 2. Raleigh, in his Observations, computes the last at 40,000 pounds to the nation. There are about 40,000 settlings with the Dutch, says he, expostulating with them the English trade, and think not that any trade be run at all the while these nations remain in peace with each other. As for the trade with the East Indies, the merchant has been always, and is so still. To mention other articles, the number of 300,000 cloth wares, and 50,000 woollen wares, is not to be exaggerated.

victory over forces much superior. During the following years, the Dutch company was guilty of great injuries towards the English, in expelling many of their factors, and destroying them and their plantations. Captain Joseph Stins, who had been with the English to the island of Angostura, and the Dutch escaped. Some time after one rich ship was taken by Vice-admiral Merwin; and it was stipulated by the Dutch to pay 70,000 pounds to the English company, in consideration of the losses which that company had sustained from the depredations of the enemy, as well as of reprisals, nor the sense of that friendship which subsisted between England and the States, could restrain the avidity of the Dutch company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have the sole possession of the spice trade, which the English then shared with them, they assumed a jurisdiction over a factory of the latter in the island of Amboyna; and on very unprovable and even absent pretences, seized all their factors with their families, and put them to death with the most inhuman tortures. This dismal news arrived in England at the time when James, by the prejudices of his subjects, and the intrigues of his enemies, was constitute

The exports of England from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613, are computed at 2,487,435 pounds; the imports at 2,141,151; so that the balance in favour of England amounted to 346,284. But, in the course of the same year, they were 2,320,436 pounds against the export, 2,019,315; which makes a balance of 298,497 pounds against England. The cause of this balances, from 1599 to 1619, amounted to 4,779,314 pounds 13 shillings and 4 pence: a proof that the balance in the main was considerably in favour of the kingdom. As the annual imports and exports together rose to near five millions, and the customs never yielded so much as 200,000 pounds a-year, of which tonnage made a part, it appears that the new rates affixed by James did not, on the whole, amount to one shilling in the pound, and consequently were still inferior to the intention of the original grant of parliament. The East India company usually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities. The trade to Turkey was one of the most important in the nation; and it appeared that copper half-pence and farthings begun to be coined in this reign. Traders had commonly carried on their retail business chiefly by means of ledger tokens. The small silver pennies was soon lost, and at this time was no where to be found. Colonies. What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the English colonies in America; colonies established on the eastern coast that has been known in any age or nation. The Spaniards, being the first discoverers of the New World, immediately took possession of the precious mines which they found there; and, by the allurement of great riches, they were tempted to populate their own country, as well as that which they conquered; and added the vice of sloth to those of avidity and barbarity, which had attended their adventurers in those renowned enterprises. That fine coast was entirely neglected, which reaches from St. Augustin to Cape Breton, and which lies in all the temperate climates, is watered by noble rivers, and offers a fertile soil, but nothing more, to the industrious nation. People grown accustomed to industry and independent, who at home increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies which were planted along that tract have promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even perhaps multiplied the inhabitants of their mother-country. The spirit of independence, which was reviving in England, here alone forth in its full lustre, and received new accession from the company's character of those who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had sought for freedom amidst those savage deserts. Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the colonies of Virginia; and after the planting of a feeble colony, which quickly decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. But when peace put an end to the military enterprises against Spain, and left ambitious spirits of hopes of making any larger and rapid advances towards honour and fortune, the nation began to send the pacific intentions of its monarch, and to seek a surer, though slower, expedient, for acquiring riches and glory. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a settlement, which the company, erected by patent for that purpose in London and Bristol, took care to supply with yearly receipts of provisions, utensils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argall discovered a more direct and shorter passage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had first directed their course southwards to the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the English settlements. With the assistance of the supplies of Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ship, meeting with a tempest, was driven into the Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a settlement in that island. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the English settlements, but notwithstanding all his care, seconded by supplies from James, and by money raised from the first lottery ever known in the kingdom, such difficulties attended the settlement of these colonies, that in 1614 there were not alive more than 400 men, of all that had been sent thither. After supplying themselves with provisions more immediately necessary for the support of life, the new planters began the cultivating of tobacco. James, notwithstanding his intimacy with that drug, which he affirmed to be pernicious to men's morals as well as their health, gave them permission to enter it in England; and he inhibited by proclamation all importation of it from Spain. By degrees new colonies were established in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they settled, leaving that of Virginia to the province first planted. The island of Barbadoes was also planted to this reign. Speculative reasons, during that age, raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies; and foresaw that, after drauing their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America; but time has shown that the vice was greatly gained by the nation. Generous undertakings, were more just and solid. A mild government and great naval force have preserved, and may still preserve during some time, the dominion of England over her colonies. And under the wise and judicious navigation reaped from these establishments, that more than a fourth of the English shipping is at present computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic with the American settlements. Agriculture was anciently very imperfect in England. The sudden transition, so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value in different years, are sufficient proofs of the produce depended entirely on the seasons, and that art had as yet done nothing to oppose against the injuries of the heavens. During this reign considerable improvements were made, as in most arts, in this, the most beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets treating of husbandry, which were written about this time. The nation, however, was still dependent on foreigners for daily bread; and though various and industrious and independent branch of its commerce, noteworthy its probable increase of people, there was in that period a regular importation from the Baltic, as well as from France; and if it

p. in 1672.
s. Jud. 168.
t. The Year, p. 28.
u. Monis's Discourse on the East India Trade.
ever stopped, the bad consequences were sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Observations, computes, that two millions went out at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth of Elizabeth, that the exportation of corn exceeded the importation. If we turn our eyes to this present age, we see the farmer and the burthened husbandman, and every one who has a farm, laboring to get a subsistence, that agriculture, from that thimble, received new life and vigour.

The endeavours of James, or, more properly speaking, those of the nation, for promoting trade, were attended with greater success for the encouragement of learning. Though the age was by no means destitute of eminent writers, a very bad taste in general prevailed during that period; and the monarch himself was not a little inferiour in it.

Learning On the origin of letters among the Greeks, and arts. the genius of poets and orators, as might naturally be expected, was distinguished by an amiable simplicity, which, whatever rudeness may sometimes attend it, is so fitted to express the genuine movements of nature and passion, that the compositions possessed of it must ever appear valuable to the discerning part of mankind. The glaring figures of discourse, the pointed allusion, the unnatural conceit, the jangle of words; such false ornaments were not employed by early writers; not because they were rejected, but because they scarcely ever occurred to them. An easy unforced strain of sentiment runs through their pages; we can mark the true taste, and it may be observed, that amidst the most elegant simplicity of thought and expression, one is sometimes surprised to meet with a poor concert, which had presented itself insouciant for the moment, which the author had not acquired critical observation enough to condemn.a A bad taste seizes with aridity these frivolous beauties, and even perhaps a good taste, ere surfeited by them: they multiply every day more and more in the fashionable company. This want of a good sense are neglected: laboured ornaments studied and admired: and a total degeneracy of style and language prepares the way for barbarism and ignorance. Hence the Asatan manner was found to depart so much from the simplicity of his countrymen which is observable in many of the Roman writers, from which Cicero himself is not wholly exempted, and which so much prevails in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and the Plinys.

On the revival of letters, when the judgment of the public is yet raw and unformed, this false glitter catches the eye, and leaves no room, either in eloquence or poetry, for the dummone beauties of solid sense and lively passion. This degenerate genius is then diametrically opposite to that which prevails on the continent of Europe. Be it observed, this is evident, even the most celebrated, have not reached the proper simplicity of thought and composition; and in Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, frivolous witticisms and forcible figures of speech are so frequent, in the practice of which letters were cultivated in Italy, was so short as scarcely to allow leisure for correcting this adulterated relish.

The more early French writers are liable to the same reproach. Voiture, Balzac, even Corneille, have too much affected those ambitious ornaments, of which the Italians in general, and the least pure of the ancients, supplied them with so many models. And it was not till late, that observation and reflection gave rise to a more natural turn of thought and composition among that elegant people. A like character may be extended to the first English writers; such as flourished during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and even till long afterwards. Learning, on its revival in this island, was attired in the same unnatural garb which it wore at the time of its decay among the Greeks and Romans. And, what may be regarded as a misfortune, the English writers were possessed of great genius before they were endowed with any degree of taste, and by that means gave a kind of sanction to those forced turns and sentiments which they so much affected. Their defects in this respect would be the better understood and appreciated, if we attend to how much vigour of mind, that we admire the innovation which produced them, as much as we blame the want of judgment which gave them admittance. To enter into an exact criticism of the writers of that age would exceed our present purpose. A short character of the most eminent, delivered with the same freedom which history exercises on all, might not be without instruction, especially on the subject of those periodical prepossessions, which prevails, will perhaps render the former liberty not the least perilous for an author. If Shakspeare be considered as a Man, born in a rude age, and lowest manner, they may, but he ought to be regarded as a prodigy: if represented as a Poet, capable of furnishing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience, we must abate much of this eulogy. In his compositions, we see many errors, that may be pardoned; but, as absurdities, should so frequently disfigure the animated and passionate scenes intermixed with them; and at the same time, we perhaps admire the more those beauties, on account of their being surrounded with such deformities. A striking peculiarity of sentiment, adapted to a single character, he frequently bits, as it were, by inspiration; but a reasonable propriety of thought he cannot for any time uphold. Nervous and picturesque expressions as well as descriptions abound in him; but it is in vain we look either for purity or simplicity of diction. His total ignorance of all theatrical art and conduct, however material a defect; yet, as it affects the spectator, rather than the reader, that is the point, that is the thing we have to observe. Which often prevails in his productions, and which gives way only by intervals to the irradiations of genius. A great and fertile genius he certainly possessed, and one enshrined equally with the most ancient; but, to be cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on these advantages alone for attaining an excellence in the finer arts. And there may even remain a suspicion that we overrate, if possible, the greatness of his genius; that mankind, as bodies often appear more gigantic, on account of their being disproportionately formed. He died in 1616, aged 53 years.

Jonson possessed all the learning which was wanting to Shakspeare, and supplied all the genius of which the other was possessed. Both of them were equally deficient in taste and elegance, in harmony and correctness. A servile copyist of the ancients, Jonson translated into bad English the beautiful passages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. His merit has been totally eclipsed by that of Shakspeare, whose rude genius prevailed over the rude art of his contemporary. The English theatre has ever been a support of the national genius; and the Italian character; and thence it has proceeded, that the nation has undergone, from all its neighbours, the reproach of barbarism, from which its valuable productions, in some of which he has otherwise been much concerned. Jonson had a pension of a hundred marks from the king, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds. He died in 1637, aged 63.

Farefax has translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness, which for that age are surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation. Harrington's translation of Ariosto is not likewise without its merit. It is to be regretted, that these poets should have imitated the Italians in their stanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it that dispels in long performances. They had otherwise, as well as Spenser, who went before them, contributed much to the polishing and refining of English versification.

In Donne's satires, when carefully inspected, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity; but these are totally suffocated and buried, by the hardest and most uncouth expression that is any where to be met with. If the poetry of the English was so rude and imperfect during that age, we may reasonably expect that their prose also was so. Sermo was a great and constant objection. Though the latter appears the more easy, as it is the more natural method of composition, it has ever, in practice, been found

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a The name of Polybius, one of Ovid's sons, means, in the original manner, in the alterations between the two brothers, in order to point out, that Aristotle is a name, of which it is

b Excessive stress has been avoided in the translation, and the following are not the alterations that are permissible to be made, except for the sake of greater simplicity and correctness. The phrase "the" has been

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the more rare aud difficult; and there scarcely is an instance, in any language, that it has reached a degree of perfection before the refinement of poetical numbers and expression. English prose, during the reign of James, was written with little regard to the rules of grammar, and with a total disregard to the elegance and harmony of the period. Stuffed with Latin sentences and quotations, it likewise imitated those inversions which, however forcible and graceful in language, are entirely contrary to the idiom of the English. I shall, indeed, venture to affirm, that whatever uncouth phrases and expressions occur in old books, they were chiefly owing to the uninformed taste of the author; and that the language spoken in the courts of Elizabeth and James was very little different from that which we meet with at present in good company. Of this opinion, the little seraps of speeches which are found in the parliamentary journals, and which carry an air so opposite to the laboured orations, seem to be a sufficient proof; and there want not productions of that age, which, being written by men who were not authors by profession, retain a very natural manner, and may give us some ideas of the language which prevailed among men of the world. I shall particularly mention Sir John Davis's Discov'ery, Throgmorton's, Essex's, and Neh'ma's Letters. In a more early period, Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, the pieces that remain of Bishop Lord and Anne Boloney's letter to the king, differ little or nothing from the language of our time.

The great glory of literature in this island, during the reign of James, was Lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; and neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior in his contemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galileo both pointed it out to others, and made himself considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of it: the Florentine, entered the science, excelled in it, and was the first that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus: the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reason and the senses. Bacon's style is strong and rigid: his wit, though often brilliant, is also often unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similes and long-sung allegories which so much distinguish the English authors: Galileo is a lively and agreeable, though somewhat a prolix, writer. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps satisfied with that literary glory which it has possessed both in ancient and modern times, has too much neglected the renown which it has acquired by giving birth to so great a man. That national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive. He died in 1626, in the 60th year of his age.

If the reader of Raleigh's History can have the patience to read the Jeddo learning which compose the half of the volume, he will find, when he comes to the Greek and Roman story, that his pains are not unwarranted. Raleigh is the best model of that ancient style which some writers would attempt to revive at present. He was beheaded in 1618, aged 66 years.

Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth may be esteemed good composition, both for style and matter. It is written with simplicity of expression, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not, perhaps, be too much to affirm, that it is among the best historical productions which have yet been composed by any Englishman. It is well known that the English have not much excelled in that kind of literature. He died in 1623, aged 73 years.

We shall mention the king himself, at the end of these English writers; because that is his place, when considered as an author. It will not be denied, that the mediocrity of James's talents in literature, joined to the great change in national taste, is one cause of that contempt under which his memory labours, and which is often carried by party writers to a great extreme. It is remarkable, how different from ours were the sentiments of the ancients with regard to learning. Of the first twenty Roman emperors, counting from Caesar to Severus, above the half were authors; and though few of them seem to have been eminent in that profession, it is always remarked to their praise, that by their example, they encouraged literature. Not to mention Germanicus, and his daughter Agrippina, persons so nearly allied to the throne, the greater part of the classic writers, whose works remain, were men of the highest quality. As every human advantage is attended with inconveniences, the change of men's ideas in this particular may probably be ascribed to the invention of printing; which gives a false andgrown idea, that even men of slender fortunes can have access to them.

That James was but a middling writer may be allowed: that he was a contemplative one, can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Bishonl Doron, particularly the twelfth and thirteenth, or his Simia, will see a poet of the first order, who was the possessor of a more lively and agreeable, than their usual, and which may not be extended to the famous Naper; and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James? From the grossness of its superstitious, we may infer the ignorance of an age; but never should pronounce concerning the folly of an individual, from his admitting popular errors, consecrated by the appearance of religion.

Such a superiority do the pursuits of literature possess above every other occupation, that even he who attains a little of it, and is a meddler in his occupation, thinks he can do more than he does. Everyone who has read the History of Basseton Barchester, will be convinced that even men of great talent, will scarce be produced in that age; and that J. Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England. The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients. Casaubon, eminent for this species of knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of 3000l. a-year, as well as by church preferments. To divide the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England. The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients. Casaubon, eminent for this species of knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of 3000l. a-year, as well as by church preferments. To divide the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England. The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients. Casaubon, eminent for this species of knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of 3000l. a-year, as well as by church preferments. To divide the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England. The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients.
The

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE REVOLUTION, TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.
The purchasers of D. Hume's History of England having been long desirous of a continuation; the proprietor of Dr. Smollett's History (being in possession of a copy with the author's last corrections) has been induced to reprint that work from the Revolution, where Hume's History ends, to the death of George II. in the year 1760.

To make this work more acceptable, the Sections and other divisions are given in a manner correspondent with those observed by Hume; so that any gentleman possessed of the latter may take up his History at the Revolution, where Hume breaks off, and find a regular connexion in this complete History given by Smollett.

In the latter part only of this work has the present Editor found it necessary to make any alterations. The war before the last had its source in America, and thereby drew forth our settlements there into consequence. This, with the loss of most of those settlements since to Great Britain, had brought with it so many changes, that what was found politics and good sense then, is now totally deranged: even facts themselves are become changed, and the very state of the two countries has undergone a metamorphosis which was impossible to be foreseen by the shrewdest politician. To assist the views of so eminent a writer as Smollett, as well as to gratify the expectations of the judicious reader, a few, very few, alterations have been made on those heads. To have proceeded further would have been a kind of sacrilege, and no less a fraud upon the original author, than upon the public.
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A. D. 1689.

§ 1. The constitution of England had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Alleviation and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the zeal of the parliament towards their deliverer seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges; or at least they neglected the fairest opportunities that ever occurred to retrace those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments in its full extent. He could and did with arbitrary advice, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections, and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia; so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of resistance, on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the king, who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern juris divisa, though he was created juris hominum; and that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon tyrannical maxims; for the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The Prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger; but this tie was no sooner broken than they flew avizier, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancour revived, and was heated by dispute into intemperate zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from principles of patriotism were insensibly warmed into partisans; and King William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been a Calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lusitian succession; by the Roman Catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late king; and by such as were disgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, that, contrary to his declaration, he bad plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with insolence and rigour; that his army contained a number of foreign papists, almost equal to that of the English Roman Catholics whom James had employed; that the reports so industriously circulated about the birth of the Prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enlisting England, and the murder of the Earl of Essex, reports countenanced by the Prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation; that the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters; that the prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter
time, Mr. Hampden, in the lower House, put the question, Whether a king; elected by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons assembled at Westminster, coming to and consulting with the said Lords and Commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power and authority, as the Earl of Arundel knew a new election to be made by writ? Many members affirmed that the king’s writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament, and, as the convention was defective in this respect, with regard to parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The whigs replied, That the essence of a parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the king, Lords, and Commons; and that it was not material whether they were constituted with the consent of the people or not. This assertion was supported by examples deduced from the History of England; they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expense, and loss of time; and that such delay might prove fatal to the protestant interest in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the Lords, and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments with respect to that bill. The Commons sent it back to the upper House, and it immediately received the royal assent. By this act the Lords and Commons, assembled at Westminster, were declared the two Houses of parliament to all intents and purposes: it declared all four pieces of the other ordinances, to which the royal assent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February; that the members, instead of the Debates of the House, should be present, and that the delinquents of the crown, ship, and state, should take the new oath incorporated in this act, under the ancient penalties; and, that the present parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warrant debriefed them in the House of Commons about the revenue, which the courtier offered them as due with the crown upon William, at least during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. The members in the opposition affirmed, that these grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the king and queen; and the House resolved it should be taken into consideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his majesty, importing that the late king had set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes; they voted a temporary aid of four hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessments; and both Houses waited on the king to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place till several Lords spiritual as well as secular, were sent for, to assure the king of their submission and adherence to the House of Commons, and to the new proceedings of the crown. The joining prelates were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, Bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Clarendon, Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the Lords Griffin and Siawell. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the House at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the Earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the House for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party adverse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king de facto, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary redefeasible right, of sovereigns.

§ IV. This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The king having received some intimation of their designs from intercepted letters, ordered the Earl of Arundel to watch the gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two Houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice in such an emergency. They had, however, which had compelled him to trespass upon the law of England. The Lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and desired he would secure all disturbers of the peace; but the Commons empowered him by a bill to dispense with the habeas corpus act till the seventeenth day of April next ensuing. This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the king resolved to detain the Dutch troops in England, and send over to Holland in their room, such regiments as were most untimely wanted. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dunbarton, commanded by Mareschal Schomburg, mutined on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for King James, and marched towards Scotland. The Lords and Commons, being informed of this revolt, ordered General Goeckel to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. As it was the opinion that the nation, which had not yet submitted in form to the new government, the king did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this measure was a just punishment, and strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavering in their principles. However, they seized this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both Houses, and received the royal assent.

§ V. The coronation-oath being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the Bishop of London officiating, at the king’s desire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a minister; and next day the Commons, in a body, waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to canalize the affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, summoned, in May, the instrumentality of his council, who, on the promise of constitutional government, and the preservation of the Protestant religion, was afterwards abolished. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude, and affection, declaring they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

§ VI. He had, in his answer to the former address, assured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation: he had explained the exhausted state of the Dutch; expressed the zeal of that republic for the interest of Britain, as well as the maintenance of the Protestant religion; and expressed his hope that the English parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition, but likewise further support them to the utmost of their ability against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a considerable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he desired they would settle the revenue in such a manner, as that it might be collected without difficulty, and the Protestant religion as by law established; and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the parsonages and chaplaincies committed by law unto the clergy, the right of free election of their respective successors, as by law, or custom, or any other competent authority whatsoever shall be appointed, as by law, or custom, or any other competent authority whatsoever shall be appointed, to the end that all the clergy of this realm, within and without the said parishes and chaplaincies, may be elected, and hold their offices and benefices by the free will and consent of the several parochial and chaplainyal constituents, as by law, or custom, or any other competent authority whatsoever shall be appointed.
cult and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the States General in William's expedition amounted to seven millions of guilders, and the Commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the preservation of their rights and religion. Their success was decisive in the raising and equipping of a two-and-twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet: but, they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be concluded in six months. The weakness of frugality the king considered as a mark of his diligence and of his administration. The whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, but he might be the more dependent and the more attached: but he was not at all pleased with their preception.

§ VII. William was naturally biased to Calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he had entertained for the church of England, he scorned now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the bishops, who had thwarted his measures. By abstaining themselves from parliament, and refusing the oath, they had plainly disowned his title, and renounced his government. He, therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles against conformity, that the magistrates should be capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and abjuration: he expected they would leave room for the admission of all his protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service; he said, such a conjunction would unite them more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in offices in remuneration of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the House of Lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the House. These fruitless efforts, in favour of dissenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against King William, who was determined to compound for this offense by confiscating the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test; but this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the king declined it. The king of Lords moved, that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be empowered to tender them; and, in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the Commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their instruction. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause empowering the king to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated: the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity, and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months, and to be deprived, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with such reservations and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their sincerity.

§ VIII. The king, though biased in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to induce the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the Earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of An Act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws. It was enacted that the king was to have power to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II., provided they should have subscribed in the instrument of that year, and with the doors shut; That nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tithes, or other parochial duties; That, in case of being chosen into the offices of constables, or other such-warrant officers, they should be allowed to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy; That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting protestants, who should take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against nonconformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish offices, and all officers of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The most stringent dissenters, and even to Quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen, and their assenting by profession and assurance to those articles which the others ratified upon oath. They were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scripture. The greatest part of the dissenters subsidized by the pope were unlearned in their doctrine. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters. He rejected proposals of some zealots, who expostulated to him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the pAPISTS from Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel; besides, he thought it was not necessary to press the protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

§ IX. We have observed, that, in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for making an act of toleration, which was extremely agreeable to the king, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill, a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and during it there were attempts to introduce into the bill new designs against dissenters. Another, not less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should be an addition of laity in the commission to be given by the king to the bishops and other clergy of the church of England; and for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, and correcting whatever might be erroneous or defective in the constitution." A great number of the temporal Lords insisted warmly on this addition, and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hopes of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and by his proposing in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit, with a promise of conformity.

§ X. The bill was with difficulty passed in the House of Lords; but the Commons treated it with neglect. By this time, a great number of nonconformists, who had retired from parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented an address to the king, praying an gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he
would maintain the church of England as by law established; a church whose doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise hungrily besought his majesty to issue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy to meet, to whom they would submit all according to the ancient usage of parliaments; and they declared they would forthwith take into consideration proper methods for giving ease to Protestant dissenters. Though the king was displeased at this address, in which they also accused the sheriffs, and occasionally even the civil answer, by the mouth of the Earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care, recommending the dissenters to their proper government, and supporting a commission to be given, such as soon as such a measure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it, had no other view than that of displaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of expounding it, lest they should be stigmatized as enemies to the church; and a great number of the most eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which would have diminished their strength, and weakened the importance of the party. Being, therefore, violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it miscarried. They occasionally use the instrumentality of the committee of design, that it was next session revived in another form, though with no better success.

§ XI. The next object that engrossed the attention of the king, was his old friend and the first support of the government. Huberto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public; so that the sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. At the revenue in the late reigns had been often embellished and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the Commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted to both Houses at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years; that the king might find himself dependent upon the parliament, and with his great fortune was to be regulated by the administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and accusations which they had not so far been able to substantiate, made the annual grant a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the judges, and Mareschal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The Commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

§ XII. The king took umbrage at these restrictions laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary fruits of the revolution. He considered them as affronts offered by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done the nation. The tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the House, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords-levyutenant of counties, in which by the channel of the commons he suffered to be neglected on the table; but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican provision of that nature. The king then made profers of service to his majesty: but complained at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies.

§ XIII. These remonstrances made such impression on the king, that he sent a message to the House by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, which arose from discourses and occasional letters, it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindicating of public justice, the safety of him and his government, and the happiness of the nation. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the score over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and in the mean time, restrain them from opposition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to intimate that the king's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that be for this purpose pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might proceed to the settlement of the late transactions. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. The tories, however, were not to be dismayed. They made a new division against this design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that be for this purpose pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might proceed to the settlement of the late transactions. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted.

§ XIV. It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the Lower House, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the throne: to this the Lords added, "or such as should marry papists," absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The Bishop of Salisbury, by the king's direction, proposed that the Princess Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the act of succession, as the next protestant heirs, failing issue of the king, and Anne Princess of Denmark. These amendments gave rise to warm debates in the Lower House, where they were vigorously opposed, not so much to preserve the church from invasion, as to secure to it the benefits of a future parliament. The Lords insisted upon their amendments, and several fruitless conferences were held between the two Houses. At length the bill was dropt for the present, in consequence of an event which in a great measure dispelled the apprehension of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the Princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, brought forth a son, christened by the name of William, and afterwards created Duke of Gloucester.

§ XV. In the midst of these domestic disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of invincible affection. The great event which he had procured the treaty of Münster, Osnabrick, Nimygen, and the truce; invaded their country without provocation, and evoked himself an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They, therefore, besought his imperial majesty to conclude a treaty with them, which offered advantageous terms, and proceed to an open rupture with Louis: in which case, they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in the most effectual manner. The emperor published a dung against the common enemy, taxing him with mani-
fond infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the republic in the persecution which he had raised against the protestants; with having executed them with a cruel, prominent, and insolent threats; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and finally, with having declared war against the States, without any plausible reason assigned. The Elector of Brandenburgh declared himself in opposition against France, and the French king of having laid waste the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The emperor negociated an alliance offensive and defensive with the States-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with the whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated, that neither side should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatsoever; that no peace should be admitted, until the treaties of Westphalia, Obernach, Munster, and the like, should have been the fruit of a negotiation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated bona fide; and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaties, and to make separate articles. The last condition was agreed to; in case of the Spanish king's dying without issue, the States-general should assist the emperor with all their forces to possess that monarchy; that they should use their friendly endeavours with the princes electors, their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of King of the Romans; and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

§ XV. William, who was the soul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the sixteenth day of April, Mr. Hammond made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France, and foreign alliances; and the Commons unanimously resolved, that, in case his majesty should think fit to engage in war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, professed and effectual, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, and those that might hereafter be concluded by his majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England; in the mean time they assured his majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the House of Commons. This was a welcome address to King William. He assured them that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war should be misapplied; and, on the second day, an address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, professed and effectual, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. On this occasion, Louis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guarantee of the English crown: with having encroached upon the fisheries of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbean islands, taken forcible possession of New York and Hudson's Bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English goods, and persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

§ XVII. Having thus described the progress of the revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotland, towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottish convention was fixed for the sixteenth of March, and was declared to have a most serious and important influence on the wisdom, observance, and prosperity of the kingdom; and the number of the persons who had affected to influence the election of members. The Duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William. The Duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master: but, as he had neglected to appear on a certain day, his party were desolate. The Duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the Lords and Commons assembled at Edinburgh, the bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of King James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late king set up the Marquis of Atholl in opposition to the Duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good number of the other party, finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The Scots resolved that, in case of a negotiation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated bona fide; and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaties, and to make separate articles. The last condition was agreed to; in case of the Spanish king's dying without issue, the States-general should assist the emperor with all their forces to possess that monarchy; that they should use their friendly endeavours with the princes electors, their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of King of the Romans; and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

§ XVIII. Next day an express arrived from London, with a letter from King William to the estates; and, at the same time, another from James was presented by one Crane, an English domestic of the abdicated queen. William observed, that he had called a meeting of their estates at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled at London, who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He expected them to concert measures for settling the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served only to impede that salutary settlement. He professed himself sensible of the friends that were engaged against the French and English kingdoms; and assured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances, they were to be addressed to the late king James. They resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states, and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken these resolutions, a debate ensued about the letter from the late King James. They resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states, and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken these resolutions, a debate ensued about the letter from the late King James. They resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states, and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken these resolutions, a debate ensued about the letter from the late King James.
ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James foreseeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, the Authorized Version of the Bible, in the hands of Viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. These three depended on the interest of the Marquess of Athol and the Earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late king; but they hoped secretly they would embarrass the convention, so as to retard the settlement of King William. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. Athol deserted their cause; and Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his road to Dundee. They recurred to the vigilance of the Duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the Viscount Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognised, by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had entreated the King of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the Prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution: they besought his highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom; they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons and places to be immediate to take arms when called upon for that purpose: they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was formerly attainted for having been concerned in an insurrection containing a receipt for one hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the Earl of Leven their commander: they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely; they created the Earl of Mar governor of Stirling castle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general: and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then the commissioners reported Sir King William’s letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, and congratulating him upon his success. They thanked him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their estates. They declared they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing the Protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. They assured him that men as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and desired the continuance of his majesty’s care and protection.

§ XX. After the departure of Lord Ross, they appointed a committee, consisting of eight lords, eight knights of the shire, and six other officers under the Lord Justice General, to lay a new settlement: but this resolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late king, headed by the Archbishop of Glasgow; all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, havin already deserted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote: "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That King James VII. being a profest papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, altered it from a legal and limited monarchical constitution, with a despotic power, and subjected the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the Bishop of Edinburgh argued strenuously against it, as containing a charge of which the king was innocent; and he proposed that his majesty should be summoned to the convention by his commission. All his arguments were defeated or overruled, and the House confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The lord president declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might be filled with William and Mary, the Queens of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for setting the crown upon their majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

§ XXI. On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the consent of the estates, was reported, considered, unanimously approved, and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord president, assisted by the lord provost and the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquises of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the same time they published another proclamation, forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond with the estates of the late king James, writing letters to or from them, or submitting the discussion or determination of any cause or question to the precipitation of the said estates, or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation-oath, they granted a commission to the Earl of Argyll for the lords, to Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and to Sir John Dalrymple for the burghs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the second day of that month the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper stating the grievances and complaints of the people, and an address, desiring his majesty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majesties by the Earl of Argyll. As it contained a clause, importing, that they should root out heresy, the king declared, that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: the commissioners replied, that by the import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear witness to the exception he had made.

§ XXII. In the mean time, Lord Dundee exerted himself with uncommon activity in behalf of his master. He had been summoned by a trumpet to return to the convention, refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the estates were influenced by the neighbourhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorously hated by the presbytery, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an instrument of government: he was arraigned before the states resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detainted in pursuit of him and Balcurras. This last fell into their hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James, though that prince had forbid him to make any attempt of this nature, until he should receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in assembling the clars of his party, King William appointed the Duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention parliament. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon Lord Melville, a weak and servile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violence of the late regents: but the king depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple Lord Stair, president of the college of justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Though these were rigid presbyterians, the king, to humour the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal establishment to the councils of their king; instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seed of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the articles; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. for which the king had granted a commission, was to prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure; and the superiority of any office in the church
above that of presbyters. The king in his instructions to the lord commissioner, consented to the regulation of the legislature. This followed the same bad and, but, although he was disposed to the abolition of the privy-council. He was bent on the church government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, the question between the king and himself, was entirely shrouded when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affairs of the lords of the articles, which they considered as their chief grievance. The king permitted that the estates should choose the lords by their own suffrages; and that they should be at liberty to reconsider any subject which the said lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit: but even these concessions proved unsatisfactory, while the institution itself remained. Their discontent was not even appeased by the passing of an act abolishing prelates. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration; namely, that of the king's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any public trust or employment under the crown, all such men as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change, or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the House, but proved infructuous, for want of the royal assent.

§ XXIV. Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the king had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malcontents brought in a bill declaring the bench vacant, as it was at the restoration; asserting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it; providing, that if in time to come any such total vacancy should occur, the nomination should be in the king or queen, or regent, for the time being, and the parliament retain the right of approbation: and that all the changes in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary lords of session, and their qualifications for that office, should be satisfied and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the spirit of this party, that it declined a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who resolved to maintain the king's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, resolved to demand an account of these lords of session, or hold a session, until his majesty's further pleasure should be known: and on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the measures of the privy-council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the session opened, the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the judges in the exercise of their functions.

§ XXV. The lord commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the House till the eighth day of October; a step which, added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incurred the opposition of the subjects to a violent degree. They drew up a remonstrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unsettled, recapitulating the several instances in which the crown was accused of disaffection to his majesty; explaining their reasons for dissenting from the ministry in some articles; beseeching him to consider what they had represented, to give his royal assent to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and take measures for redressing all the other grievances of the people. The king, though he consented to the abolition of the Hambcot-court. William was so touched with the representations it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner; and by these it appeared, that the duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliterating his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raised money for the purposes of the government by increasing the incidental expense of the government for some months; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subsisted by the administration of England. In consequence of that act very great supers说了, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed.

§ XXVI. The session was no sooner adjourned than Sir John Lawter converted the blockade of Edinburgh castle into a tumult. They had been advised by a gentleman of great judgment, that the city of Edinburgh, as it lay, in that little time the fortifications were runed, and the works advanced at the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had made several large breaches. The Duke of Gordon, finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed, and the enemy increasing under numbers, and as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change, or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the House, but proved infructuous, for want of the royal assent.

The viscount Dundee, who had assembled a body of highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had received of intimation of this design, despatched immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramsay's dragoons, and another regiment of English dragoons; then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochaber. Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athol, assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the relief of Dundee, which was done by one of his own dependants, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse, rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign.

§ XXVII. The viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water; instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provisio, which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment to him, it would make reparation: and, far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a siege by General Mackay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pass of Killiecrankie, and he resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them, and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The highlanders having received the support of the castle of Blair, fell in among them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that the foot were utterly broke in seven minutes. The dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation: Dundee's
horb, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own lines, and the Earl of Argyll, at the head of a few volunteers, made himself master of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest fled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their general, and, with a superior command, conducted with expedition, and superiority. Nothing could be more complete or decisive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchased with the death of their beloved chief and commander. The Earl of Argyll was shot in the engagement, and his fate produced such confusion in his army as prevented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, unflagging activity, and a sedate judgment, but was too prudent to lead the people whom he fought under his banner. He was the life and soul of that cause which he espoused, and after his death it daily declined into ruin and disgrace. He was succeeded in command by Colonel Canon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but all his designs miscarried: so that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, had done their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which King William offered to those who should submit, within the time specified in his proclamation.

§ XXVIII. After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate his career in England. That unlucky fortunate prince and his queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch, who assigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their residence, supported them household without the least inconvenience, embellished them with presents, and undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner as conveyed no favourable idea of his spirit and understanding. He seems to have been quite emasculated by religion: he was deserted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been distinguished. He did not discover great sensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were swallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the Jesuits on topics of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Louis was mingled with contempt. The Pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in quasipudues: "There is a pious man, (said the Archbishop of Rheims, ironically,) who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass." In a word, he was subjected himself to the ridicule and raillery of the French. His position was execrable.

§ XXIX. All the hope of reascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, and was supported by his clansmen, who considered him as next in line to the Prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his sentiments, and temporized with William, until James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time, with a view to cajole the protestants of Ireland, and amuse King William with his hope of submission, he persuaded the Lord Mountjoy, in whom the protestants chiefly confided, and Baron Keen, to go in person with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times, and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris represented the situation of affairs, and assured the King, by James, to explain the reasons which Tyrconnell had suggested touching the inability of Ireland to restore his majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the protestant interest. Although Louis was persuaded disposed to assist James effectually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois possessed the chief credit in council; but, Seyssilai enjoyed a greater share of personal favour, both with the King and Madame de Maintenon, the latter being his intimate friend and confidential counsellor. James made his chief application; and he had promised the command of the troops destined for his service to Lausun, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the assistance which Louis had promised toward his restoration.

§ XXX. Yet, notwithstanding all his opposition, the succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the latter end of March. The English and Dutch had offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt to restore his kingdom, for he had "with about twelve hundred British subjects and a good number of French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, with a good number of transports. The French king also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland: accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, stores of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he presented him with his own epaulet, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can promise you (said he) is, that I may never see you again." On the seventh day of March, James embarked at Brest, and the English and Dutch, who were with him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail and landed at the most considerable port in Ireland. By this time King William, perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel, had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February, thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon Admiral Herbert; but the armament was retarded in such a manner, by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admirals did not consider it a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his deviation: for, although the protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed considerable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel. This minister had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry, for the service of his master.

§ XXXI. In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the consent of the most of the leading persons of Irish. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: the first recalled all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time fixed, to return to it, and to engage in the service of the king, who had assured them of advantage to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By
the fourth he raised the value of the current coin; and in the fifth he summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

Walker, having reduced Londonderry, by want of provisions, pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council divided. He was tempted, it is said, to hazard his chance with them; but the inhabitants,zel ingeniously found a way, when they had raised one thousand men, to block up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of General Kerke, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of King William. He found means to supply the partisans with corn, arms, and provisions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to sail up the river; he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillen, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to present themselves, and appear as a body, to enable them to come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished. Major General Baker directed the partisans to resist the advance of the enemy, and dispersed at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raise the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governor treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provisions, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hales, and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene finding them deaf to all their proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that county, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The Bishop of Meath, being informed of this design, complained to King James of the barbarous intention, entreating his majesty to prevent it, and assured him that the governor had assured him that he had already ordered Rosene to desist from such proceedings. Nevertheless, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmost vigour. Parties of dragoons were sent out to the west, to divert and strip the all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy people before them like cattle, without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importuning, that they would hang all the protestants they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and sacked by the papists, so that the greater number were beggars. Never was a nation more cruelly treated by the partisans of the enemy; yet these very people had for the most part obtained protections from King James, to which no respect was paid by his general. On the 9th of September the garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand seven hundred men,
and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provisions, to which they were allowed to remove, to land the Irish on the mouth frigate. One of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom: and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in English bottom, was presented to the Earl of Lucan by the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the walls. Kirke now, with the English, who took possession of the town, which was never since retaken, prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties for the seasonable relief they had received.

§ XXXVI. The Irish squires were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The Lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the king, having obtained from the inhabitants of which three succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Bellurbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, took the presentment. No law was enacted, and the inhabitants gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish papists at a place called New-Butchery, and took their commander, Macart, commonly called Lord Macarthy.

§ XXXVII. The Irish parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of King James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; estolled the generosity of the French king, who had enabled him to visit them in person; intituled upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and discretion, and promised to concur with them in enacting such laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and security of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle, being chosen speaker of the Commons, moved for an address of thanks to his majesty, for the gracious acts of that day, and desired to make their acknowledgments to the most christian king, for the generous assistance he had given to their sovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence in conscience and humanity, it was resolved to use the king's title, to express the abhorrence of the usurpation by the Prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, commanding of the calumnies which his enemies had spread against his prudence; exasperating upon his own unpartiality in preferring his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no steps but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join with him in fourteen and twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be shed, upon those who should continue in rebellion.

§ XXXVIII. His conduct, however, very ill agreed with his declaration; nor can it be excused on any other supposition, but that of his being governed, in some cases, against his own will, by his own counsels, and the Irish catholics, on whom his whole dependence was placed. As both Houses were chiefly filled with members of that persuasion, we ought not to wonder at their behaviour. The fruits of the assessment of the Inquisition, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those estates to whom they belonged before their rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations; no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove the stock in trade.

§ XXXIX. Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder against the protestants, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not own the authority of King James, or correspond with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, three-and-thirty baronets, eighty-three knights, eighty-three clergy, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this act were charged with no other than the murder of the inhabitants of which three succoured the king's. This act was received with the greatest joy by the English parliament. This assembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyconnel, in acknowledgment of his signal services; they imposed a tax of ten thousand pounds per month for the services of the king; the royal assent was given to an act for liberty of conscience; they enacted that the titles payable by papists should be delivered to priests of that communion; the maintenance of the protestant religion in every place and county was taken away; and all dissenters were exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdictions. So that the established church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithstanding the express promise of James, who had declared immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

§ XL. Nor was the king less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the abuses which were daily committed upon the protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his minis, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of equity, of reason, and of justice. They counted the liberty and property of the king's protestants for nothing; they viewed them with the most absolute, and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter: the people were robbed and plundered; licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old stores were ransacked; the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his majesty's occasions: an arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of the counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the protestants in payment of merchandise, provision, and necessaries, for the king's service. James, not content with the supply granted by parliament, imposed by his own act of parliament, eighteen thousand pounds per month on chartels, as the former was laid upon lands. This seems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two Houses, as the king was obliged to recast the tax; but it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals: and seems to have been a stretch of prerogative, the less excusable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that the protestants had laid out all their brass money in purchasing great
quantities of laces, tallow, wood, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. One may see the full extent of the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

§ XL. All vacancies in public schools were supplied with papist teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer in the university of Dublin was cut off: the reprobates, fellows, and scholars were expelled: their furniture, plate, and public library, were seized, without the least shadow of pretence, and in direct violation of a promise made to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: a papist priest was appointed provost: one Maccarty of the same persuasion was made librarian; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic seminary. When broweracies and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and suffered the cure to be totally neglected. The revenues were closely employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the protestant churches. When it was made the king promised to do justice to the injured; and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the pope clergy refused to comply with this order, alleging that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but to the emperor. James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrell, governor of Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the inhabitants to bring in their corn for his majesty's horse, within a certain day; otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

§ XLII. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to bolster up the credit of the base coin, would have proved insufficient to support the expenses of the war which was received, occasioned by the union of the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Louis sent another strong squadron, commanded by Chateau Reauat, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of King James. Before they sailed from Brest, King William, being informed of their destination, detached Admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the supposition that the French fleet had sailed from Brest; and that, in all probability, he should fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May he discovered them at anchor in Bantry Bay, and stood in to engage them, though they were greatly superior to him in number. They soon perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, stood out to windward, formed their line, bore down, and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both sides, though the English fleet sustained considerable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert gave up the contest in hope of gaining the weather-gage, but the French admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the morning. The ships of the line at Clontarf. Beaver, on returning into the bay, content with the honours he had gained. The loss of men was inconsiderable on both sides; and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement; but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth with a very small force with which he had been so much infested by the enemy, King William, in order to apprise their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the admiral of Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the populace, empowered a committee to inquire into the mutiny, a subject of great importance, and reported to the neglect of the Marquises of Caermarthen and Halifax. They presented an address to the king, desiring that the minute-book of the committee for Irish affairs might be
put into their hands; but his majesty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the Commons voted, that those persons who had advised the king to delay this satisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpose. The House resolved that an address be presented to his majesty, declaring, that the succour of Ireland had been retarded by the unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, whether or not they should address the king separately, to advise the immediate landing of troops. In this a negative vote was carried by a small majority. Before this period, How, vice-chamberlain to the queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation. This motion was levellled at Caermarthen and Halifax, the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high treason under the title of Earl of Darby; and the other was charged with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from King James to his par- liament were read; in which he declared that he was not to be deterred from the use of his full prerogative, that he had formed an intention of moving against the Dutch, organized a new army, and that the House of Commons, which was assembled in a tumultuous manner at West- minster. The Lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode; precautions were taken against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the upper House. This parliament passed an act, vesting in the two universities the presentations belonging to prisons; those of the southern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified conditions. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the counties of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression. The protestant clergy, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former pre- ferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed; the sub- jects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the Mint, and converted into money, the owner receiving its full value in current coin. These, and several other bills of small importance being passed, the two Houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

CHAP. II.

William and Mary.

§ I. The affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the succours were retarded either by disputes among the masters, or the neglect of those who were sent to superintend the movement of the expedition, in such a manner that King James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length eighteen regiments of infantry, and five battalions, besides some artillery, arrived in a train of artillery provided, and transports prepared, the Duke of Schomberg, on whom King William had conferred the chief command of this armament, set out for Chester, after he had in person thanked thecommon regal that they had paid particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus with 25,000 men. After some marches, he obtained possession of Belfast, from whence he retired to his approach to Carrickfergus, where they were forced to make a stand. The duke having refreshed his men, marched thither, and invested the place: the siege was carried on till the twenty-sixth day of the month, when the breaches were practicable, the besieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison, which was at Newry. During this siege the duke was joined by the rest of his army from England: but he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester down to Carrickfergus. From this place he marched through Lushane and Hilliborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the protestants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton: thence he proceeded to Loughbrinane, where, by which he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillen. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low damp ground, having the town and river on the south, and surrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

§ II. His army, consisting chiefly of new raised men little instructed hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provisions. His orders were sent to Kirk, Haamer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosenefay with about twenty thousand men, had he not been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Car- lingford. King James, having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his intrenchments in order of battle; but the duke, knowing they were general, and that his army was untrained, and that his own army was untrained, and weakened by death and sickness, restrained his men within the lines, and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, hatched by French emissaries, who had insinu- ated themselves into the protestant regiments. One of
these, whose name was Du Plessis, had written a letter to the Ambassador D'Avaux, promising to desert with all the papists of the French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were found in the Maison de Coal and executed. About two hundred and fifty papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were sent over to England, from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this situation, they had to execute the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts under the command of Colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-seventh day of September they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of English. They killed or captured 700 of the spot. On July the 3rd, the same commander, with about fifty officers, and a considerable body of cattle. The duke was so pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honourable testimony of his approbation.

§ III. Meanwhile the enemy took possession of James- Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauveur, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision. A contiguous dis- temper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and soldiers; so that in the beginning of next spring, not above half the number of the army came over with the remnant of the army. He was censured for his inactivity, and the king, in repeated letters, desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur; but he did not think proper to risk the fate of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blamed for having chosen such an unwholesome situation. At the approach of winter he retired to the north of Ireland, in hopes of being re-inforced with seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the King of Denmark. The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created Earl of Torrington, having sailed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dortsmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privates, that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

§ IV. The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to labour under the destruction of the Dutch, who were engaged in a new league with the States-general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that in case the King of Great Britain should be deposed, the Dutch should assist him with not less than two thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line; and that provided hostilities should be committed against the States- general, England should supply them with ten thousand soldiers and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than King William despatched the Lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created Earl of Murlough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of King James when the Prince of Orange landed in England. The earl forthwith joined the Dutch army, under the command of Major van der Wende, who fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to set mainspring to the French army commanded by the Mareschal D'Humières; while the Prince of Vaudemont held a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, no great part of which consisted of the Low Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to rescind the neutrality, and declare for the allies. Mareschal D'Humières attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the States of Wallon, in the month of August, an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation leveled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions on the territories of the enemy.

§ V. The French were almost entire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed the bishoprics of Aachen and Mentz, and the abbey of Kulm the Prince of Nassau. They had taken Breslau and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg, in the palatinate, and destroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spies to ashes, and demolished Frankenstein. The greater part of their conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the Mareschal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire. The Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the Elector of Brandenburg, having reduced D'Avaux, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German princes than their resentment of the shocking barbarities committed by the French, and despotic policy of the emperor. The French were repulsed by the Austrians and Turks. They were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The Prince of Baden, who commanded the imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Wurzen, and formed his army in quest of the Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a Seraskier. On the thirteenth day of August he attacked the enemy in the entrenchments near Nissa, and defeated them with considerable slaughter, and took possession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Nissa, where, the general, finding them still more numerous than the imperialists, resolved to make a stand and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the Prince of Baden, who, after a desperate resistance, and another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoils of the enemy, and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses and a vast quantity of provision. Having reposed his army and the spoil, he set out on a march against the Turks, who had chosen an advantageous post at Widen, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had lost in the two former engagements. The Germans, having seen the victory of the Turks, and though the Musulmans fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great slaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widen, which being surrendered to the victor, he distributed in winter-quarters, and returned to Vienna, covered with laurels.

§ VI. The French were likewise baffled in their attempt upon Catalania, where the Duke de Noulles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the Duke de Ville Hermest, at the head of a Spanish division, blocked up the town. The French suffered considerable exemption. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noulles marched to its relief; but he was so hard pressed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, dismantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The latter had acquired a considerable advantage from the defeat of Pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of August. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Louis even since the affair of the franchises, and the seizure of August: to remove this evil, published a bull, abolishing the franchises; and almost all the noble poderes of France acquiesced in what he had done, upon being duly informed that he intended to become a territory, and that the term of time and the place of residence, which were considered as privileges of pride and insolence, refused to part with any thing that looked like a prerogative of his crown. He said the King of France was not a inferior,
Calais were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction against the Spanish and imperial interest. The French Cardinals de Bouillon and Boni, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a large sum of money, and, after having obtained the Pope to restore the former, and assumed the name of Alexander VII. The Duke de Chaulnes, ambassador from France, immediately signified, in the name of his master, that Avignon should be restored to the king of France, and that if he was not restored, he would then renounce the franchises, in a letter written by his own hand to the new pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but, when the Pope had retired, Furstemberg thought fit to examine the election of the Bishop of Cologne, which had been the source of so much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their solicitations. He even confirmed the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the Prince of Bavaria, who was thus empowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furstemberg retired in disgust to Paris, where Louis immediately gratified him with the Abbey of St. Germain.

§ VII. King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy, than to conciliate and preserve the affections of his own subjects. The problem of a virtuous temper and popular popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who exerted themselves for his elevation, had conceived a disgust from his personal deportment, which was very unsuitable to the man-

name of William. Edward, when engaged in mingling his nobility in social amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable reserve, which had all the air of sullen pride; he seldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants; he spent his time chiefly in the closet, retired from all communication; or among his troops, in a camp he had formed at Hounslow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immo-

re. The only exception was his former friends, as he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-court, and expended consider-

one to your city, and condescended so far as to change his disposition, and in some measure adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he re-

the race at Newmarket; he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved himself with remarkable affability to the members of the university; he afterwards dined with the Lord Mayor of London, ac-

the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to

§ VIII. While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his per-

the period arrived which the parliament had pro-

money. Peter Ottokorn, a Venetian senator, and his ambassador to Rome, with a formidable train, to insult Innocent III; but the Pope was too wise to entertain the idea. The spirit of Nonpareil was very

state, and as a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as redounded very

little to the honour of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for non-resistance and passive obedience made no scruple of renouncing their allegiance to King James, and complying with the present necessity, that they too might be innocent of sin, and be of the same sort as the "rightful" when the form was under debate. They alleged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, so conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Not without reason; for it is less to the worse tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all obligations. It introduced a general disregard of oaths, which had been the source of universal perjury and corruption. Though this set of temporaries were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the

the king, as a prince educated in the doc-

sion of Calvin, which he plainly espoused by limiting his favour and preference to such as were Latitudinarians in religion, and by his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. The presbyterians of that kingdom now tyrannised in their turn. They were headed by the Earl of Crawford, a hereditary enemy and strong friend of William of Orange, who was chosen president of the parliament by the interest of Melvil, and oppressed the episcopals in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from resentment, became well-wishers to King James. Every circumstance of the hardships which the dissenters were now subjected to, the resistance of the Spanish and imperial interests, the nobleman, and the Earl of Clarendon, as well as the sus-

prejudices, and threatened with deprivation. Luke of Chichester, being seized with a dangerous dis-

n. The earl had professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristic of the church of England. After his death this paper was published, industriously circu-

the church, authorizing them to meet from time to time in the Jerusalem chamber, to prepare such alteration of the liturgy and the constitution of ecclesiastical courts, as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and unity of the church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immedi-

against this commission, as an ecclesiastical court illegal and dangerous. At their first meeting, the author-

by the party as an inspired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity.

§ IX. All the clamour that was raised against the king could not divert him from prosecuting the scheme of compre-

himself to be the apostle of Nonpareil. He was ever like a brave, taking all opportunities to avert the Pope, who encour-

injured him in revenge. On the other hand, the parliament of Paris ap-

and his son, and mechanical and religious. Louis was too wise to entertain the idea. He felt that it was not in harmony with his character to yield to such a spirit of Nonpareil, as a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as redounded very
which the dissenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection; but the opposite party employed all their arts and industry to return this instance to the people. The two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them. The king himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they beseeched themselves so successfully in the elections of members for the convocation, that they procured a very considerable majority. At their first meeting, the friends of the comprehension scheme proposed Dr. Tillotson, clerk of the closet to his Majesty, as president; and other persons being in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. In a Latin speech in the Bishop of London as president, he, in the name of the Inner House, asserted that the liturgy of England needed an amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, "Nobiamus leges Angliae materi. We will not suffer the laws of England to be changed." The bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence towards their brethren the dissenters, and to make such abatements in things indifferent as might serve to open a door of salvation to multitudes of straying Christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The Lower House seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition. Next day the president prolonged them, in pretence that the royal commission, by which they were to act, was defective for want of being signed by the sovereign. A prolongation was proposed until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval means were used to mollify their non-compliant temper; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the Earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both Houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice, and consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed; he assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

§ I. The bishops, adjourning to the Jerusalem chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his majesty, which, being sent to the lower House for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed; a conference ensued, and after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the lower House, far from taking any notice of this composition, and contrary to all the advice of the peers, exerted all their influence in the relief of their prostrating brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they were disposed to treat with great caution; yet, rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the Christian religion. The president and his party, perceiving the disposition of the House, did not think proper to communicate any proposal touching the intended reformation, and the king suffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations.

§ XII. The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war; he desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject, for these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in the war against France, as a general conclusion of the war by a peace at any convenient time was pressed for in the Hague, to settle the operations of the ensuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the despatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be at ease, as well as for the benefit of the kingdom, promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As several inflammatory bills and disputes, which had produced heats and animosities in the last session, were still depending, the king, after having consulted both Houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes, by a prorogation. According to this precedent, the king prorogued the parliament till the twenty-first day of October, by the mouth of the new speaker, Sir Robert Atkins, the Marquis of Halifax having resigned that office. When they re-assembled, the king referred them to his former speech; then the Commons unanimously resolved to censure his majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France; for these purposes they voted a supply of two millions.

§ XIII. In the same month, as a strong proof of their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preference to the opposite party, which began to gain ground in the king's good graces. With this view they revived the prosecution of the state prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The Commons resolved to impeach the Earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemann, Sir Edward Hales, and Oldshied Walker, of high treason, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in, to declare the estate of the late Lord Chancellor Jeffereys forfeited to the crown, provided it should be in favour of the adoption in position that the measure was dropped; the House however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons who had exercised offices contrary to the laws and against public safety, should be put in form and applied to the public service. The Lord Griffin, being detected in maintaining a correspondence with King James and his partisans, was committed to the Tower; but, as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help consenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernon Sidney was unjustly condemned in the reign of Charles II. because nothing but his writings had been put in evidence, and he had long been a member of the Commons concerned in appointing a committee to inquire who were the advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of Lord Russell, Colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the wri of Quo Warranto, and the surrender of charters. This inquiry was levellated at the Marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all these severities. Though no proof against the persons so accused could be founded, that nobleman saw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration; he therefore resigned the privy-seal, which was put in compase and given to Sir John Suckley, the speaker, of the house, of whom he became the patron and protector.

§ XIV. The Commons likewise resumed the examinations of the miscarriages in Ireland, and desired the king should appoint commissioners, to go over and inquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom, and understand that he had been blamed in the House of Commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the king a satisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The Commons immediately presented an address to his majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores, should be secured; and that Duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king gave them to understand that he had already sent orders to the general for that purpose. Next day another petition requested his majesty to name those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under King James, and was suspected of treasonable practices against the government. William III. was inclined to consider the service as a message to the House, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provs and preparations as might be necessary for that service, and that the king might in person proceed there and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The Commons were so mollified by this instance of his condensation, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and pro-
as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the negociërs, and make no secret connivance in favour of the Roman Catholics. Montgomery's brother assured the Bishop of Salisbury, that a treaty with King James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. He said this paper would be sent to a trusted and new commissioner was appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry. Mr. Hambden expressed his surprise that the administration should consist of those very persons whom King James had employed when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the Prince of Orange, and moved that the king should be petitioned in an address to remove such persons from his presence and counsels. This was a stroke aimed at the Earl of Nottingham, whose office of secretary Hambden desired to possess; but his motion was not seconded; the court-members observing that James did not dispute those lords to the Prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, that they were well known to disapprove of his measures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highness. The House, however, voted an address to the king, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

§ XV. In the sequel, the question was proposed, Whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the House? and a vote of this kind was referred to the committee, affirmative, on the supposition that by such exclusion the commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the whigs was their backhandedness in promoting the public service, and their disregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He said his title was no more than a paper, and the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, the surrendering of the crown in a longer term than one year. They began to think there was something arbitrary in his disposition. His sullen behaviour, in all probability, first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the intimations of his counsellors. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpson, a presbyteryman of the church, who was Earl of Bothwell's employer as a spy, had intimated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partisan and agent of King James; by which means he supplied the earl with such intelligence as raised him to some degree of credit with the government, and this instantly brought against the king's best friends, and inflamed jealousies which were soon kindled into mutual distrust and animosity.

§ XVI. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection, and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation, and Payne wired the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled king. They demanded the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. They reconciled themselves to the return of Queenbery, and the other noblemen of the episcopacy, so that they might obtain for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them against the king and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to inform and ruin the fast friends of the government, and found them out with the assistance of the king, and they began to think it earnest of recalling their banished prince. The Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Monmouth, were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose; they met at the church laund, but it was called off, on fears of former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme, and they admitted Ferguson into their councils,

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in the revenue bills; but he could not prevail upon them to settle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term, but the customs for four years only. They considered this short term as the best security the kingdom could have for frequent parliaments, though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their sovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other supplies were granted, and both parties seemed to count his majesty, by their course of proceedings, not only right and just, but also necessary and expedient; the former, however, had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the upper House, a bill for recognising their majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms, and for making the acts of parliament of the last session, and what had since been enacted, good and valid. The tores were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, that those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the whigs lost their majority on the report; nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words; in consequence of a nervous, spirited protest, signed by Bolton, Worsley, Trenchard, Serjeant, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it could preponderate against the tores, the chief interest was meant of Nottingham at this head, protested in their turn. The same party in the House of Commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made, that it might be committed for amendment; but their design was certain disfranchisement. Sir John Chatham, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not summoned by the king's writ. This mainmation was answered by Somers, the solicitor-general, who observed, that if the convention were refused, it was then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason; the laws repealed by it were still in force: it was their duty, therefore, to return to King James, and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament were highly criminal. The tores were so struck with these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal assent. The 3rd of December was fixed upon for the tores who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal; but the whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been interceded in the dispute. On the 2d of January, 1680, the bill was again published, and the King directed all the members of both parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure King James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were at first exempted from this test, the main body of the tores opposed it with great vehemence; while the whigs, under countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions seemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the tores represented to the king, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation; that those who declared against the bill would grow sullen and intractable, so as to oppose every other measure that might be made for the king's service; that, in case of its being defeated, he would be drawn into the hands of the whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative; and many individuals, who were now either well affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from resentment. These suggestions had such weight with King William, that he sent an intimation to the Commons, desiring them to drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more proper, to the advantage of his crown and his interposition; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, resented it so deeply,

that he insisted on resigning his office of secretary of state. The king, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others, who were supposed to have credit with the Earl, to dissuade him from quitting his employment: but he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the House of Commons on the bill; but the tores, in order rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The tores professed themselves willing to enter into a negative engagement against the late king and his adherents; but the whigs would not join in all their plight; and the House was so equally divided that neither side was willing to hazard a decision: so that all the fruit of their debates was a prolongation of the session. § XXV. An act was prepared for investing the queen with the administration during the king's absence; another for reversing the judgment on a Quo Warranto against the city of London, and restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges; and at length, the bill of indemnity so cordially recommended by the king passed both Houses. On the twenty-first day of May, the king closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted; and recommended to them a publick discharge of their debts in better respects. It was no part of the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The Houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July; when the parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. At this period, it was evident that peace in the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorised to receive the militia in case of necessity. All papists were prohibited to sit above five miles from their respective places of abode: a proclamation was published for apprehending without a warrant, all suspected persons. Sir John Fenner and Sir George Grogan were actually arrested on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the king set out for Ireland, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of York, Sir George Grogan, and the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Ossian, and many other persons of distinction; on the fourteenth day of the month be landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the Duke of Schonberg, the Prince of Wales, and the Major-General Kinky, and other officers. By this time Colonel Wolsey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belfort; Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle; and that of Clarenmont, a strong post of great importance, was taken with Balimargy, near Cavann, had been reduced. King William having repossed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head quarters at Liscarne: then marched to Dundalk, and afterwards advanced to Anlee, where the enemy had just abandoned. § XXVI. King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his son's law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been six days in Ireland, before he received information of his arrival. A strong post of great importance, they took Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Lutrell, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the general opinion, he had determined to attack them. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannons, to wait the effect of the operations at sea.

Louis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports as soon as their crews should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was found to be difficult; a part of the fleet landed on the north side, the other part on the south side of the river, and both were afterwards repulsed by the enemy with signal loss to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure base at which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, its front was secured by a small island, and a range of ground; so that the English army could not attack him, without manifest disadvantage.

§ XXVII. King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field-pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, conformed the fire to his person, and shouted a peal of the trumpet. The whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately and attack the English army. The report was instantly confirmed by a volley of muskets to the alarm of the enemy; and from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line to show himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed his design, but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This council being rejected, the king determined, that, early in the morning, Lieutenant-General Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg, with the horse, should pass at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Oldpool, and the left at certain fords between the enemy and the camp and Drogheda. The duke, perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of the battle being brought to him, he recommended the omission of a part, that had ever been sent him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy, by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

§ XXVIII. At six o'clock in the morning, General Douglas, with young Schomberg, the Earl of Portland, and Avenmereque, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the further bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their rear; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led on to the charge through the morass, while Count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about and retreated towards Duleek with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the center, and Count Schomberg was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture, King William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was wide and deep; and in a general discharge, James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: this the Irish gave way; and the English took possession of the field. The Irish, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by a general in person, advanced from some little hillocks to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with so much impetuosity on the Irish, that they were forced to fly back towards the town, in order to put the uniforms regiments in confusion. Then the Duke of Schomberg passed the river in person, put himself at the head of the French partisans, and pointing to the enemy; "Gentlemen," said he, "these are your persecutors;" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse, which broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head: but the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the English, and were soon overtaken on the wing, and routed. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of King James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. The line had retreated, as if the English were driven, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunmore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled, and were driven to the sea shore, where the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Lewis, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon the pursuers, as soon checked their ardour. The horse, which were broken, had now time to rally, and, returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action General Edouard, who had been near King William during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken: an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no further efforts to retreat the advantage they had gained in the beginning of the action, and immediately recoiled towards the town, when the king, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance; and he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse entire." William, eyeing him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your honour! your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation: but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as their auxiliaries, under Laurnz, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and resolution.

§ XXIX. As King William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one-third of that number; though the latter was vastly superior in men, considering the death of the gallant Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the time in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the papal state, and was educated in the Jesuits, and was created a Peer of Ireland by King Charles I. Lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country, on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commanded a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of the princes of Orange, of Tuscany, of France, of Sweden, and of Denmark. He attained to the dignities of Mareschal in France, Grandee in Portugal, Generalissimo in Prussia,
and Duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to Hely-Hutchinson, who had followed the Duke of Marlborough, and commanded one of the regimental batteries. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the throes of death, was immediately encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming, "A la gloire, mes amis; a la gloire! To my lords; to glory!" The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion, was Walker the clergyman, who, attended by a party of Dubliners, led the whole army of King James. He had been very graciously received by King William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side were the Lords Dongan and Curlingford; Sir Nede O'Neill, and the Marquis of Hoquingcourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to check his defeat. He had himself neither spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss to the Duke of Marlborough was the most of the soldiers and officers of the rebels were immediately broken in their retreat—an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William's personal courage was much more conspicuous than his military skill.

§ XXX. King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in the name of M. de Turenne, to the governor of the city. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signed his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken, and the roads rendered impassable by engines, which had been prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, and from thence, at ten o'clock, to sail for London, and there met with a fleet of ships, which had been convoyed to France, and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the papists. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the Bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to King William, together with a petition, that he would honour the city with his presence.

§ XXXI. On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of M. de Turenne, to Waterford. They seized the city, in which surrendered the place without opposition. The King, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Halfa-Bregahan, where, having received news of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the Duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the King encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the Bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favour and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against the King; and ordered the houses, churches, and dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first day of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors, who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had fought for the cause of the Papist, were secured in the French, authorized depredations which had been committed upon protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the King's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those who were truly penitent. The next step taken by King William was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the project of war was on foot; and after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support their operations.

§ XXXII. During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted by her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she distrusted force, and relied rather upon prudence and fortune. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, Lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helens, in order to assemble as many ships as possible to engage him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the entrance of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the channel: not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. Their fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and one hundred and twenty-four of lesser size. The combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, Lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Bray-bay-head on the thirtieth day of June, at day-break. The Dutch squadron which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning; and in about an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French: but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till the afternoon. The Dutch, who were close engaged with the enemy, and though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye; an English ship of seventy guns being straddled near Winchelsea, was set on fire and deserted. In about half an hour the blue division of the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: six of their great ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and, having taken precautions against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, he returned to London, the capitulation of which was over-whelmed with conformation.

§ XXXIII. The government was infected with the
same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation, that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insurrections were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary and proper to prevent the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addressses were presented to the queen by the Court, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and that of the mayor, aldermen, and burgomaster of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for reuniting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-general, who exclaimed against the Earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tingemouth. A detachment of their men attempted to set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels; then they reembarked and returned to Brest, so vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the whig partisans published reports of these repulsed attempts, that the prorogued bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their nonconformity in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the Earl of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; Viscount Preston; the Lords Montgomery and Bellasse; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Thorold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Greville, and Colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The Earl of Torrington and the other广大市民 were shut up in the Tower of London: in the next session, when he was brought into the House of Commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the Upper House, where the form of his commitment was regarded as illegal; at length he was tried by a court martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl was acquitted, but the king dismissed him from the service: and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges.

§ XXXV. William is said to have intercepted all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the design projected by the French to burn the English ships, but likewise the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to assassinate King William. No such attempt, however, was made; and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached General Douglas with a considerable body of horse and foot towards Athlone, while he himself, having left Trelawney to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchiquin, and, having joined to Kilkeny, to surround, and supplied the governor of Athlone for King James, being summoned to surrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resided to undertake the siege of the place, which was naturally very strong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made, when Douglas receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the besieged, abandoned the enterprise, after having lost about four hundred men in the attempt. The king continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of severe examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the prisoners and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addressses were presented to the queen by the Court, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and that of the mayor, aldermen, and burgomaster of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for reuniting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-general, who exclaimed against the Earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tingemouth. A detachment of their men attempted to set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels; then they reembarked and returned to Brest, so vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the whig partisans published reports of these repulsed attempts, that the prorogued bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their nonconformity in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the Earl of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; Viscount Preston; the Lords Montgomery and Bellasse; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Thorold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Greville, and Colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The Earl of Torrington and the other广大市民 were shut up in the Tower of London: in the next session, when he was brought into the House of Commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the Upper House, where the form of his commitment was regarded as illegal; at length he was tried by a court martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl was acquitted, but the king dismissed him from the service: and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges.

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compromised by the interposition of La Melionere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besieged proceeded with such rapidity that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Hackluyt, with a body of horse and dragoons, ran into the lines and took possession of the place, and the garrison were taken prisoners.

**Chapter II.**

A.D. 1690.]

WILLIAM AND MARY.

The Duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the breaches; and Major Hugh, a brave officer, was killed in action.

During these transactions, Count de Lauzan, commander of the French auxiliaries to Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the Duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to M. St. Ruth. Lauzan was disgraced at Versailles for having surrendered without resistance, and his order of service was revoked.

The Prince of Orange, being induced to return to the Netherlands, left his army in the hands of his brother-in-law, Count of Nassau, a man of great military talents, who had never been defeated in a pitched battle.

Under the command of this officer, the Duke of Berwick, who had been defeated by the Count of Nassau, was driven from the fortress of Sars, and the latter advanced with his army to conquer the town.

The Duke of Berwick, in the meantime, was engaged in the siege of Limerick, and marched thither with his forces.

The Duke of Berwick, finding himself deserted by his allies, and the enemy superior in numbers, had recourse to a desperate measure, and attempted to storm the town. The Netherlands army, however, was not to be taken by assault, and the Duke of Berwick was forced to retreat.

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a body of Turks should invade it on the other; these last were totally dispersed by Prince Louis of Baden: but Prince Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, who had detached himself from the rest, was slain in a narrow defile, and his troops were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprised of the fate of his allies, and afraid of seeing his retreat cut off, he retreated up the valley of the mountains; he had left behind him some of the principal prisoners, including the representatives of the crier of state, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with Lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed judge of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

§ XLIII. Notwithstanding the act for revising the proceedings against the city charter, the whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy; Pilkington had obtained the city clerkship of the city, and Robinson retained the office of chamberlain. The tories of the city, presenting upon their late services, presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament, for revising the judgment on the Quo Warranto, was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old aldermen elected by commission under the late king's great seal still acted by virtue of that authority; that Sir Thomas Pilkington was elected mayor by the common hall; and, that he and the aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office. These and other elections were illegally excluded, and others, duly elected, were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his associates undertook to prove that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contravention of the Jacobites, to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government distressed. The late panic which overspread the nation, the whigs had appeared to be the promoters of it, and largely for the security of the settlement they had made, while the tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason the court now interposed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remonstrance.

§ XLIV. The Marquis of Carmarthen, lord president, who was at the head of the Tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the king and queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved, if possible, to revive his old impeachment. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading members engaged in this design. A committee of Lords was appointed to examine the precedents, whether impeachments continued in statu quo from parliament to parliament. Several such precedents were reported; and violent debates ensued: but the marquis was enabled to carry the day, and to retart the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already procured to the king's favourites: nevertheless, the bill passed the lower House, and was sent up to the Lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the ministry. It was at this juncture that Lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the dissatisfaction of the king, who not only disapproved him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came to the House of Lords, to give the royal assent to a bill for doubling the excise, he told the parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that, therefore, they ought to lose no time in perfecting such other supplies as were still necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expense of the civil government. Two hills were accordingly past down for granting to their majesties the duties on gowns imported, for five years; and these, together with the minute bill, received the royal assent: upon which occasion the king observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint, they voted a considerable supply for building additional ships. This, however, was thought of small benefit to commerce and expedition, as even seemed to anticipate the king's desires. This liberality and despatch were in a great measure owing to the management of Lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the treasury, and Sir John Sinclair appointed one of the principal secretaries of state; which had remained vacant since the resignation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with Lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed judge of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

§ XLV. The Marquis of Eden, President of the Council, moved for an address to his majesty, commending him, for his conduct in the late proceedings against the city charter, and the present administration. The king was pleased on that occasion to make an answer, expressing his pleasure in their recall of the city of London, and his approbation of their proceedings on other occasions.
pleasure, that the two Hones should adjourn themselves to the thirty-third day of March.

A.D. 1609. § X. V. William, having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the sixth day of January; but the ship in which he proposed to embark being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked in a larger one on the Mersey, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by Admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an armed galley, which was to accompany him in the voyage. The ports of Devonshire, Dorset, Dorset, and Monmouth, with Auruerque and Zwillenstein. Instead of landing immediately, they lay off the night of the fleet, and, rising early, in at 32 each, and found the shore in the north wind. Meaullandisles. A deputation of the States received him at Houssalryde; about six in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the States-General, the States-General of Holland, the States-General of Zeeland, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with surprising magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his coming with joy, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

A.D. 1609. § X. VI. At the court of the confederate princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigour and determination against their enemy. The news of his coming was speedily conveyed to Staines, where the French army was encompassed, and the forces, nor person, incurring with their measures; and that in the spring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfill his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and states were regulated; and the King of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He supplied them with the necessary money; and his ambassador, soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was settled, and they transacted their affairs with such harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. The Duke of Orleans attended by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The gardian consisted of about six thousand men, commanded by the Prince of Orange; but the beseechers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested, than be ordered Prince Waldeck to assemble the army, determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halie, near Brussels; but when he went thither, he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages, and other necessaries for the expedition. Meanwhile, the burgesses of Mons, seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the citizens of the city, and the county, and obtained very honourable conditions. William, being apprised of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April.

A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the negligence of a female servant.
session is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and resolution. He, like a paper which has been exposed to the sun, he owned his attachment to King James; he witnessed to the birth of the Prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his custody, and that he had met them from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the non-

jurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the governor, was that he had managed his book and his baggage an account of such evidence as would have been conclusive to all the world, concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed supposititious. Lord Preston obtained a pardon; Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him; the Earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence, which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first cousin. The Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Pen, absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

§ 11. This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy, furnished the king with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishoprics. The deprived bishop had been given to understand, that an act of parliament might be ordained to that effect; and they from taking the oaths, promised that they would perform their episcopal functions: but, as they declined this expedient, the king resolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly, the archbishop of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Til-

ton, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malice of men that party which had wished his elevation to the cause of the other vacant sees. He was given to divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed very well satisfied with this exertion of the king's supremacy. The deprived bishops had first affected all the meekness of resign-

ation. They remembered those shouts of popular appro-
priation, by which they had been animated in the persecu-
tion they suffered under the aje government; and they hoped the same cordial would support them in their pre-
sent affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and decla-
nation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learn-
ing; and every one of them was answered by their opponents. The nonjurors affirmed, that Christianity was a doctrine of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the sovereign; that the primitive Christians thought it their indispensable duty to resist every invasion of their rights; and that non-resistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only sup-
ported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance, in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was con-
clusively so with regard to the present government; for o-
bedience required by Scripture was indiscriminate, " the powers that be, are ordained of God—let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them, concealed party under the cloak of conscience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonstrated. They said, it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines, attached themselves sole-
ly to possession, however unjustly acquired; that, if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognise the last, notwithstanding the allegiance

they had so solemnly sworn to their predecessor, like the fawning spaniel that followed the chief who mounted his master's horse in the morning, and returned to the same horse, when the king mounted it in the evening. They also denied the justice of a lay-deprivation, and with respect to church-government started the same distinctions. " De jure et De facto," which they had formerly made in the civil world, they now laid against the bishopric, and the bitterness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers: their sacristy was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most active promoters against the revolution, but thought proper to take the character of the retreat of King James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate, who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct, which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government; and indeed the great aim of their divine, as well as of their politicians, was to sap the foundation of the new settle-

ment. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interest of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character: inveighed against his measures: they accused him of sacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious comparisons be-
tween the wealth, the trade, the taxes, of the last king of the present reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malcon-
tents, the court employed their engines to answer and re-
criminate; all sorts of informers were encouraged and excited; and while the king himself, was exposed to the odious character of an usurer, every disaffected person, was pointed out as an enemy. The courtiers and disaffected persons, were enjoined to make search, and apprehend those who should, by sedi-
tious discourses and libels, presume to defame the govern-

mental. Thus the revolutionists commenced the profession of enemies to all those very arts and practices which had enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection.

§ III. The presbyterians in Scotland acted with such fury, violence, and intemperance, that they were equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the king dissovered it by an act of state, and convoked another from the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknow-

ledge and serve King William, provided he would balance the power of Melvil and his partizans, in such a manner, as would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to per-
form their functions among those people by whom they were beloved. They were answered by the king, who to be au-

mix with the presbyterian leaders, should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The king, who was extremely disgusted at the presbyte-

rians, relished the proposal; and young Dalrymple, son of Lord Stair, was admitted to share the government with Melvil. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the same time they maintained their correspondence with the court of St. Germain, by the conjuncture of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James the more effectually. The Scottish parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. The proceedings were taken against the dangerous communication with the continent: a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; to exercise the powers of the regency, in securing the en-

emies of the government; and the Earl of Home with Sir Peter Fraser and Sir John Macpherson, were apprehend-

ed and imprisoned.

§ IV. The king, having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where General Ginkel ex-

ceeded the supreme council, and a Parliament was about to meet, the king determined to end the bloodshed among the pressing sailors, to the incredible anannce of commerce: then leaving the queen as before at the helm of government in England, he returned to Holland, accompanied by Lord

of convenienc. The best answer that could be made to this summons was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph. 2 To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the general government, in the name of King James's adherents, propounding several grievances against the nation, and the king, and ending with the grounds of William's title; and the declaration, that in case the general government should proceed with war along with or in opposition to the king, it would submit to that title, as they had before opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to this summons was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph.
Sydney, secretary of state, the Earl of Marlborough and Portugal, having been detained there, was taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the Duke of Luxembourg having passed the Scheldt at the head of a large army, took possession of Hale, and gave it up to plunder in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up entrenchments for their defence. At this same time the Marquis de Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, entrenched himself before Liers, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, King William had made his appearance in the allied army, by this time reinforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the Count de Tilly, with ten thousand men, to the relief of Luxembourg, which was about to be taken by the French and devoured by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly, having thus raised the siege, and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented ever since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburg, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxembourg, that William could not avoid bivouacking without ordnance, and encamped on the hill of Muntcallier, with his infantry in straights, in march of their vanguard and rear, so as to insist on such an engagement with the French. The French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. In the course of his military campaign, the French were convinced of each other: but the most mischievous manner to which neither could begin the attack without a manifest disadvantage. While the king lay encamped at Court-sur-sure, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery; even while the fuses were burning he disguised the wagons from the line, and overturned them down the side of a hill, so that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the Duke of Luxembourg. He was tried by a court-martial, and suffered the death of a traitor. Such perfidious practices not only fix an indelible share of infamy on the French general, but prove how much the capacity of William was dreaded by his enemies. King William, quitting Court-sur-sure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, consuming the forage, and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French crossed it at Lainey, from Piedmont before the English. The enemy, perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudersarde: while his colour of infantry, produced the effect of his arrival on the river Aeth and Leuse. While he continued in his post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army, and passed the Meuse at Namur; then the king returned to the Hague, leaving the command to Prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuze, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambrai. Luxembourg, who watched his motion with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat so suddenly, that he was surprised and defeated, though the French were at last obliged to retire; the prince continued his route to Cambrai, and in a little time both armies retired into winter quarters. In the mean time, the Duke of Noailles besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the Count D'Etrées, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant. 

§ VI. The confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French, but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The emperor and Spain had undertaken to furnish troops to join the Duke of Savoy; and the maritime powers contributed their proffered assistance. The States-General was nominated to the supreme command of the imperial forces in that country; the Marquis de Legan — the governor of the Milanese — acted as trustee for the Spanish monarchy: Duke Schomberg, son of that great general who lost his life at the Bosque, began his operations in the interests of William, as King of England and stadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudos paid by Great Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French, in the strength of a garrison, besieged and took Ville-France, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the Marquis de Feuquers to invest Comi, a strong fortress garrisoned by the Vaudes and French refugees. The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He saw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy: Comi was besieged; and La Hoguette, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste, so that he had free admission into the Verceillos, and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were dispirited and clamorous, and their sovereign lay with his little army in the rear of his garrison. He then put his troops in the field, and bade his townsmen, and his palaces of Rivoli destroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catignat, while his officer's army was weakened by detachment, and Prince Eugene supported his remonstrance but the proposal was vetoed by the Marquis de Legan, who foresaw that, if the duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Comi, however, was undertaken by detachment by Prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two-and-twenty hundred horse, at Maghiano, he was reinforced by five thousand militia: Bulonde, who commanded at the siege, no sooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind some pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utensils, with all his sick and wounded. When he joined Catignat, he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with disgrace. Hugueset abandoned the valley of Aoste: Feuquers was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casii: and Catignat retired with his army towards Villa Nova D'Aste.

§ VII. The muscovy of the French before Comi affected Louvois, the minister of Louis, so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to his master, who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French brought his intrigue on the seven orders of the conclave at Rome, then sitting for the election of a new Pope, in the room of Alexander VIII, who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French, they were baffled by the French of D'Etrées, the affairs of Piedmont had no sooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spanish and imperial interest, and Cardinal Fuggnelli, a Neapolitan, was elected pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the late Pope known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, the confederates resolved to give battle to Catignat, but he repelled the French, and sent couriers to Versailles, to solicit a reconciliation. Then Prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated. Meanwhile the Marquis de Hoigncourt undertook the conquest of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much resistance. The Castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catignat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it surrendered on honourable conditions.
the Rhine. The French endeavoured to surprise Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the emperor's commissioners; but this being discovered, their design was frustrated. The imperial army, under the Elector of Saxony, passed the Rhine in the neighborhood of Heiligenstadt; and the French crossing the same river at Philpsburgh, reduced the town of Portzheim in the marquisate of Baden-Dourlach. The execution of the scheme, projected by the French court for preventing the death of his general, the Elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by Prince Louis of Baden on the banks of the Mohacs, and afterwards Prince Eugene took the siege of Great Waradin in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not surrendered till the following spring. The Turks were so disquieted by the defeat by which they had lost the grand visit, that the emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms; but his pride and ambition overshot his success. He was weak, vain, and superstitious; he unmounted the throne of Ireland, where he was almost extinguished, King William, with the rest of his allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that in the mean time he should not only make an entire conquest of Hungary, but also carry his arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spanish government was become so feeble, that the latter might be at the mercy of the enemy, had the Netherlands, offered to deliver the whole country to King William, either as monarch of Ireland, or statholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a Protestant government; but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the Elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of securing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treasure. This proposal was refused by the court of Spain; the emperor imparted it to the elector, who accepted the office without hesitation; and he was immediately deputed governor of the Low Countries by the council of state at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, settling the operations of the ensuing campaign. That affair being discussed, he embarked in the Masset, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October. On the 1st of November we explain the proceedings in parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season, the French king had sent a large supply of provisions, chief of all, corn, to the army of the late vice-king, under the command of Monsieur St. Rue, accompanied by a great number of French officers furnished with commissions from King James, though St. Rue issued all his orders in the name of Louis. Tyrconnell had arrived in January, with three frigates and nine vessels, laden with succours of the same nature: otherwise the Irish could not have been so long kept together. Nor, indeed, could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of Hapareeza, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The French, in conjunction with General Ginkel, took a step to exhaust the enemy; they promised to protect all papists who should live quietly with a certain frontier line; and Ginkel gave the catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorized to treat with them, if they were not first to inform the government of their design. They took the field, several skirmishes had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, with the confidence of the English rose in the same proportion.

§ IX. St. Ruth and Tyrconnell were joined by the Rapparees, and General Ginkel was reinforced by Mackay, with those troops which had reduced the highlanders in Scotland. Thus strengthened, be, in the beginning of June, marched through the district of the Lake of Ballea, was garrisoned by a thousand men under Colonel Bourke, who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to advance, several hundred highlanders were slain, but men laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the general left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, to which place he afterwards returned, and almost under its walls. The English town, on the bither side of the river, was taken sword in hand, and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length, it was resolved, in the council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom soft and stony, and the pass guarded by a ravelin, erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by Captain Sands and two lieutenants. They were well supported by two squadrons of cavalry, and by six battles of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty abreast, each man of their band bearing two three-pounder guns, balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoon were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places; the ground was scaled, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in the attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Foulsham, executed the orders of the imperialists, and were successful in passing the river; and General Ginkel, for his conduct, intrepidity, and success, on this occasion, was created Earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed by express, that the English had entered the river, he said it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thousand pistols they would attempt to force a passage. Sarphild was actuated by the truth of the intelligence, and pressed the order to send succours to the town, which the officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to be sent against them, but they were not strong enough to prevent their passage. Their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable, and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim, and having, by dragoons from garrisons, augmented his army to five-and-twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

§ X. Ginkel having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle; but his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand, and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Athlone. He promised the whole of the pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extremity of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring the Saxon name that was restored before the nation was descended. This appeal had been expellled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations; to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church: and that in case they should fall in battle, their souls and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to
have sworn upon the sacrament that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the Prince of Orange. Ginkel had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suck, within three miles of the enemy; after having consulted with the officers, he resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a slip, above the town of Sallaghy, on the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were severely engaged. The English right carried their point by means of some field pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate resistance as to force the enemy to sus- pending efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even then they lost it by inches. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being enveloped by the French cavalry, determined to retire to the centre and left wing. Mackay no sooner per- ceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the moors, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musque- teers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss, and Sir St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now I will drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost; though they found it impossible to improve the advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing, and first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. After a most brilliant action, the army, with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth, perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a body. Mackay had been ordered to take the field with all possible speed; for this purpose, he began to descend Kirkcommod-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarphied could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Roumeyny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and broke down all before him with surprising impetuosity; the centre redoubled their efforts and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughrea; both were pursued by the English cavalry, who, in four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provi- sion, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of carriages, and almost all the arms of their infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great con- fusion; and from their actions in the day before, it became a matter of necessity, in hope of receiving such succours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the censure of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to their government, rather than to totally ruin themselves and their families.

§ XI. Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumna, Bonnachar, and Moorcastle, and a considerable number of the enemy on the Shannon, which were accord- ingly secured. Then Ginkel advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from Lord Dillon and General D'Ussone, who com- manded the garrison. Mackay was despatched upon the east side of the town to open a fort which commanded the approaches to the town; he was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed safe conduct to Limerick. Ginkel directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held field for King James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the French cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Lutrel had been seized by the French general D'Ussone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpeter with the same name to the garrison, to say that it should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty- fifth day of August the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts; Captain Cole, with a squadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and sent two regiments of horse to the post of the town. On the twenty-sixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed; the Irish army lay encompassed on the other side of the river, on the road to Killowen and Loughrea, surrounded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the seige. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about one mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with a horrible panic. Men, women, and children, were seen in the streets carrying on their arms, and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer to the town, and all the pontoons left in place. For this purpose, he began to descend Kirkcommod-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarphied could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Roumeyny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and broke down all before him with surprising impetuosity; the centre redoubled their efforts and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughrea; both were pursued by the English cavalry, who, in four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provi- sion, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of carriages, and almost all the arms of their infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great con- fusion; and from their actions in the day before, it became a matter of necessity, in hope of receiving such succours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the censure of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to their government, rather than to totally ruin themselves and their families.

§ XII. Then the English made a lodgement within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish, seeing themselves surrounded on two sides, and the new government with all the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they
possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties. These were transmitted to their successors; and, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be in the sanctuary, and not having been the declaimers, in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misdemeanors, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the hostilities promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to alloy the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or imprisoned on either side for any trespass, or made countable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles was authorized to keep a sword, a rate of pistols, and a gun for his personal defence. The inhabitants of Limerick, and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprised in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and use all endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify Colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created Lord Lecan by King James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of King James, comprehending even the Haparcies, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the place of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops, disarmed and distinguished with tokens, conveyances, and carriages by land and water; and General Ginkel engaged to provide seventy ships if necessary for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stated, that the expenses incurred in this embarkation, and henceforth, should be paid for on their arrival in France: that hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: that all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honours of war: that the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: that those who should choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the general should appoint: that all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: that the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence.—This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman catholics considered as the great charter of their civil and religious interests. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginkel; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should entranch themselves till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a premature transfer of the garrisons.

§ XIIII. The protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgust at these concessions made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, that they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to King William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honours of war; they were transported after a Turkish reception. The war against the English in foreign countries; an honourable provision was made for the Haparcies, who were professed banditti; the Roman catholic interest in Ireland obtained the most advantageous apologies. Theforfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginkel had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might be quit of convulsions near a whole industrious and industrious affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield: but three regiments, refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitation. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the seventh day of November; King William immediately sent a force to Ireland, in order to be at command; and that the King of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

§ XIV. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, Baron Ginkel returned to England, and was immediately thanked by the House of Commons for his great services, after he had been created Earl of Athlone by his majesty. When the parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the king, in his speech, insisted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army, to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Each House presented an address of congratulation upon his majesty's safe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him, to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war and the new treaty. The king made an address to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence. Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both Houses of parliament, and a petition was entered in the House of Commons, for a strict account of expenses incurred in the reduction of Ireland, and for proper economy in future warlike undertakings.

§ XV. A great number of individuals, who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and resentment, behold the interest of the nation sacrificed to foreign connexions, and the king's favour so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice to his English subjects. They observed that the number of forces he demanded was considerably greater than that of any army which had ever been paid by the public, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger; that, instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burden, though they had the least share of the profit. They even insinuated, that such a standing army was more calculated to make the king absolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the secret friends of the late king did not fail to enforce these insinuations. They removed their objections, however, from the disagreeable part of his character; they dwelt upon his proud reserve, his sullen silence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the Earl of Marlborough, whom he had dismissed from all his employments, and immediately after the treaty of Ryswick, performed in Ireland. The disgrace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the king's undervaluing his services, and partly to the intrigués of his wife, who had gained an
ascendancy over the Princess Anne of Denmark, and is said to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two sisters. The malcontents of the whig faction, enraged at the duchess's decline in power, to which the Jacobites had raised against the government. They scrupled not to say, that the arts of corruption were shamefully practised, to secure a majority in parliament; that the king was as tender of the prerogatives as his Prestees should ever been; and that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, because they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the Earl of Rochester and to the Commons, 'till he was censured in the House of Commons, and the boldest orator that ever filled the speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the House, and knew every individual member so exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the future. Having landed at sea, he had beheld great acrimony, questioned the king's title, censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless, he now became a proselyte, and was brought into the train.

XVI. The Commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds, for the use of the ensuing year; but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was retarded, partly by the ill-humoured petitions voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and resolved to petition his majesty, that, according to the said regulations, the East India company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment, and to report against it, and the company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the House addressed the king to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore, he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise abused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined: but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length one Fuller, a prisoner in the king's bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the House of Commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that Colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction; but no such persons were found. The committee was not satisfied that those persons were an cheat, and false accusers. He was, at the request of the Commons, prosecuted by the attorney general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he accordingly underwent.

XVII. A bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason, having been laid aside by the Lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the House declining all alteration. The design of this bill was to secure the subject from the rigor of the laws which had been exposed in the late reigns: it provided, that the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the panel, ten days before his trial: and, that the prisoner should be examined upon oath as well as the witnesses of the crown. The Lords in their own behalf, added a clause, enacting, that upon the trial of any peer or peeress, for treason or misprision of treason, all the peers and peers of the realm would have a right of vote in the question, and should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: that this notice should be given twenty days before the trial: and, that every peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The Commons rejected this amendment: and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animosity, the bill was dropped: for the Commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expense of purchasing a new privilege to the Lords; and without advantage the Peers would not contribute to their relief.

XVIII. The next object that engrossed the attention of the lower House, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russell, who commanded it, having sailed in quest of the enemy; but as the French king had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and force of metal, he ordered the fleet to retire. This officer acted with such vivacity, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Russell, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless, he cruised all summer, either in the channel or in sounds; the latter in particular, secured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having secured the channel, and sailed along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms and gales that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being bad, he was necessarily more particular in his conduct; the Coronation, a second-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ham-head: the Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks and perished; two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage: but the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the Commons subjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prosecution out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the House took into consideration some letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these were said to have been written by King James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an inscription in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England: Legge, Lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned as among the agents and abettors in the design, warrants were immediately issued against them; Crew absconded, but Lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preston was examined; his impudence, his attempt to outwit, the whole House, and his attempt to dupe his own countrymen, were not explain, and pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate, from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies for the ensuing year being established, and several acts passed relating to dis-
mestic regulations, the king, on the twenty-fourth day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the time of his necessity, and pointing out the importance of their intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two Houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of May, and proclamation was made.

§ XIX. The king had suffered so much in his reputation by his compliance to the presbyterians of Scotland, and was so displeased with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religious fanatics, that he thought proper to admit some persons to present him to the administration. Johnston, who had been sent envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, was recalled, and with the Master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland; Melville, who had declined in his importance, was made lord pror-geal of that kingdom; Tweedale was constituted lord chancellor; Crawford retained the office of president of the council; and Lothian was appointed high commissioner to the general assembly. The parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be assembled with safety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church-government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, served only to inflame the incipient disputes of the two sects. The episcopal party triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn: the presbyterians were incensed to see their friends disgraced, and their enemies distinguished by the king; and they insisted on the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their side: they became more than ever surer, surly, and implacable; they refused to concur with the prelats, or abate in the least circumstance of discipline, and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having pronounced their declaration, and decreed that their measure, as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who, in their turn, began to lose all respect for his person and government.

§ XX. As the highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the Earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them, made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refer the matter to the king, and received from him the sanction of his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation, was Macdonald of Glencoo, whose opposition rose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money which he employed to distribute. The highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King and tenant had by proclamation resolved this measure, as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who, in their turn, began to lose all respect for his person and government.

Hill, governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for the assistance of his friend. The weather was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place. He addressed himself to Sir John Campbell, sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort-Williams, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned back, and the followers of Macdonald of Glencoo, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

§ XXI. Breadalbane had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country; nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not affection, for he was no tender of the happiness of unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the Master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, and in the month of February, Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from Major Dunscaochie, marched into the valley of Glencoo, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretense of affording the inhabitants of the valley the means of an indemnity.

For William, the king, had died, and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the days together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; neither he nor the Earl of Breadalbane hazarded to wait for the further time and means with which the prince had intended to work his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation, was Macdonald of Glencoo, whose opposition rose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money which he employed to distribute. The highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King and tenant had by proclamation resolved this measure, as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who, in their turn, began to lose all respect for his person and government.

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a subordinate officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprised in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to improve the divine design; and thus all the males under seventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes, so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having passed the mountains, cut into the valley, and burnt all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered. He afterwards set up a fortified shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of King William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite householders, and making them view those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A deliberate and protracted system of specious exaginations, and the Jacobites did not fail to expiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outrageous cry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an inquiry to be set on foot, and directed

Ralph, Voltaire. missed the Master of Stair from his employment of secretary; he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amiss a heap of other papers, full out knowing the purport of it; but as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel reparation, the imputation stuck fast to his character, and the highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

A. D. 1690. 

§ XXII. A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavored to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and provided for the necessary supplications of a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the States-general with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was here employed in promy was in mention of their influence in the society, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released, and the papists of Lancashire despatched him to the court of St. Germain's, with an assurance that he would be in condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that King James would certainly land in the spring; and that Colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions to receive the king, and be ready to assist his arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late king. He assured them that their lawful sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron of ships of war, under the direction of the admiral, exerted them to be speedy and secret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms, and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of the king of France, in the expectation of delivering the country, and establishing the legality of the king, and his majesty set sail for Holland.

§ XXIII. Meanwhile, James addressed a letter to several lords who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to other friends, informing them of his intentions, and desiring the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had sustained, from the cruel aspersions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son, and as Providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of rectifying the calumny of those who affirmed that the queen was incapable of child-bearing, he assured them, in the name of his brother, the French king, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his court, and return after the labour. This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, that he had ordered the Lord Protector to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to unite the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to disturb the peace of the nation by means of restoring their lawful king and their ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He assured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave with the most regular discipline, and be not back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, that when such a number of his subjects were so inattentive as to concur with the unnatural design of the Prince of Orange, he had chosen to rest upon the fidelity of his English subjects, and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his most christian majesty; that when he was ready to oppose force with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his subjects who had been misled, and endeavored to open their eyes, with respect to the vain pretences of his adversary, whose arm was not the reformation but the subversion of the government: that when he saw himself deserted by his army, betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at last driven from his own palace by a guard of insolent foreigners, he had, for his personal safety, taken refuge in France: that his retreat from the mainland was attended with such instances of submission to the power and authority of his adversaries, that the French king was induced to make the most formidable effort to invade his country, and was received by the States-general with expressions of the most cordial respect. While he was there employed in promy was in mention of their influence in the society, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released, and the papists of Lancashire despatched him to the court of St. Germain's, with an assurance that he would be in condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that King James would certainly land in the spring; and that Colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions to receive the king, and be ready to assist his arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late king. He assured them that their lawful sovereign...
now enumerated. He declared that all soldiers who should quitt the service of the usurper, and enlist under his highness, should be sums for the use of the public; and, if their arms; and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, should be paid and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would prosecute the cause with all his might, as by the laws established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions: he signified his resolution to use influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the Christian religion, and to his intention to diffuse and promote that liberty. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately so much violated in favour of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition: and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of resignation to the divine will, declaring that all who should reject his orders of mercy and appear in arms against him, would be as answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved by their desperate and unreasonable course.

§ XXIV. While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, Colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted two privately for the service of James in the Isle of Man, at the instance of the bishop of Durham: at the same time, Fountaine and Holman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partisans sent Captain Lloyd with an express to Lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over Rear-Admiral Carter to the interest of his majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhibited James to his influence with the French king, that the Count de Toulouse might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Louis commanded Toulouse to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the Marquis D'Etres. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by Virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

§ XXV. The ministry of England was informed of all these proceedings, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by Admiral Carter, who gave the queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was instructed to use the Jacobites with a negociating spirit. The French, having pursued the English, hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than was expected: and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached General Polievre with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation, commanding all papists to depart from London and Westminster: the members of both Houses of parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The Earls of Scarsdale, Litchfield, and Northington; the Lords Gifford, Forster, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others; found means to elude the search. The Earls of Huntington and Marlborough were sent to the Tower; Edward Dudley, Kewen, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson, were imprisoned in the Tower, with their domestics.

Sir Andrew Forrester, discovered in a quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The trammels of London and Westminster were armed, and all the gates were posted with pardoners of arms; and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, should be paid and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would prosecute the cause with all his might, as by the laws established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions: he signified his resolution to use influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the Christian religion, and to his intention to diffuse and promote that liberty. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately so much violated in favour of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition: and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of resignation to the divine will, declaring that all who should reject his orders of mercy and appear in arms against him, would be as answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved by their desperate and unreasonable course.

§ XXVI. On the eleventh day of May, Russell sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, intimating that a report had arrived from the French coast, concerning the fidelity of the sea officers, her majesty had ordered him to declare in her name, that she repose the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russell, being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Alle- moode, Callenbergh, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered a French squadron, under the flag of Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet consisted of two squadrons, one under the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was apprised of their junction before they were desired by his admiral, to whom he despatched a countermarching order by two several vessels: but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

§ XXVII. Toulouse, therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along side of Russell's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the Rising Sun, which carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were desirous of flying to the northward; and Russell made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, in which the Dutch were driven to the eastward, and wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length the French bore away for the westward, the rising time, to avoid the other day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russell's fore-topmast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Aldeveny, some at anchor, and some driven to the eastward with the tide of flood. Russell, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The Rising Sun, having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cher- bourg, where she was burnt by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admiral, another first-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of trans- ports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Sound of Tofvoll, and, as he has before observed, as the English could not attempt, without exposing them: ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so
long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondency, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some days after, the fleet carried this victory with all the advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered of their consternation. They say his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the deficiency of his pay and provisioning at Harwich: that he hated the Earl of Nottingham, by whose channel he received his orders; and, that he adhered to the latter rather than to the spirit of his instructions. But the purest success could never be a sufficient return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He fled from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind, through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked angrily, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships; in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English. Notwithstanding this, his pay and ammenities were so small, his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors. She caused medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the pay and pensions of all the seamen, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Brest, or Rochefort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously advised the campaign to be terminated, and to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their passage from St. Malo to Rochefort; and in the meantime, the fleet and transports: but a few days the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

§ XXIX. The queen immediately dispatched the Marquis of Caermershan, the Earl of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was therefore laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was raised against the ministry in the country at this miscarriage. The people complained that they were plundered and abused; that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions: that, by the infamous expedi- ment of borrowing upon established funds, their taxes were perpetuated; that their burdens would daily increase; that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connexions, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more affected with this miscarriage, as the trade had suffered grievously by the French privateers, which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the admiralty, which could not spare port- money for their exactions. They were obliged to require the defence of the nation. The French king was clothing further to apprehend from the English armament, with whom he drew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in the presence of the Archbishop of Paris, the keeper of the seals, and other members of the administration.

§ XXX. Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatic emperor, accompanied by his women and parasites, his land of music, his dancers, his opera, and in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to about one hundred and thirty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Scheld, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the confines of the Meuse and the Scheld. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The Prince de Harsason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the governor knew that King William would make strong efforts for its relief; so that the besiegers were animated with many concurring considerations. By this time also, the French were resolved to attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban their engineer, renewed their efforts with vigour, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault: on the twentieth of May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who saw himself obliged to retreat at the head of a powerful army, and he an eye-witness of the surrender of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Louis having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of seduction; while the nation reflected on his advantage, from his miscarriage, and the Prince of Barbersac inured the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

§ XXXI. Luxembourg having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Bassoure; and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The King of England sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honour by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkirk and Enghien, he passed the river Sene, in order to anticipate his purpose, but the approach of the enemy. Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lembek, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and every dispositions was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the river Sene; and one Millevaux, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing that he need not be alarmed at the moatsof the allies, who intended the next day to make the field forage. On the twenty-fourth day of July the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The Prince of Orange formed the head of the allies, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry: he was supported by a considerable
body of British horse and foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Mackay. Though the ground was intersected by hedgerows and marshes, but despite this prone marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp became the scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg, trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be surprised; and it required the full exertions of his superior talents, to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith gave a signal indisposition under which he left his lines unprovided; he rallied his broken battalions: he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The Duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the Prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household troops, and fell with great fury upon the English, who were very ill supported by Count Solmes, the officer who commanded the centre of the allies. The Prince of Wirttemberg had taken one of the enemy's batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he sent a aide-de-camp with a note to Charles, written on the back of a letter for the receipt of which he learned, saying, "Let us see what sort these English bull-dogs will make." At length when the king sent an express order, commanding him to sustain the left wing, he made a change of front, which could not be met by the enemy's fantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers joined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not sustain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order, and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates lost the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Finister, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, the same number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

§ XXXII. The French, however, reaped no solid advantage from this victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the Prince of Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefonde, Tallatde, and Feresacon, with many officers of distinction: as for Mlleveaux the spy, he was hanged; and on the right wing, King William retired un molested to his own camp; and notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in subterfuges. He was formed at the French notion: even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the fashion peculiar to both sexes adopted the name of Steenkerke: every individual who had been personally engaged in the action was revered as a being of a superior species; and the transports of the women rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

§ XXXIII. The French ministry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against King William. They likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his son, the Marquis de Bellefonde, succeeded him. The minister had been seen in the court, among his papers, the draft of a scheme for this purpose, and immediately revived the design, by means of the Chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the service of the Prince de Condé, to murder him. This project was undertook by none other than Madame de Maistelon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, who undertook to assassinate King William. Madame de Maistelon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged: the conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of King James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his assistance; but this unfruitful research was not unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murder, as they communicated nothimg to him but an attempt to seize the person of the Prince of Orange.

Dumout actually exerted himself with a view at the moment that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the King of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders from Luxembourg to furnish them with a party of horse for use against Dumout for his treachery, but they disguised their purpose. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he desired, after having resided some weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with Grandval and Berkenexx. This last admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the secret, and likewise imparted it to Monsieur Chanas, quarter-master-general of the French army, who nominated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward, and promised to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumout, for this assassin still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been sent from Holland, on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, to con secure the Council of War, which was given by the King of England, where Dumout had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, but likewise reported their movements to Dumout, who immediately ordered them arrested. Understanding that Dumout had already discovered the design to the Duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars without enduring the torture; and, being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

§ XXXIV. About this period the Duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend, with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon sent down to the enemy from Maastricht, and reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Pinelomache. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and M. d'Auverguens, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprise was thought too dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and D Dixmuyde, lately captured by Bridgadier Ramsay, were strengthened with new works, and secured by strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops returned to Ostend, re-embarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill-humour of the British nation. They taxed the minister, with his Philip-William alliance, with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtwar with half that number. They said, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have joined with the Spaniards who had laid the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the sums expended in maintaining their garrisons. On the twenty-sixth day of September, King William left the armists under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his house at Lou: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Mar-enrave, and the horse to Caestre. On the sixteenth day of October, the king receiving intelligence that Boufflers had invested Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be instantly re-assembled between the village of Iselt and Hallé, with design to raise the siege, and repaired to Brussels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. He then returned to Holland, leaving the command with the Elector of Bavaria, who forthwith repaired to Brussels. Notwithstanding this, Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipsville. The elector having reinforced the place and thrown up new forts, and distributed his forces into winter-quarters, had a general council at Condé, and sent one Dumont, who undertook the siege of Condé, Leuze, and Tourmai, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence.

§ XXXV. The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders,
and they were not fortunate in Germany. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel undertook the siege of Ebersberg, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The Duke de Longres, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, died of sickness, on the 20th of September, the 2nd of Württemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Emden, to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard having invested Blenheim, the landgrave made a sort of truce, and the French, who were obliged to desist, and retreat with considerable damage. The Elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field; but he complained that the emperor left the burden of the war with France upon the prince, and that he had no authority to raise the force of the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy and misunderstanding ensued: Schoening, the Saxon general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz in Bohemia, was seized by the emperor's order on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy, and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the courts of Vienna and Dresden. Schoening was detained two years in custody; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Pore was distracted by factions, and the seraglio threatened with tumults. The people were turned to desertions; and the empire was left almost desolate; and in the midst of this confusion, the garrison of Great Waradin, which had been blockaded by the imperialists during the whole winter, surrendered on condition that the province of the country should be returned to the empire. Vienna, was sent to Constantinople, with powers to mediate a peace: but the terms offered by the emperor were rejected at the Porte: the Turkish army lay upon the defensive, and the season was spent in a fruitless negotiation.

§ XXXVI. The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the Pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the Duke of Savoy. M. Chanlais was sent to Turin; and theama of conquests, which, however, the duke would not accept, because he thought himself entitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortress of Guillestre; then passing the river Rhone, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of ninety days, surrendered, on capitulation; he afterwards took all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here Duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of King William II, of Orange, inviting the rebellious to join him in his designs; and he promised them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesea to their ancient splendour, their parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the clergy, and promised to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the King of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontier of Provence, and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almost quite defenceless; but this was falsely negated, either from the spirit of dissension which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the Duke of Savoy, who was sised with the small-pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, from his want of sincerity, which was not expected on the part of a prince, who from the beginning of September the shock of an earthquake was felt in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

§ XXVII. The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connections with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the allies, to contribute the forces of his province to the enemies of religion. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Viennas, that the emperor agreed to the proposal in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the King of England, whom he durst not disoblige. Leopold was blindly beguiled to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to any new creation that would weaken the catholic interest in the electoral college. He, therefore, employed his emissaries to thwart the duke's measures. Some protestant princes opposed him from motives of jealousy, and promised the French king all his allies and influence, to prevent the elevation of the House of Hanover in this manner. The duke had surrounded all this opposition, so far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were started. The emperor suggested that another papish electorate should be created to balance the Lutheran power. He therefore supported the application from that of Hanover; and he proposed that Austra should be raised to the same dignity: but violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the emperor with a double vote in the imperial council. At length, after a tedious negotiation, the Duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the investiture, as Elector of Brunswick; created Great Marshal of the empire, and duke homage to the emperor; and, notwithstanding all the objections, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous consent of all the electors.  

CHAP. IV.

I. False information against the Earl of Marlborough, the Elder of Rochester, and others. [III. Discussion between the empress and the Emperor of Germany. The House of Lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imperial masters. [IV. The Commonwealth and queen. [V. They acquit Admiral Russell, and resolve in advising [VI. In the council of State. [VIII. The Lords present an address of advice to the king. [IX. Diplomacy between the king of Great Britain and the Commonwealth.] [X. The Commons address the king. They establish the land-tax and other impositions. [XI. The Duke of Newcastle relieved from his place. [XII. Proceedings of the House by the practice of baysing men for the service.] [XIII. The House address the king on the grievances of Ireland. [XIV. An account of the peace, and treaty of Paris.] [XV. The Duke of Marlborough, the leader of the English forces, is celebrated.] [XVI. The English view the war as a holy war. [XVII. The French reduce Alsace.] [XVIII. La Tourne- cour resolves to attack the alloys. [XIX. They are defeated at Landau.] [XX. The House of Commons order a new expedition.] [XXI. Complaint on the house. The Duke of Savoy is defeated by Catinat in the plains of Marigny,] [XXII. The French occupy both banks of the Rhine.] [XXIII. A few of merchant ships, under convoy of Sir George Pownall, are intercepted by the French frigates. [XXIV. The Swedish expedition to the Baltic scattered.] [XXV. The King's sick-ness.] [XXVI. Rendered free from France.] [XXVII. The French king must retire to the mediation of Denmark.] [XXVIII. Security of the government against the Jacobins.] [XXIX. Commonwealth of the Scotch Parliament.] [XXX. The king returns to Valenciennes, makes some changes in the ministry, and opens the session of parliament.] [XXXI. The House of Commons return to the business in hand.] [XXXII. The Commons pass a levy for the service of the ensuing year.] [XXXIII. The king receives the bill for the levee and import duties no parliament; and the lower House remonstrates on this subject.] [XXXIV. Establishment of the Bank of England.] [XXXV. The King of India company obtaining new charter.] [XXXVI. Bill for a general insur- eance.] [XXXVII. Bill for a general insurance.] [XXXVIII. Bill for a general insur- eance.] [XXXIX. The English attempt to make a descent in Carmagny bay, but are repulsed with loss.] [XL. The House of Commons censure the Duke of Marlborough, and call for settlement.] [XLII. Admiral Vernon sailed for the Mediterranean, which he never arrived at.] [XLIII. Lord Londonderry continues at the head of the army in London, and many other parts of England, as well as France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had been produced in the two months before.] [XLIV. Improvements of the new coinage.] [XLV. The House of Commons return to the business in hand.]
Public virtue was the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overspread with immorality and corruption; towards the increase of which, many concerning circumstances were contributed. The court was divided into three parties, namely, the Whigs, the Jacobites, and the discontented revolutionists; these factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures and principles of each other: so that patronage was exchanged for ridicule, and public character for personal pretexts. This contention established a belief that every man consulted his own private interest at the expense of the public; a belief that soon grew into a maxim almost universal. The conduct of the king, the haughty and insolent speeches which he made in parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the lowest borough-elector. The expedient of establishing funds for raising supplies to defray the expenses of government threw large premiums and sums of money into the hands of low, sordid usurers, brokers, and jobbers, who distinguished themselves by the name of the Monied-Interest. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors; but being destitute of sentiment and taste, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagances. They laid aside all decorum; became conceited of their capital; and the nothing example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency, was gradually banished; talent lay uncultivated, and the state was deluged with a tide of ignorance and debauchery.

§ 11. So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign, upon the slightest suspicion of disloyalty, that every nation had some reason to insinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the habeas-corpus act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully misused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the consumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies, as well as invaded by her enemies. They complained of the kingdom's treasure, exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the slaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, who had been levied with levities upon peacemaking with which they ought to have had no concern. They demonstrated the mischief that necessarily arose from the unsettled state of the nation. They observed that the government could not be duly established, until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their majesties possessed the throne; that the structure of parliament was deficient in point of solidity, as they existed entirely at the pleasure of the crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering soldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the prevailing and spreading ignorance, and neglect of public education, and lastly, asked what was the authority of the senate of the nobility, and to whose titles and privileges the nation was accustomed, and how the public had lost by it?

As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their assistance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embarrass the administration.

§ IV. The king, in his speech to parliament, thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea,condoned them upon the bad success of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, represented the necessity of sending a force to oppose it, and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with
additional burdens, which, he said, could not be avoided, without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He desired their advice towards lessening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France; declared he had heard that it was expected by the people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The Lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to assure the king that he had never been heard to speak so much about the alteration of the Constitution in the cases of the Earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of quarter sessions. The king, observing that during a violent debate, the House ordered Lord Lucas, constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the king’s bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court solicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time the whole affair was referred to a committee, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records. The judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined, and desired to advise his majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, and against the practice by which the government had been conducted. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vicious principles of the ministry; they observed that he who opposed the establishment could not be expected to support it with zeal. The Earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name, and the House resolved that his majesty should be advised to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late king, and all other pretendors. Marlborough’s interest still predominated in the Commons. His friend Russell acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the House, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty years before he had been asked by the House, and by his majesty’s advice.

The Commons having voted an address of thanks, and another praying that his majesty’s foreign alliances should be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. They passed a vote of thanks to Admiral Russell, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained, and then proceeded to an inquiry, why that victory had not been pursued; why the descent had not been made; and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy’s cruisers. The admirals having justified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admirals; they ordered Russell to lay before them his answers, and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Then they presented addresses to the king and queen, acknowledging the favor of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snare of his open and secret enemies; and assuring him they would, according to his majesty’s desire in his most gracious speech, he always ready to advise and assist his people in the support of his government. The queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his majesty’s absence; they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they assured her that the grateful sense they had of their happiness under her government, should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience.

The Commons no longer insisted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centred in the article of assistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three-and-thirty thousand seamen, the building of some additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth dock, and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates, and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be sent at once to defend the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others agreed that the allies should be mustered on the continent with a proportion of
British forces; but that the nation should act as an auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would cheerfully contribute to the general expense. They also declared, that by running the expense of that of prolonging the debate, Ministerial influence had surmounted all opposition. The House voted the number of men demanded. Such was their servile compliance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted, the German princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, they bore twothirds of the expense, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the king to say, Nay, their maxims were so much altered, that instead of prosecuting their resentment against foreign encroachments, they assented to a motion that the Prince of Wirttemberg, the Major-Generals Tettau and Laforest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the States-general, should be indulged with such an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland.

Finally, they voted above two millions for the subsistence of the land forces, and for defraying extraordinary expenses attending the war upon the continent, including subsidies to the Electors of Saxony and Hanover.

§ VIII. The House of Lords meanwhile was not free from numerous concerns. The thorough fiction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed, it was the province of their House to advise the sovereign; like the Commons they insisted upon the king's having a voice in the war, because he had declared that words in his speech, though he never dreamed that they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved that the task of digesting the articles of advice should be undertaken by a joint committee of both Houses; but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the other House, to which the king's consent was required, they proceeded with their scheme of giving advice; and after much wrangling and declamation, the House agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his majesty that the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman; that English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads: that the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom should be all English, and commanded by an English general; that the practices of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied; that such officers as were guilty of this practice should be cashiered and punished; and, lastly, that no foreigners should sit at the council board.

This motion the king, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

§ IX. Then the Lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government as to screen Nottingham, and censure Russell. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The House directed him having discharged his duty, that these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the Commons, at a conference by the lord-president, and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the Commons, as they concurred some members of that House, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the Commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the House, that they had heard nothing, and considered the papers their committee had sent them, and which they now returned: that, finding Mr. Russell, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, that Admiral Russell, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The lords, iritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russell, desired a copy of the said papers from the House. The Earl of Rochester told the Commons, he was commanded by the House of Lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the lower House, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unpatriotic, as they did not communicate to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to Colonel Granville, to whom, who put it into the form of a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

§ X. The lower House seemed to be as much exasperated against the Earl of Nottingham as the Lords were incensed at Russell. A motion was made that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of admiralty, as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was overruled, they voted an address to the king, praying, that for the future, all orders for the management of the fleet might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of the national debt was not neglected; the House complained of the state of the national debt, and expressed their anxiety to it. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value: this rate was exceeded by the income and expenses and employments of profit, other than military officers in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer for the purchase of the national annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it should not produce three hundred thousand pounds, they might add to it, by reducing the rate of duties; and rates of duties, and taxes upon the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East India goods for four years. They had a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East India company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's Bay company; and they empowered the major to borrow one million five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour.

§ XI. The money bills were retarded in the upper House, because they were against the usual presents that were demanded. They grafter a clause on the land-tax bill, importing, that the Lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the Commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the right the Commons possessed, of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by parliament. When this report was debated in the House of Lords, the Earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the House, that by yielding to this claim of the Commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the Lords relinquished their clause, declaring, at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without the clause, "in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the House of Commons, which their lordships disregarded, the Commons, "concerning accessory of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licensor and printer were taken into custody. The book fixed in the saddle—but, no matter, the last Lords of or mayarchy it."
being examined, they resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the king should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The same sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of Bishop Burnet, in which this notion of civil and spiritual proceedings in the church was openly manifest their sentiments on the same subject, resolved, That such an assertion was highly injurious to their majesties, inconsistent with the principles on which the government was established, and unwarrantable; and that it was a violation of the rights of the people. Bohun, the licenser, was brought to the bar of the House, and discharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the speaker.

§ XII. Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the abuses committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the king, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the House that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the committee had been principally prevented this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their inquiry and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed were discharged by order of the House: and Captain Stone, Sir Francis Browster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, Lieutenant's lord, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the House, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both Houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the king. The Lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: that protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; so that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them; that the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provision made by parliament; that a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary to the ancient privileges of the town; that a number of murkels had been executed without proof: and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The Commons spoke more freely in their address: they inveighed against the many defects and corruptions of the government, by exposing the protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a heinous army: by recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in open rebellion against his majesty; by granting protections to Irish Roman Catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped: by reversing outlawries for high treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited estates at under value, to the prejudice of his majesty's revenue; by embroiling the streets; and the towns and garrisons by the late King James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited estate, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was signed, and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the papists, and weakened the protestant interest in Ireland. The king graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either House of parliament; but no maternal step was taken against the Lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby. By grants from the crown; and even Commissioner Colliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

§ XIV. The old whig principle was not yet wholly expelled from the lower House. The undue influence of the court was exerted in such an open, scandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the Commons. In the midst of all their condensations, Sir Edward Hussey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and independent parliament. A motion was made to disable all members of parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelling against the officers of the army and navy, who had insuaded themselves into the House in such confusion of the minutes of the meeting, that they were commonly called the Officers' Parliament. The bill proved the business of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, by whom it was read a second time, and committed: but the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report it was thrown out by a majority of two votes. Sir Mulgrave again distinguished himself by his eloquence, in a speech that was held in great veneration by the people; and among those who entered a protest in the journals of the House, when the majority rejected the bill, was Prince George of Denmark, Duke of Cumberland. The court had not recollected themselves from the consternation produced by such a vigorous opposition, when the Earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial parliaments, providing that there should be an annual deliberation. At the expiration of three years, the crown should not order the writs to be issued, the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, should issue them ex officio, and by authority of the crown, under which authority recruiting the army, was carried by the serjeant before the lord chief justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law.

§ XIII. Before the heats occasioned by this unpopularity expedited were allay, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where Lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Browster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, Lieutenant's lord, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the House, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both Houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the king. The Lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: that protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; so that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them: that the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provision made by parliament: that a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary to the ancient privileges of the town; that a number of murkels had been executed without proof: and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The Commons spoke more freely in their address: they inveighed against the many defects and corruptions of the government, by exposing the protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a heinous army: by recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in open rebellion against his majesty: by granting protections to Irish Roman Catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped: by reversing outlawries for high treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick: by letting the forfeited estates at under value, to the prejudice of his majesty's revenue: by embroiling the streets: and the towns and garrisons by the late King James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited estate, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom: and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was signed, and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the papists, and weakened the protestant interest in Ireland. The king graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either House of parliament; but no maternal step was taken against the Lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby. They were carefully examined in the House: the several feitures by grants from the crown; and even Commissioner Colliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

§ XV. It was at the instigation of the ministry, that the Commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring or expired. Among these was an act for restraining the pretended government, which owed its original to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the first year of the succeeding reign. The bill passed the House without difficulty, but met with warm opposition in the House of Lords; a good number of whom protested against it, as a law that subjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and, perhaps, ignorant licensor, destroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the preservation of their majesties' sacred persons and government: but this bill too was rejected by the majority, in consequence of the ministry's secret management. The East India company narrowly escaped dissolution. Petitions and counter-petitions were delivered into the House of Commons: the pretensions on both sides were carefully examined: a bill to the extent of one hundred thousand pounds, to continue for one-and-twenty years. The report was made and received, and the public expected to see the affair brought to a satisfactory issue. The Commons had recourse to the same expedients which had lately proved so successful in the hands of the ministry. Those who had been the most war in detecting their abuses suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began.
to languish. But not that the House presented an address to his majesty, praying that he would dissolve the company upon three years' warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would consider their address, but did not further their requests in their present shape.

The bill for ascertaining the commissions and salaries of the judges, to which the king had refused the royal assent in the last session, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, passed on the twelfth day of March. The king put an end to the session, after having thanked the parliament for so great testimonies of their affection, and promised the supplies shall be given in time of need. He declared, that the proposed measures called him abroad; but that he would leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the kingdom: he assured them he would expose his person upon all occasions for the advantage of these kingdoms; and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation.

§ XVI. During the course of this session, Lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers in Westminster hall, as an accomplice in the murder of one Montiford, a celebrated comedian, the Marquis of Caermarthen acting as lord-steward upon this occasion. The judges having been consulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgments several. The bill was acquiesced in a great majority.

The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the whigs and Tories, by mingling them together in his ministry, made something of the same kind: he fixed, that the principal of affairs called him abroad; but that he would leave a sufficient number of troops to the security of the kingdom: he assured them he would expose his person upon all occasions for the advantage of these kingdoms, and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation.

Rooke was declared vice-admiral of the red, and Lord John Berkeley of the blue division; their rear-admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchell.

§ XVII. This king having visited the fleet and fortification at Plymouth, on the twentieth day of April, the enemy by sea, and left the administration in the hands of the queen, embarked on the last day of March, near Gravesend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the confederates were forthwith ordered to assemble; and on the twenty-first day of March, the king's troops were in the French ships, and the French ships in the English; and the French army was encouraged to the field, attended by Madame de Maintenon, and all the court ladies. His design was supposed to be upon some attacks in the English; he had sent two thousand men, completely armed, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries for every sort of military operation.

King William immediately took possession of the strong camp at Parke near Louvain, a situation which enabled him to cover the places that were most exposed.

Understanding that the French emissaries had sworn the seeds of disunion between the bishop and Chapter of Liege, he sent the Duke of Wurttemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and to concert measures for the further security of the place. He reinforced the garrison with nine battalions; and the elector palatine lay with his troops in readiness to march to its relief. William likewise threw reinforcements to those of the confederates; and he himself resolved to remain on the offensive, at the head of sixty thousand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

§ XVIII. Louis having reviewed his army at Cambrai, and entered into camp; his design was to conciliate the diligence of his antagonist, detached Boufflers with twenty thousand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the dauphin, who commanded in that quarter: then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands to the Duke of Luxem- bourgh, he returned with his court to Versailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his head-quarters at Mildert; and King William strengthened his camp on that side with ten battalions, and eight-and-twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently surprised by detachments from the garrison of Charleroy; and a large body of horse, foot, and dragoons, being drafted out of Liege and Münstrech, took post at Huy, under the command of the Count de Tilly, so as to straiten the French in their quarters.

These, however, were dislodged by Luxembourg in person, who obliged the count to pass the Jaar with precipitation, leaving behind three squadrons in the town; where all the effects of the enemies were kept.

This check, however, was balanced by the success of the Duke of Wurttemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty squadrons of horse, forced the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys; and obliged the enemy to retire to the lines of the Nuisy.

On that very day, which was the eighteenth of July, Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning invested by M. de Villeroi. The other covered the siege, and secured himself from the allies by lines of contravala-

tion. Before the batteries began to play the town capitulated. On the twenty-third day of the month, the garrison mutinied; the castles were surrendered; the governor re-

moved a prisoner; and his men were conducted to Liege.

The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town: but the king being apprized of its fate, detached ten battalions to reinforce the garrison of Liege, and next day returned to Neer-Hespen.

§ XIX. Luxembourg made a motion towards Liege, as if he had intended to besiege the place; and encamped at Hellecoet, about seven leagues from the confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the different detachments which had been made to their army, he resolved to attack them in their camp, or at least fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eighth day of July he began his march in four columns of cavalry and infantry. De Horst, De Marke, De Eerendal, and De Velde, had joined him.
superior to the allies by five-and-thirty thousand men. The King of England, at first, looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the design upon Liége; but receiving intelligence that the whole army was in full march to attack him, he immediately brought off the operation; and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general officers advised him to repass the Geete: but he chose to risk a battle, rather than expose the rear of his army to that river. He was enabled to push it as far as Neer-Winden, along the Geete, covered with hedges, hollow ways, and a small rivulet; the left reached to Neer-Landen; and these two villages were joined by a slight entrenchment, which the English lost upon the evening. Brigadier Ramsey, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monroe, were ordered to the right of the whole army, to line some badges and hollow ways on the further side of the village of Laee. Six battalions of Brandenburg were posted to the left of this village; and General Dumont, with the Hanoverian infantry, possessed the village of Neer-Winden, which covered part of the camp, between the main body and the right wing of the cavalry. Neer-Landen on the left, was secured by six battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the entrenchment. The dragoons upon the left guarded the King of Beck; and from thence the left wing of horse extended to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this rivulet. § XX. The king having visited all the posts on horseback, and given the necessary orders, reposed himself about two hours in a small tent near the chapel, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At sun-rising the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the allies began to play their cannon with good success. About eight in the morning they attempted the villages of Laee and Neer-Winden with great fury; and twice made themselves masters of these posts, from whence they were as often repulsed. The allies still kept these posts every day, and were often beaten by uncj Brigadier Churchill. Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the confederates at Neer-Landen; and after a very obstinate dispute were obliged to give way, though they still kept possession of the avenues. The Prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the confederates being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part exposed. Villeroi marching this way with every thing of consequence encountered, and particularly the Count D'Arco, general of the Bavarian cuirassiers; and the Duke de Chartres narrowly escaped being taken. Meanwhile, Luxembourg, the Prince of Conti, the Count of Marne, and the Marquis de Jones, charged on the right wing of the confederates, and were by the nature of his situation immediately before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now, I believe, Wall-deck is really dead!" alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. That as it will, he paid dear for his victory. His loss in officers and men exceeds that of the allies; and he reaped go solid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while King William, recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and sending troops from Lieser and other garrisons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement. § XXI. Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, except it was re-joined by Bouflers with a strong reinforcement for the Rhine, invested Charleroi. He had taken his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the allies could not frustrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great disadvantage. The king detached the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons, to make a diversion in Flanders; but they returned in a few days, without having attempted anything of consequence. The garrison of Charleroi was invested by the forces of the allies, and with great difficulty broke the siege. Their success was so surprising that the army of the allies was now greatly increased, and the Redoubt was placed with surprising valour, from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October, during which period they had repulsed the assailants in several attacks; but, in length, despairing of relief, the government of the most honourable city of Charleroi, the reduction of the place was celebrated with a Te Deum, and other rejoicings, at Paris. Louis, however, in the midst of all this glory, was extremely mortified when he reflected upon the little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The army of the allies had been defeated successively at Fleurus, Stenkerke, and Laaen; yet in a fortnight after each of those battles, William was always in a condition to risk another engagement. Formerly, Louis had cooped half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-Comté, without a battle; whereas, now he could not with his utmost efforts, and after the most signal victories, pass the borders of the United Provinces. The conquest of Charleroi concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter quarters.

§ XXII. The French army on the Rhine, under De Loges, passed that river in the month of May at Philip- shurgh, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This general committed numberless barbarities in the palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French army, under the command of General de Guise, was occasioned by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, and murdered the priests at the altar. They broke open the electoral vault, and scattered the ashes

* The Duke of Luxembourg sent with a number of standards and ensigns to Paris, during the course of the war, that the Prince of Conti called himself the Prince of Notre Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed.
of that illustrious family about the streets. They set fire to different quarters of the city; they stripped about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were about to die, in consequence of the not being supplied, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish, and despair. These enormous cruelties, which would have disgraced a nation famous for humanity, were committed by the express command of Louis XIV. of France, who had been celebrated by so many versals, not only as the greatest monarch, but also as the most polished prince of Chris-
tendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar against the Prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other side of the river; but in attempting to pass, he was twice repulsed with considerable damage. The dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to seventy thousand men, crossed without opposition; but found the Germans advantageously posted, that he would not hazard an attack: having, therefore, repassed the river, he secured Stuttgart with a garrison, sent detachments into Flanders and Pied-
mont, and turned in August to Verona. In Piedmont, the allies were still more unfortunate. The Duke of Savoy and his confederates seemed bent upon driving the French from Casal and Pignerol. The first of these places was blocked by the allies and without assault. The fort of St. Bridget, that covered the place, was taken, and the town bombarded. Meanwhile Catani being reinforced, descended into the plains. The duke was so apprehensive of Turin, that he abandoned the siege of Pinerolo, and hastened to join his force, and marched in quest of the enemy to the plain of Marsaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Obisans and Frejus, and turned their heads to the rear. The enemy charged the left wing of the confederates sword in hand with incredible fury: though they were once repulsed, they renewed the attack with such impetuosity, that the Neapolitan and MIlanese horse were obliged to give way, and disordered the German cavalry. These falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confusion. Mean-
whil, the main body and the other wing sustained the charge without flinching, until they were exposed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry; then the front gave way. In vain the second side was brought up to sustain them: the horse turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. The enemy pursued them in the rear to return with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thousand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The Duke of Schomberg having been denied the post which he was to receive, insisted upon fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the King of Great Britain, who were posted in the centre, and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the Count de los Torres desired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and the right wing; but he refused to act without the order of his highness, and said, things were come to such a pass, that they must either conquer or die. He continued to animate his men with his voice and ex-
ample, until he received a shot in the thigh. His valet seeing him fall, ran to his assistance, and called for quarter, but was killed by the enemy before he could be under-
stood. The Duke was taken prisoner, and the ammunition, which had been damaged upon his parole, and in a few days died at Turin, universally lamented on account of his great and amiable qualities. The Earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, shared his fate in being taken prisoner. The Duke was taken possession of his health and liberty. This victory was as unsubstantial as that of Landen, and almost as dear in the purchase; for the confederates made an obstinate defence, and yielded solely to the surprise. The Duke proceeded to Moncalier, and threw a reinforcement into Coni, which Catani would not venture to besiege, so severely had he been handled in the battle. He therefore contented him-
Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, and Flanders. On the sixteenth, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these ships formed the line of battle: the two vice-admirals of the white stood off to receive the ships of the French convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. The rest, some thirty ships, that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, the French struck two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the Captains Schriijer, and Vander-Poch, who seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore: and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to retain the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defense, but at last were overpowered by numbers and taken. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the Counts de Tournon, and De Roreau, term of the largest Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetogen, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Meanwhile Rooke set sail off and on the twenty-first sent home the dark ship of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, highly satisfied with the success of his attempt, and with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached Captain Fairhone to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the fleet then cruising in the channel. On the twenty-fifth day of August, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and, twenty-six new ships, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter.

§ XXVI. The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coasts of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Algeciras, and other places; and were off Cadiz.

Abundant capital. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West Indies. In conjunction with Colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, he made unsuccessful attempts on St. Christopher and Dominique. Then he sailed to Boston in New England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation, but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England, and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the course of his voyage.

§ XXVII. In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten barges, to the coast of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. Then his men landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fire-ship of a particular contrivance, styled the Infernal, in order to burn the town: but she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the quay, the jury set her on fire at her anchorage, and she was burned. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, cut down all the trees, and left eighty men dead and twenty wounded. A captain that weighed two hundred pounds was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground: the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier in the town. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quen-Turin, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great discourse, and expense, the consequences were not so great as the motions of the nation, and they took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the public good, employed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the Marquis of Carvemont, the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the queen, and from their hatred to the whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

§ XXVIII. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned by the scarcity of corn, and by the return of industry, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their efforts in regulating the prices of corn in the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Louis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern nations to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to King William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable cessions; but the French ministry, rejected by the King of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet satisfied; and whose subjects, though heavily laden, could still bear additional burthens.

§ XXIX. The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of events in England, which they foretold with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of King James had been conciled in such impenurious terms, as gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain, and obtained another, which contained the promise of a general pardon without exception, and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing, a false and seditious libel, sentenced to be hanged, and afterwards reprieved. The house of lords were for his high treason: he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragement he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury set him at liberty, and was concerned only to affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by Judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain request was made to the queen's mercy: he suffered with the utmost rigour, and was hanged against the proceedings of the court, which he affected was appointed, ot to try, but to convict him; and peti-
tioning Heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who, having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from the last king of England and Lord Lovat, were levied in the ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the king's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution because they gave him no sign of writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council; these were answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the office, from whom immediate assistance; and the Jacobites were declared as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveigled against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses: a charge for which there was too much foundation.

§ XXX. The friends of James in Scotland still continued to concert designs in his favour: but their correspondence was detected, and their arms defeated, by the vigilance of the ministry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnston not only kept a watchful eye over all their transactions, but by a dexterous management of court liberality and the detail of the discontents of the presbytery made so effectually, that the king no risk in assembling the parliament. Some offices were bestowed upon the leaders of the kirk party: and the Duke of Hamilton being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the eighteenth of April President John Adair, by the king's letter, replete with the most exigacious expressions, being read, the parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to the majesty's letter: they voted an addition of six new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom; they granted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to his majesty; they enacted a law for the encouragement of informers; they appointed six new informers, supposed to be written by James by Neville Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high treason; but he eluded the danger, by threatening to resign his office to impeach those persons who had made peace with the government: they passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the tenth day of April next; they passed an act, that the government gave them was an offer to subscribe the confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church; but they neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time; so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the king's protection. It was one of William's political maxims, to court his domestic enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the presbyterians, and former distractions began to revive.

§ XXXI. The king having prevailed upon the States-general for a loan of the current year, and the service of the ensuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kensington on the thirtieth day of October. Finding the people clamorous and discontented, the trade of the city, the Jacobites, and high whigs were managed upon the ministers recapitulating upon one another, he perceived the necessity of changing hands, and resolved to take his measures accordingly. Sunderland, his chief counsellor, received letters with the news of the continuance of a war, which had been productive of nothing but damage and disgrace; whereas the whigs were much more tractable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invasion and popery, partly from the ambition of being conquerors, partly from the fear of not being in the prospect of being benefited in advancing money to the government on the funds established by parliament: that for such traffic which obtained the appellation of the monied interest, was altogether a whiggish institution. The king resolved these observations in his own mind; and, in the mean time, the parliament met on the seventh day of November, pursuant to the last act of April, and the last order of the last king of England, and the last act of Parliament against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea: represented the necessity of increasing the land forces and the navy; and demanded a suitable supply for their purpose. After the discoursing upon their condescension, he had already dismissed from his council the Earl of Nottingham, who, of all his ministers, was the most odious to the people. His place would have been taken by Dr. Littleton; but his last speech to the king; that nobleman suspecting this was a change of men rather than of measures, stood aloof for some time, until he received such assurances from the king as quelled his scruples, and then he accepted the office of secretary. The lieutenant for the city of London, and all other commissions over England, were altered with a view to favour the whig interest; and the individuals of that party were indulged with many places of trust and profit: but the tons were too powerful in the House of Commons to be expatriated, and therefore a good number of them were retained in office.

§ XXXII. On the sixth day of the session, the Commons unanimously resolved that the king should have his government; to inquire into miscarriages; and to consider of means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company were summoned to produce the petition to which they had delivered to the commissioners of the admiralty for the extraordinary, to which the king's order against it was directed; that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Stratts fleet, together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It appeared, in the course of this inquiry, that the miscarriage of Rooke's fleet was in a great measure owing to the misconduct of the admirals, and neglect of the requisition-office; but they were screened, by a majority. Mr. Robert Harley, on the third day, brought in the public accounts, delivered a report, which contained a charge of peculation against Lord Falkland. Ramsford, receiver of the rights and purses of the navy, confessed that he had received and paid more money than that which was charged in the account; and, in particular, that he had paid four thousand pounds to Lord Falkland, by his majesty's order. This lord had acknowledged before the commissioners, that he had paid one half of the sum, by the king's order, to a person who was not a member of either House; and that the remainder was still in his hands. Ramsford owned he had originally letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this was the evidence of a commission necessary to the charge of the misconduct of the admirals. The moment that incensed the Commons to such a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and debated with great warmth, but at last overruled by the majority. Nevertheless, they agreed to make him liable for his disbursements, and he was reprimanded in his place.

The House of Lords having also inquired into the causes of the miscarriage at sea, very violent debates arose, and at length the majority resolved, that the admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the whig lords, who had so eagerly prosecuted the affair, and now protested against the resolution, not without great appearance of reason. The next step was of the severance of the friendship with the Earl of Nottingham, as the blame seemed to be with him, on the supposition that the admirals were innocent. With a view, therefore, to transfer this blame to Trenchard, the majority resolved, that this order was revoked, that he had received intelligence from Paris in the beginning of June, containing a list of the enemy's fleet, and the time of their sailing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly imported to Secretary Trenchard, who produced it to the Commons to transact with the admirals. Two conferences passed on this subject between the Lords and Commons. Trenchard delivered his defense in writing; and was in his turn examined by the Commons, and then proceeded to the prospect of the advantage to be derived to the nation by the raise of the whig influence now predominated. Thus an inquiry of such national consequence, which took its rise from the
king's own expression of resentment against the defini-
tants, was stilled by the arts of the court, because it was
likely to affect one of its creatures: for, though there was
no premeditated treachery in the case, the interest of the
public seemed to combine for the same purpose, and to
the ministers. The charge of Lord Falkland being re-
sumed in the House of Commons, he appeared to have
begged and received of the king the remaining two thou-
sand pounds, which he subscribed by Baron Sheffield:
he was therefore declared guilty of an high misdemean-
non, and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower;
from whence, however, he was in two days discharged up-
ward his personal liberty.

XXXIII. Harley, Foley, and Harcourt, presented to
the House a state of the receipts and issues of the revenue,
together with two reports from the commissioners of
accounts concerning sums issued for secret services, and
to members of parliament. Thus was a discovery of the
most scandalous practices in the mystery of corruption,
equally exercised on the individuals of both parties, in
occasional bounties, grants, places, pensions, equivalents,
and additional salaries. The malcontents, therefore, justly
observed, the House of Commons was so managed that
the king could balance any bill, quash all grievances, stulte
accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the
Commons took into consideration the funds of the ex-
traordinary revenue, the king demanded forty thousand
men for the navy, and above one hundred thou-
sand for the purposes of the land-service. Before the
House considered these enormous demands, they granted
for the present a short subscription. One public question,
by the silence and absence of the malcontents, whilst
the clamours of the seamen who became mutinous and
desperate for want of pay, upwards of one million
being due to them for wages. Then the Commons
voted the number of men required for the navy: but they
were so ashamed of that for the army, that they thought
it necessary to act in such a manner as should imply that
they still retained some regard for their country. They
called for a list of ready money for the king and
his allies: they examined the different proportions of
the troops furnished by the respective powers: they considered
the intended augmentations, and fixed the establishment
of the year at fourscore and three thousand one hundred
and twenty-one men, including officers. For the main-
tenance of these they allotted the sum of two millions
five hundred and thirty thousand five hundred and ninety
pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and
allowed three millions for the purposes of land-service
indefeasible, making good the balance of the annuity
and poll bills; so that the supplies of the year amounted to about five millions and a
half, raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by
the taxation of spirits, and by an impost on beer, a new duty on salt, and a lottery.

XXXIV. Though the malcontents in parliament could
not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured
to discuss the court interest, by reviving the popular bills
of the preceding session; such as that for regulating trials
in cases of high treason, the other for the more frequent
calling and meeting of parliaments, and that concerning
free and impartial proceedings in parliament. The first
was negatived in the House of Lords; the second was
rejected; the third was passed by the Commons, on
the supposition that it would be defeated in the other House.
The Lords returned it with certain amendments, to
which the Commons would not agree; a conference ensued; the
peers receded from their corrections, and passed the bill,
to which the king, however, refused his assent. Nothing
could be more unpopular and dangerous than such a step
at that time and season, the people being yet
in an extraordinary credit with the people, determined to disapprove of his
majesty's conduct. The House formed itself into a com-
mittee, to take the state of the kingdom into consideration.
They resolved that whoever advised the king to refuse the
royal assent to that bill, was a enemy to their majesties
and the kingdom. They likewise presented an address,
expressing their concern that he had not given his consent
to the bill, and beseeching his majesty to hearken for the
future, on whatsoever project was agreed to, mutual animosity
between the councils of particular persons, who might have private
interests of their own, separate from those of his majesty
and his people. The king thanked them for their zeal, pro-
ferred a warm regard for their constitution, and assured
them he would look upon all parties as enemies, who
should endeavour to lessen the confidence subsisting be-
tween the state, and the independence of the
ministers. The charge of Lord Falkland being re-
sumed in the House of Commons, he appeared to have
begged and received of the king the remaining two thou-
sand pounds, which he subscribed by Baron Sheffield:
he was therefore declared guilty of a high misdemean-
non, and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower;
from whence, however, he was in two days discharged up-
ward his personal liberty.

XXXV. The city of London petitioned that a para-
mountary provision might be made for the orphans, whose
fortunes they feared would be seriously affected, if an
application had been made in the preceding session,
and rejected with disdain, as an imposition on the public:
but now those scruples were removed, and the House
passed a bill for this purpose, consisting of many clauses,
extending to different charges on the city lands, aqueducts,
and personal estates; imposing duties on hindering appren-
tices, constituting freemen, as also upon wines and coals
imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March
these bills received the royal assent: and the king took that
opportunity of recommending despatch, as the season of
the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently em-
ployed in making preparations for another invasion.

The scheme of the new ship was so old, like those of Amsterdam
and Genoa, had been recommended to the ministry, as an
excellent institution, as well for the credit and security of the
government, as for the increase of trade and circula-
tion. This bill carried by the house, was accordingly
brought in, proposing the circulation of tickets on land security;
but William Paterson was author of that which was carried
into execution by the interest of Michael Godfrey, and
other active projectors. The scheme was founded on the
notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the
credit of a large capital. Forty merchants subscribed to
the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, as a fund,
for the circulation of tickets for twenty years; to be
sold to the government; and even this fund of ready money bore the same interest.

When it was properly digested in the cabinet, and a majority in parliament secured
for its reception, the undertakers for the court introduced
it into the House of Commons, and expounded upon the
national advantages that would accrue from such a mea-
sure. They said it would rescue the nation out of the
hands of extortioners and usurers, lower interest, raise the
value of land, and give more trade to merchants. The
circulation, consequently improve commerce, facilitate
the annual supplies, and connect the people more closely with the government. The project was violently
opposed by a party in the House, who wished further
excuse on beer, a new duty on salt, and a lottery.

XXXIV. Though the malcontents in parliament could
not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured
to discuss the court interest, by reviving the popular bills
of the preceding session; such as that for regulating trials
in cases of high treason, the other for the more frequent
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to which the king, however, refused his assent. Nothing
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at that time and season, the people being yet
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majesty's conduct. The House formed itself into a com-
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royal assent to that bill, was a enemy to their majesties
and the kingdom. They likewise presented an address,
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sand pounds, which he subscribed by Baron Sheffield:
he was therefore declared guilty of a high misdemean-
non, and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower;
from whence, however, he was in two days discharged up-
ward his personal liberty.
between man and man; and they crowned the oppressions of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licensing and regulating hackney and stage-coach traffic.

§ XXXVI. The Commons, in a clause of the bill for taxing several joint-stocks, provided, that in case of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the company so failing should be declared void; and the bill would actually neglect their payment, and the public imagined the ministry would seize this opportunity of dissolving a monopoly against which so many complaints had been made, but the directors undertook their own strength; and instead of being broken, obtained the promise of a new charter. This was no sooner known, than the controversy between them and their adversaries was revived with such animosity, that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing. As this produced no resolution, the merchant who opposed the company petitioned, that, in the mean while, the new charter might be suspended. Addresses of the same kind were presented by a great number of clothiers, linen-drapers, and other dealers. To these a written answer was published by the company; the merchants printed a reply, in which they undertook to prove, that the company had been guilty of unwarrantable actions, and sought by the means of religion, the dishonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade. They observed, that two private ships had exported in the previous season as much as the coasters had exported in three years. They offered to send more cloth and English merchandise to the Indies in one year, than the company had exported in five; to furnish the government with five hundred tons of salt-petre for less than half the price; and, as comprehended, the company could neither send the ships petitioned for in England, nor relade them in the East Indies. In spite of all these remonstrances, the new charter passed the great securities, that the merchants were not limited to their former grants, in such a manner, that they did not amount to an exclusive privilege, and subjected the company to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, as the king should direct before the twenty-ninth day of September. This indulgence and other favours granted to the company were privately purchased of the ministry, and became productive of a loud outcry against the government. The merchants printed a petition to the whole transaction, and petitioned the House of Commons that their charter of trade to the East Indies might be confirmed by parliament. Another petition was presented by the company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentary sanction. Both petitions were laid on their faces; and the petitioners were prohibited from any application to the members. The House having examined the different charters, the book of their new subscriptions, and every particular relating to the company, resolved that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament.

§ XXXVII. But nothing engrossed the attention of the public more than a bill which was brought into the House for a general naturalization of all foreign protestants. The advocates for this measure alleged, that great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated; that the strength of a nation consisted in the number of inhabitants; that the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required more numerous and devout stock, and that they were drawn from all parts of the empire by persecution in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring along with them their wealth and manufactures; that the community had been largely repaid for the protection granted to those refugees who had already settled in the kingdom. They had introduced several new branches of manufacture, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labour; a circumstance of utmost importance as it was with taxes, and exposed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged with great vehemence, that it would cheapen the birthright of Englishmen; that the want of culture was owing to the oppression of the times; that foreigners being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expense of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country; that the reduction of the national price of labour, and the want of sufficient revenue, while many thousands of English manufacturers were starving for want of employment, and the price of provisions continued so high, that even those that were employed could scarce supply their families with bread: and that the reduction of the national price of labour would be a great temptation to dissenter to forsake their employment, and the whole papers would render them an equal match in the body-politic for those of the church of England; to create a greater dependence on the crown, and, in a word, to supply a fortune lost with foreign members. Sir John Knight, a member of the House, in a speech upon this subject, exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend such a bill, with all the wit and vivacity of satire: it was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raised such a flame among the people as had not appeared since the revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become lord-danes, and possess the revenues of religion and government; and they extolled Sir John Knight, as the saviour of the nation. The courtiers, incensed at the progress of this clamour, complained in the House of the speech which had been printed; and Sir Jonathan Kite, Sir John was put in a temporary imprisonment. He therefore thought proper to disown the paper, which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. The following was the popular disturbance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the court party began to tremble; and the bill was dropped for the present.

§ XXXVIII. Lord Coningsby and Mr. Porter had commenced the most flagrant acts of oppression in Ireland. These had been explained during the last session, by the gentlemen who appealed against the administration of Lord Sidney; but they were screened by the ministry; and therefore they were limited to the House of Commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the Commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the court, declared, that, considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment. In the course of this session, the nation sustained another misfortune in the fate of Sir Francis Wheelock, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron, with instructions to take under his convoy the merchant ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruise thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish plate-fleet; and, in making prize, to display the flag and the parchments of the House of Commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the Commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the court, declared, that, considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment. 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which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the Duke of Savoy, and, by the canal of the Pope, made some offers to the King of Spain, which were rejected. Meanwhile he resolved to stand upon the offensive during the summer, and in July he passed the Catalonians, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the Count de Noailles, who commanded the land army. King William having received intelligence of the design upon Barcelona, formed a junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by sending Russell to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail; but before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted the rendezvous. On the third day of May the admiral sailed from St. Helens, and the French, having sailed from the ports of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and tenders. He detached Captain Fritharch of the Monmouth with two fire-ships, to destroy a fleet of French merchant ships near Conject-bay; and this service being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France. These being embarked, under the command of General Potemkine, the whole fleet sailed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and sea officers, in a council of war, agreed that the Monmouth should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret-bay, where the forces should be landed. On the fifth day of June, Lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the seventh anchored before the town of Camaret, to the north-west of the Marquis of Caermarthan, afterwards Duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley, as rear-admiral of the blue, entered Camaret-bay with two large ships and six frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the design, and taken such precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new-erected batteries, while the confederate frigates, although the ships cannonaded them with great vigour, the soldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in spite of all the endeavours of General Potemkine, who received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortal. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those that were drowned. The Monmouth of war was towed off with great difficulty; but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy.

§ XI. After this unfortunate attempt, Lord Berkeley, with the fleet, sailed to Dunkirk, where he joined with the fleet of Holland, and, at St. Helen's, received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt at the month, coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Thence they steered to Havre-de-Grace, which is like to the same fate. They harassed the French troops, who marched after them along shore. They shivered the whole coast, and visited every town with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force. On the twentieth day of July, Lord of the ships rejoined to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command was given to Sir Cloudesley Shovel. This officer having received instructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, sailed with them, who, by a less joined, engaged the French and Meeters, with six-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day set sail in the Charles gallery, with two bomb-ketches, the Duchy of Cornwall. He was also passed for renewing a claim in an old action, limiting the number of acters of the peace, in the county of Wales. The Duke of Norfolk brought an action in the court of King's Bench for the recovery of the claim, but was defeated. The cause was tried, and the jury brought in their verdict for one hundred pounds. Thereupon the Duke of Norfolk petitioned the king, after the advice of the lords of the Council, advised the king to repeal the Act of Parliament. Having received his advice, the king found, restored a youth of twenty-six years, then a cadet at the University of Orléans, where his grandfather, the Duke, had been rector of the university, was called to the court measures, was granted with a

and as many of the machines called infernals. These were set on fire without effect, and the design miscarried; then Shovel steered to Calais, which having bombarded with little success, he returned to the coast of England; and his bomb-ketches and machinces were sent into the river Thames.

§ XLI. During these transactions, Admiral Russell, with the grand fleet, sailed to the Mediterranean; and having joined Wemyss and Newcastle, he took Brest, together with Cillemberg and Everett, he steered towards Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and land. At his approach, Touloupe retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon and Marseille; and, in this affair, his forces were in such a deplorable condition, that without that timely assistance the kingdom must have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral dared not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disappointed. After having ascertained the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the king, he passed the winter, during which, he took such precautions for preventing Tournouf from passing the Straits, that he did not think proper to risk the passage. § XLI. It will now be necessary to describe the operations in the north; and it is well known that William arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the States-general. On the third day of June he repaired to Bethien-abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army; and there he was met by the Electors of Bavaria, and Count de Tronson, who had the French army assembled; and every thing seemed to promise an active campaign. On the third day of June the dauphin assumed the command of the French forces, with which Luxemburg had taken post between Mars and Maubeuge; and passing the Somme, encamped at Fleurus: but on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanthem. On the fifth of July, the dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jarre, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-second, the confederates marched to Bornak; then the dauphin took the route to Vironcourt, where he stationed his army by entrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to those of the allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this situation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of August, when King William sent the heavy baggage to Louvain; and on the eighteenth made a motion to Sombref. This was no sooner known to the enemy, than they decamped; and having marched all night, posted themselves between Viroin and a league, with the intention of giving battle to the confederates. The King of England resolved to pass the Scheldt; and with this view marched, by the way of Ni-velle and Soges, to Chievres: from thence he detached the Duke of Wurtemberg, with a strong division, to cross the Scheldt; the rest of the army was brought up by the dauphin in person. They marched with such incredible diligence, that the Elector of Bavaria could scarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in sight of the Scheld, and saw them en-
trenching themselves on the other side of the river. King William having reconnoitred their disposition, thought it impracticable to pass at that place; and therefore marched down to Malines, where he encamped when it was already effected by the Duke of Wurttemberg. Here the confederates passed the Scheldt on the twenty-seventh day of the month; and the king fixed his head-quarters at Warnemehem. His intention was to have taken possession of the town and denuded it of water-works; for a considerable part of his army in that district; but Luxembourgh having posted himself between that place and Menin, extended his lines in such a manner, that the confederates could not get possession of the town without leaving them, nor subcutting his army at the expense of the Castellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This surprising march was of such importance to the French king, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army: and ordered that it should be read to every particular squad and battalion.

§ XLIII. The King of England, though disappointed in his scheme upon Courtray, found means to make some advantage of his superiority in number. He drafted troops from the garrison of Ligue and Maestricht; and on the third day of September reinforced his body with a large detachment from his own camp, confining the command upon the garrison of Dulem, and orders to undertake the siege of Iuuy. Next day the whole confederate forces passed the Lys, and encamped at Wouterghem. From thence the king, with part of the army, marched to Heemslager, as if to lay siege to that place, in order to make considerable detachments, for the security of Ypres and Menin on one side, and to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being seized in the very act of setting fire to one of the ammunition waggoners in the allied army, confessed he had been employed for this purpose by some of the French generals, and suffered death as a traitor. On the sixteenth day of the month, the Duke of Holstein-Ploen invested Iuuy, and carried on the siege in such a manner, that in about a month the garrison capitulated. The king ordered Dixmudey, Deyenne, Ninove, and Tulemont, to be secured for winter-quarters to part of the army: the dauphin returned to Versailles: William quitted the camp on the last day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October.

§ XLIV. The operations on the Rhine were preconceived between King William and the Prince of Baden, who had visited London in the water. The dispute between the emperor and the Elector of Saxony was compromised; and this young prince dying during the negociation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and successors. King William furnished twenty thousand men in consideration of a subsidy from the court of Vienna. In the beginning of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philspurgh, in order to give battle to the imperialists, encamped at Hailbon. The Prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Hessians, nor by the troops of Munster and Paderborn, despatched couriers to quench the march of these auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he proposed to wait till they should come up; but, on the fifteenth, receiving unfounded intelligence that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded that this was a desperate effort, and immediately halted, to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. This pause enabled Prince Louis to take possession of a strong pass near Sintzheim, from which he could not easily be dislodged. Then the Mareschal proceeded to Visloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hopes of drawing the imperialists from their entrenchments. The prince being joined by the Hessians, resolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy, and the French general being apprized of his design, retreated at midnight with the utmost precipitancy, and left behind them such baggage as he could. The baggage to Philippsbourg; then he moved to Gonsbergh, in the neighbourhood of Manhem, repassed the Rhine, and encamped between Spiers and Worms. The Prince of Baden was attacked by the allies, and forced to the bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September.

§ XLV. We have already observed, that the French king had determined to act vigorously in Catalonia. In the beginning of May, the Duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight-and-twenty thousand men to the river Ter, on the opposite bank of which the vicerey of Catalonia was encamped with sixteen thousand Spaniards. The French general passed the river in the face of this army, and joined with their entrenchments with such facility, that in less than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the siege of that place, while at the same time it was blocked up by the combined squadrons of Brent and Toulon. Though the besieged made an obstinate defence, the town was taken by storm, the houses were pillaged, and the people put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Then he invested Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Ostadt met with the same fate, and Noailles was created vicerey of Catalonia by the French king. In the beginning of August he distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment, along the river Terdevre, resolving to sustain his situation as long as possible, saved by the arrival of Admiral Russel. The war languished in Piedmont, on account of a secret negociation between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; notwithstanding the reconnoitres of Bourgigny, Earl of Galway, who had succeeded the Duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Canas was closely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaubois gained the advantage in some skirmishes in the valley of Bagelles: but no design of importance was executed.*

§ XLVI. England had continued very quiet under the queen's administration, if we except some little commotions occasioned by the practices, or perhaps by intrigues, of the Jacobites. Prosecutions were revived against certain gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, for having been concerned in the conspiracy formed in favour of the late king's projected restoration from Normandy. These steps were owing to the suggestions of infamous informers, whom the ministry countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Crosby were imprisoned, and bills of treason found against them; but Parker made his escape from the Tower, and was released by sending his bills to the Lords. A pound was set upon his head. The king having settled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and next day landed at Margate, where he was received by the House of Parliament, with a speech, in which he observed that the

* In the course of the year, M. de Casse, governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica, and M. M. ber; and laid the country of Alasc under contribution. Considering the advanced season of the year, this was a rash undertaking; and the French general resolved to profit by his error. He fought with advantage against the imperialists, foreseeing that should they be worsted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Louis, informed of his intention, immediately passed the Rhine; and this retreat was more effected, than the French could have supposed; for the whole of the camp he had occupied, was overflown. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winterquarters. The campaign in Hungary produced no effect on the imperialists; who had not, at the close of the winter, arrived at Belgrade in the middle of August; and about the same time Caparra assembled the imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaldin. The Turks passed the Sava, in order to attack their camps, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon; but made very little progress. The imperialists received reinforce ments; the season wasted away; a feud arose between the war and the chart of the Tartars; and the Danube being swelling by heavy rains, so as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their general decamped in the night of the first of October. They afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Belgrade, while the monarch made himself master of Giulia. In the course of this summer, the Venetians, who were also at war with the Turks, reduced Cylcut, a place of importance on the river Naranta, and made a conquest of the island of Seio in the Archipelago.
posture of affairs was improved both by sea and land since they last partied; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He desired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Christmas, and agree to the transport ships employed in the direction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both Houses was already secured; and in all probability he bargained for the concurrence of the Scotch parliament, and a bill for ten millions seven hundred sixty thousand seven hundred and twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this sum, they continued the land-tax; they renewed the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different commodities. The triennial bill enacted, that a parliament should be held once in three years at least: That within three years at first, after the dissolution of the parliament then sitting, and so from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great seal should be issued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, assembling, and holding another new parliament; That no parliament should continue longer than two years, and further was recommenced from the first day of the first session: and, that the parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the first day of November next following, unless their majesty should express an intention to the contrary. The king and queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decrease; and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed, notwithstanding the inventives of his enemies, who accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition; and charged him with having conveyed to a dangerous schism in the church, by accepting the archbishopre of Canterbury living the life of a heretic. He was mighty and wise; the metaphysian see by Dr. Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the whig party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. After his death, and that of his wife, he was taken from the small-pox, and the symptom proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new archbishop; she received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the king, who for some weeks after her death could neither see company nor attend to the business of state. Mary was in her person tall and well-proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment sound. She was a zealous protagonist, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for she ascended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband; and to have centered all her ambition in desiring the epithet of an humble and obedient wife. It was XLVIIL In the meantime, being informed of the queen’s dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bed-chamber to desire she might be admitted to her majesty; but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern, and given to understand the physician had directed that the queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving message to her sister; and after her decease, the Earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and queen, and placed them at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St. James’s for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the queen’s jewels. But a mutual jealousy had disappeared, and both went to reside at the exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two Houses of parliament wanted in the king at Kensingom, with consolatory addresses on the death of his consort: ther e example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the clergy and clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England.  

CHAP. V.

§ 1. Act of the Lancashire pott.  
§ II. The Commons require into the houses which had not presented a bill for the approbation of some of their own members for corruption in the affair of the East India company.  
§ 111. The Duke of Marlborough.  
§ IV. The Commons impeach the Duke of Leeds.  
§ V. The parliament is prorogued.  
§ VI. The bill for the Scotch parliament to come into the grace of Ireland.  
§ V1. They pass an act for erecting a new commission in the church and the index.  
§ XI. Dispositions of the army.  
§ XII. Surpluses from the King’s pay.  
§ XIII. The king and queen’s subscription for the war.  
§ XIV. The king and queen’s order for preparing the fleet.  
§ XV. The king and queen’s address to the army.  
§ XVI. The king and queen’s address to the English and Irish army.  
§ XVII. The bill for preparing the fleet.  
§ XVIII. The king and queen’s address to the army.  
§ XIX. The English fleet battles St. Malo and other places on the coast of France.  
§ XX. The king and queen’s address to the army.  
§ XXI. A new parliament.  
§ XXII. They pass a bill for regulating trials in every house of parliament.  
§ XXIII. Revolution with respect to a new court.  
§ XXIV. The Commons address the king, to recall a bill which he had made to the Earl of Portland.  
§ XXVI. Another against the new Scotch company.  
§ XXVII. Inquiries into the Jacobites.  
§ XXVIII. Company against the late ill of William.  
§ XXIX. The Scotch petition of the bailiffs.  
§ XXX. The Commons address the king, to recall a bill which he had made to the Earl of Portland.  
§ XXXI. Establishment of a land-tax.  
§ XXXII. Trial of the conspirators.  
§ XXXIII. The allied baroume the magazine at Greenwich.  
§ XXXIV. Indemnity for those who assisted the king.  
§ XXXV. The bill of indemnity for the king’s adherents.  
§ XXXVI. Bills of indemnity for the king’s adherents.  
§ XXXVII. Proceedings in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland.  
§ XXXVIII. End of the English common to new alliances to the king.  
§ XXXIX. Resolutions against the court, and the support of parliament.  
§ XL. Finances.  
§ XLI. Sir John Fenwick is apprehended.  
§ XLII. A bill of attaint being brought into the house, the King’s taking the bill into consideration.  
§ XLIII. The bill is passed.  
§ XLIV. Sir John Fenwick is beheld.  
§ XLV. The English fleet battles St. Malo and other places on the coast of France.  
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§ XLVII. The English fleet battles St. Malo and other places on the coast of France.  
§ XLVIII. The English fleet battles St. Malo and other places on the coast of France.  
§ XLIX. The bill of indemnity for the king’s adherents.  
§ L. The king’s application for pardon.  
§ LI. Sir John Fenwick is beheld.  
§ LII. The king’s application for pardon.  
§ LIII. The king’s application for pardon.  
§ LIV. The king’s application for pardon.  
§ LV. General pacification.
to France, helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all those persons told him they were furnished with money by Sir John Friend to defray the expense of their expeditions. His testimony was confirmed by other infamous emigrants, who renewed but too much counterace from the government. Blank warrants were issued, and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the treasury, with whom the baclers, according to Lt. and his associates to Lancashire, tinder the protection of a party of Dutch horse guards, com-
dined by one Captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons according to their pleasure; and they committed many
acts of violence and oppression. The persons, against whom these measures were taken, being apprized of the impending danger, generally retired from their own habi-
tations. Some, however, were taken and imprisoned; a
few arms were secured; and, in the house of Mr. Stanish, at Standish-hall, they found the draft of a declaration to be published by King James at his landing. As this prosecution seemed calculated to revive the horror of a stale conspiracy, and the evidence were persons of aban-
doned characters, the friends of those who were persecuted found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation, and the police employed Cesare Fergusson, who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched since the Rye-house conspiracy. This veteran, though appointed housekeeper to the excise-office, thought himself
himself vexed for the part he acted in the revolution, became dissatisfied, and upon this occasion, published a letter to Sir John Trenchard on the abuse of power. It was replete with the most bitter invectives against the ministry, and contained a great number of dastard instances, in which the court had committed the vilest corruption, perfidy, and oppression. This produ-
ction was in every body’s hand, and had such an effect
upony the people, that when the prisoners were brought to trial, they were found guilty; and he was put to death
sus to death had not been prevented by the inter-
position of those who were friends to the accused persons, and had already taken effectual measures for their safety.
Lunt, chief associate in the mystery of information was
wasTarface, a wretch of the most profligate principles, who
finding himself disappointed in his hope of reward from the ministry, was privately gained over by the agents for the prisoners. Lunt, when desired in court to point out the persons whom he had accused, committed such a mistake as greatly invalidated his testimony; and Tarface declared before the bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a false one, between himself and Lunt Cranmer, in order to procure money from the government. The pris-
niners were immediately acquitted, and the ministry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abettors of those crimes were the innocent. The government, with a view to preserve their abhorrence of such practices, ordered the witnesses to be prosecuted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen who had been accused; and at last the affair was brought into the House of Commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory. They even turned the battery of corrup-
tion upon the evidence for the crown, not making it a considerable impression. But the cause was now de-
bated before judges who were not at all proportionate to their views. The Commons having set on foot an inquiry, and examined all the papers and circumstances relating to the pretended plot, resolved, That there was sufficient ground for the prosecution. They ordered the men at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the king and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Stanish into custody; and the messenger reporting that he had not yet been found, they proceed an address to the king, desiring a proclamation might be published, offering a reward for apprehending his person. The Peers concurred with the Commons in their sentiments of this affair; and they have been since then the House of Lords, also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, whether the government had cause to prosecute them; and carried in the affirmative; though a protest was entered against this vote by the Earls of
Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these de-
cisions, the accused gentlemen prosecuted Lunt and two
of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancster assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the crown, for a conspiracy against the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The in-
tention of the ministry, in laying this indictment, was to seize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the general. A man who had preserved an honest testimony, but the design being discovered, the Lancas-

tershire men refused to produce their evidence against the informers: the prosecution dropped of consequence, and the prisoners were discharged.
§ II. While these measures were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Rossjohn presented a petition, complaining, that the officers and sol-
diers promised to consider the remittance, and redress the
grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he
ascended Colonel Hastings; appointed a council of officers to sit weekly and examine all complaints against any officer and soldier; and published a declaration for the mainte-
nance of strict discipline, and the due payment of quar-
ters. Notwithstanding these concessions the
Commons prosecuted their examinations; and the contractors for clothing the army, because they were
refused to answer upon oath to such ques-
tions as might be put to him by the com-
missioners of accounts. They brought a bill for oblig-
ing him and Mr. Richard Harriug, the other contractor, together with the two Pauncefords, to discover how they had disposed of the sums paid into their hands on account of the army; and for punishing them, in case they should persist in their refusal. At this period they
received a petition against the commissioners for
licensing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an address to the king, were removed with disgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the trust reposed in them by act of parliament.

§ III. Those who encouraged this spirit of reformation introduced another inquiry about the orphans’ bill, which was since passed, and was act, liable to the undue influence. A committee being appointed to in-
спект the chamberlain’s books, discovered that bribes had been given to Sir John Trevor, speaker of the House, and Mr. Wilmot, speaker of the committee. The first being voted guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, abdicated the chair, and Paul Foley was appointed speaker in his stead. Then Sir John and Mr. Wilmot were summoned before the committee of


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House naturally concluded that the same arts had been practised in obtaining the new charter of the East India company, which had been granted so much against the sense of the nation. Their books were subjected to the same committee that carried on the inquiry into the East India company, and surety for the punctuality and corruption was soon disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the course of the preceding year, had paid near ninety thousand pounds in secret services; and that Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the directors, had, in a manner similar to that in which the chief manager of this infamous commerce, Cooke, refusing to answer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in, obliging him to discover how the sums claimed and paid had been distributed. The bill was violently opposed in the upper House by the Duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a precedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke being, in great fear to his own person, brought to the bar of the House of Lords, declared he was ready and willing to make a full discovery, in case he might be favoured with an indemnifying vote, to secure him against all actions and suits, except those of the East India company, in which he had been indemnified. The Lords commended his request, and passed a bill for this purpose, to which the Commons added a penal clause; and the former was laid aside.

§ 4. When the king went to the House, to give the royal assent to the money bills, he endeavoured to discourage this inquiry, by telling the parliament that the session of the year was far advanced, and the circumstances of necessity requiring an end of the articles of impeachment, which he would not despatch such business as they should think of most importance to the public, as he should put an end to the session in a few days. Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both Houses appointed a joint committee to lay on the complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke, on his first examination, confessed, that he had delivered tallies for ten thousand pounds to Francis Tytson, deputy-governor, for the special-service of the company; an equal sum to Robertas, five hundred to Charles Bates, and three hundred and ten to Mr. Moliness, a merchant, for the same purposes; and he owned that Sir Basil Firebrace had received forty thousand pounds on various pretences. In the same day, the sums paid to Tytson were delivered to the king by Sir Joseph Child, as a customary present which former kings had received; and that the sums paid to Acton were distributed among some members of parliament. Firebrace being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thousand pounds for his own use and benefit; but that Bates had received sums of money, which he understood were offered to some persons of the first quality. Acton declared that ten thousand pounds of the sum which he had received was distributed among persons who had interest with members of parliament; and that great part of the money passed through the hands of Clapps, who was acquainted with some colonels in the House, and northern members. Bates owned he had received the money, in consideration of using his interest with the Duke of Leeds in favour of the company: that this noblemans knew of the gratuity; and that the sum was reckoned by his Grace's domestic, one Roberta, a forger, who kept it in his possession until this inquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's testimony, as well as by

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* In the course of this session, the Lords had inquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expatriations, and presented an address to the king, declaring, that the breet in those seas had conducted to the house and advan-
tage of the nation, and that he did not know how to express his gratitude for the protection and care he had received from the House of Lords; and an act was passed, containing several penalties against all who should trade with the Barbary coast.

* The king of the kingdom being gravely disturbed and inflamed, the House of Lords, after examining many bills, was pleased to express their satisfaction with the House of Lords; and an act was passed, containing several penalties against all who should trade with the Barbary coast, in such a manner that a company was established to trade with the Dutch, and to prevent the establishment of any trade with the Barbary coast.

* The queen being gravely disturbed and inflamed, the House of Lords, after examining many bills, was pleased to express their satisfaction with the House of Lords; and an act was passed, containing several penalties against all who should trade with the Barbary coast.

* A man of great worth and eminence, coloured by the honour of several actions, had been employed in the service of the king, and had been rewarded with several advantageous and lucrative employments.

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* A man of great worth and eminence, coloured by the honour of several actions, had been employed in the service of the king, and had been rewarded with several advantageous and lucrative employments.
the Marquis of Tweedale, appointed commissioner, who, after the king's letter had been read, expatiated on his majesty's care and concern for their safety and welfare; and his firm purpose to maintain the presbyterian discipline in the church of Scotland. Then he pronounced upon the king's name, that if they would pass an act for establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his majesty would act in concert with such rights and privileges as he had granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to consider ways and means to raise the necessary supplies for maintaining their land forces, and for providing a competent number of ships of war. The parliament immediately voted an address of condolence to his majesty on the death of the queen; and they granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling for the services of the ensuing year, to be raised by a general poll-tax, a land-tax, and an additional excise.

§ VIII. Their next step was to desire the commissioner would transmit their humble thanks to the king, for his care to vindicate the honour of the government and the justice of the nation, in ordering a precognizance to be taken with respect to the slaughter of Glencoe. A motion was afterwards made that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair; and according to a report, consisting of the king's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the parliament. The motion is said to have been privately influenced by Secretary Johnstone, of the affairs of Darien, who was his rival in power and interest. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the court, importuned, That Macdonald of Glencoe had been poniardedly murdered; That the king's instructions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that Secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, that Livingston was not to blame, for having given the order in his absence, for sending him home to be tried in Scotland; as also, that Campbell of Glenlivet, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsy, Ensign Lundy, and Serjeant Barber, should be sent to Scotland, and prosecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that affair. The commission, in consequence of these resolutions, the parliament drew up an address to the king, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the Master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They began, By the commission, that the sentence would probably hang over her, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous slaughter might be prosecuted by the king's advocate, according to law; and that some resolution might be made to the men of Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion, as their habitations had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithstanding this address to the Scottish parliament, by which the king was so solemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concurred, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous excess. In consequence of these resolutions, the parliament dismissed the commission, and passed the act of censure, and the commission was put to death, without giving them any satisfaction; and the other actors in the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the service. While the commissioners were employed in the inquiry, they made such discoveries concerning the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane, as amounted to a charge of high treason: and he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but it seems he had disseminated with the highlanders, by the king's permission, and now sheltered himself under the shadow of a royal pardon.

§ IX. The committee of trade, in pursuance of the powers granted by the king to his commissioner, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies, empowered to plant towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for one-and-twenty years from all duties and impositions. This act was likewise confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, directed by the parliament, without any further warrant from the crown. Patterson, the Roman Catholic, took the advantage of this settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South Sea, as well as in the Atlantic; nay, even to extend it as far as the East Indies: so great was the glory of his projects, allowed by the prospect of gain, were eager to engage in such a company, excepted from all manner of imposition and restriction. The Scottish parliament likewise passed an act in favour of the episcopal clergy, deeming. That those who should enter in that character, if their means were not required, might continue in their benefits under his majesty's protection, without being subject to the power of presbytery. Seventy of the most noted ministers of that persuasion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted, for raising nine thousand men early, to recruit the Scottish regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a public bank; then the parliament was adjourned to the seventh day of November.

§ X. Ireland began to be infected with the same factions which had broke out in England since the revolution: Lord Capel, the lord-deputy, governed in a very partial manner, that the parliament was not able to ferret out in regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model his parliament in such a manner, that they should comply with all the demands of the ministry; and he succeeded in his endeavours, by making such arbitrary changes in offices as were most useful to the ministry. He had passed an act for the convoking a parliament for the twenty-seventh day of August, when he opened the session with a speech, expatiating upon their obligations to King William, and exhorting them to make that return to the society and means of the nation. They forthwith voted an address of thanks, and resolved to assist his majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies foreign and domestic. They passed the bill for an additional excise, together with an act for taking away the words "De heretic; comburendo;" another amnulling all attaunders and acts passed in the late pretended parliament of King James: a third to prevent foreign education: a fourth for a poll-tax; a fifth for the settling the estates of intestates. Then they resolved, That a sum not exceeding one hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, should be granted to his majesty, and the five hundred and twenty pounds, and a continuation of the additional excise. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, finding his importance diminished, if not entirely destroyed, by the assuming disposition and power of the lord-deputy, began to court popularity by exposing the cause of the Irish, against the severity of the administration; and actually formed a kind of tory interest, which thwarted Lord Capel in all his measures. A motion was made in parliament to impeach the chancellor for sowing discord and division among his majesty's subjects: but being indulged with a hearing by the House of Commons, he justified himself so much to their satisfaction, that he was voted clear of all imputation by a great majority. Notwithstanding this act, forty thousand pounds were sent over an address, in which they bore testimony to the mild and just administration of their lord-deputy.

§ XI. King William having taken such steps as were deemed necessary to correct the abuse of power in his absence, crossed the sea to Holland in the middle of May, fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands, that might aggrandize his military character, and humble the power of France, which was already on the decline. The king's title was actually of such a manner, that the haughty Louis found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted success. France, which had not only subdued, but probably could not quiet; he saw his advances to peace rejected; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irparable
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The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general assault, Count Guscard, the governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of August; and the French retired into the citadel, against which twelve batteries played upon the thirteenth. The trenches, meanwhile, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the besieged, who fired without ceasing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they sustained. At length, the assaults became so destructive from the unceasing showers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made divers furious sorties, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry, but the attempt, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of King William.

§ XV. After the bombardment of Brussels, Villeroi being reinforced with all the troops that could be drafted from garrisons, advanced towards Namur, with an army of ninety thousand men; and Prince Vaubemont being joined by the Prince of Hesse, with a strong body of forces from the Rhine, took possession of the strong camp at Massy, within five English miles of the besieging army. The King, understanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they discharged ninety pieces of cannon, as a signal to inform the garrison of their approach, left the conduct of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, and took upon himself the command of the confederate army, in order to oppose Villeroi, who, being further reinforced by a detachment from Germany, declared, that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. But, when he viewed the forces which lay near Massy, he resolved his resolution, and retired in the night without noise. On the thirteenth day of August, the besieged were summoned to surrender, by Count Horne, who, in a parley with the Count de Lecque, general of the French infantry, gave him to understand, that the Mareschal Villeroi had demanded the Meusegate; so that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No immediate answer being returned to this message, the parley was broke off, and the king resolved to proceed without day to a general assault, which he had already planned with the elector and his other generals. Between one and two in the afternoon, Lord Cutts, who desired the command, though it was not in his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgment in the breach of Terra-nova, supported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buxham, Hamilton, and Mackay; who, with Cutts, had a body of match, the Bavarians, and Brandenburgers, attacked at two other places. The assailants met with such a warm reception, that the English grenadiers were repulsed, even after they had mounted the breach, Lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a wound. Many were killed and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers. The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their general, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers were slain: nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Cochorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dressed, returned to the scene of action, and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the saillant-angle next to the breach, sword in hand, while the ensigns of the same regiment should advance, and plant the colours on the palissades. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the palisadoes, drove the French from the covered-way, made a lodgment in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians, being thus sustained, made their post good. The Major-Generals La Cave and Schwerin lodged themselves at the same time, on the left, and though the general assault did not succeed in its full extent, the confederates remained masters of a very considerable lodgment, nearly an English mile in length. Yet this was dearly purchased with two thousand men, including many officers of great rank and reputation. During the action the Elector of Bavaria signalized his courage in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire, giving his directions with notable presence of mind, according to the emergency of circumstances, animating the officers with praise and promise of preference, and distributing handfuls of gold among the private soldiers.

§ XVI. On the first day of September, the besieged having obtained a cessation of arms, that their dead might be buried, the Count de Guscard appearing on the breach, and, it was desired, so as to prevent the destruction of the batteries immediately mounting the breach, the French governor offered to surrender the fort of Coehorn; but was given to understand, that if he intended to capitulate, he must treat with the Elector of Bavaria. His highness immediately accepted of Boufflers, he agreed to the proposal; the cessation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was finished. Villeroi, who lay encamped at Embourg, was no sooner apprised of the event, by a discharges of all the artillery, and a running fire along the lines of the confederate army, than he passed the Sambre near Charleroi, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garrison of Dinant, retreated towards the lines in the neighborhood of Mons. On the fifth day of September, the French garrison, which was now restored from fifteen to five thousand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of Namur. Boufflers, in marching out, was arrested in the name of the King, who had returned from the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse, which the French king had detained, contrary to the cartel subsisting between the two nations. The mareschal was not a little disgraced in the eyes of the allies, who received him warmly at王先生, who assured him the King of Great Britain entertained a profound respect for his person and character. William even offered to set him at liberty, provided he would pass his word, that the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse should be sent back to his majesty, who would return in a fortnight. He said, that he could not enter into any such engagement, as he did not know his master's reasons for detaining the garrisons in question. He was therefore, conveyed to Namur; was thence removed to Maestricht, and treated with great reverence and respect, till the return of an officer whom he had despatched to Versailles with an account of his capture. Then he engaged his word, that the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse should be sent back to the allied army. He was immediately released, and conducted in safety to Dinant. When he repaired to Versailles, Louis was always in full of extraordinary respect for his captive, and offered him the warmest expressions of regard; declared himself perfectly well satisfied with his conduct; created him a duke and peer of France; and presented him with a very large sum, in acknowledgment of his defeat, taken and killed, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers. The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their general, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers were slain: nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Cochorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude.

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was so dilatory in their preparations, that he was not in a condition to set till the middle of August. Lord Paget had been sent ambassador from England to the Ottoman Porte, with instructions relating to a pacification: but being arrested in Provence, where the Sultan died and was succeeded by his nephew, Mustapha, who resolved to prosecute the war in person. The warlike genius of this new emperor afforded but an uncomfortable prospect to his subjects, that their Duke Michel, that Mussulman 'had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and besiege Azoph; so that the Tartars were too much employed at home to spare the succours which the Sultan demanded. Nevertheless, Mustapha and his son, the future Sultan, who had already commenced the operations of the campaign, passed the Danube, took Lissa and Titul by assault, stormed the camp of General Veteran, who was posted at Lugos with seven thousand men, and who lost his life in the action. The infantry were cut to pieces, after having made a desperate defence; but the horse retreated to Cariosebes, under the conduct of General Truchese. The Turks, after this exploit, retired to Orsova. Their navy, meanwhile, surprised the Venetian fleet at Scio, where several ships of the republic were destroyed, and they recovered that island, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon; but, in order to balance this misfortune, these last obtained a decisive victory over the Barshaw of Negropont in the Morea.

§ XVIII. The French king still maintained a secret negotiation with the Duke of Savoy, whose conduct had been equally unnerving, that the ministers of State, and the opinion of his allies, undertook the siege of Castil, which was counted one of the strongest fortifications in Europe, defended by a numerous garrison, abundantly supplied with ammunition and provision. The siege was begun about the middle of May; and the place was surrendered by capitulation in about fourteen days, to the astonishment of the French, who did not know that this was a sacrifice by which the French court obtained the Duke's forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The capitulation imported, that the place should be restored to the Duke of Mantua, who was the rightful proprietor; that the fortifications should be demolished at the expense of the allies; that the garrison should remain in the fort till that work should be completed: and hostages were exchanged for the performance of these conditions. The duke understood the art of prosecution so well, that September was far advanced before the siege was desisted; and then he was again seized with an ague, which obliged him to quit the army.

§ XIX. In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Russel, who wintered at Malons, took possession of him, and asserted all his majesty's ships employed, or to be employed, in the narrow seas, and in the Mediterranean. He was reinforced by four thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of Brigadier-General Stewart; and seven thousand men, imperialists as well as Spaniards, were drafted from Italy for the defence of Catalonia. These forces were transported to Barcelona, under the convoy of Admiral Nevil, detached by Russel for that purpose. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aspect. Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Ostalric and Castel-Follit: Nusilis had been recalled, and the command devolved upon the Duke de Vendome, who no sooner understood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he distanced Ostalric and Castel-Follit, and retired to Palamos. The Viceroy of Catalonia, and the English admiral, having resolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the English troops were landed on the ninth day of August, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle; but the viceroy declined an engagement; and from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces, and the admiral, returning to the British squadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland: that he had taken no care to provide tents and provisions for the British forces. On the twenty-seventh day of August he sailed for the coast of Portugal, where the fleet was engaged by the enemy in a tempest: then he steered down the Straits, and towards the latter end of September arrived in the bay of Cadiz. There he left a number of ships under the command of Vice-Admiral Cooke, who was expected from England, and returned home with the rest of the combined squadrons.

§ XX. While Admiral Russel asserted the British dominion in the Mediterranean, the French coast was again insulted in their turn by a fleet of twenty ships under command of Lord Berkeley of Stratton, assisted by the Dutch admiral Allemoine. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Malo, which they bombarded from nine ketches covered by some frigates, which sustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the sixth, Granville underwent the same fate, and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where four hundred soldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his infernal, and other machines for the service. On the first day of August the experiment was tried without success; but two smoke ships miscarried. The French had secured the Rishbank and wooden forts with pikes, bombs, chains, and floating batteries, in such a manner that they could not be drawn near enough to produce any effect. Besides, the councils of the assailants were distracted by violent animosities. The English officers hated Meesters, because he was a Dutchman, and had acquired some credit with the king; but, on the other hand, treated them with disrespect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refused to co-operate with Lord Berkeley in his design upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the sixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon the place, and several of the French quarters, but the enemy had taken such precautions as rendered his scheme abortive.

§ XXI. A squadron had been sent to the West Indies under the joint command of Captain Robert Wilton and Colonel Lillingston, with twelve hundred land forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. In their return, they were accordingly joined by seventeen hundred Spaniards raised by the President of St. Domingo; but instead of proceeding against Petit-Guara, according to the direction they had received, they anchored at Port France, and laid designs for the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lillingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land officers lived in a state of perpetual dissension; and both became extremely disagreeable to the Spaniards, who soon renounced all connexion with them and their designs. In the beginning of September the commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulf of Florida. He himself died in his passage; and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemic distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prise of many rich vessels. The Marquis of Caermarthen, being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mustook a fleet of merchant ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and one of the French admiral's ships valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The admiral had been guilty of the neglect to make any provision for the conduct on this occasion; but the chief source of those
national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France, from time to time, by the malcontents of England; for they were actuated by a scandalous jealousy, of which they stood divested, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of the country.

§ XXII. King William, after having conferred with the states of Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth of November, October, and landed at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day, he summoned a convention of the lords and commons, in which it was determined to convocate a new parliament. While the nation was in good humour, it was supposed that they would return such members only as were well affected to the government; whereas the present parliament might proceed in its inquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be less influenced by the crown, as their dependence was of such short duration. The parliament was, therefore, dissolved by proclamation, and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his chief confidants, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to conciliate the people. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the University of Cambridge. Then he visited the Earls of Sunderland, Northumberland, and Newcastle, at their different houses in the country; and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck, a seat belonging to the Duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with Lord Brooke, at Warwick castle, dined with the Duke of Shrewsbury at Eyrefoot, and by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the town by the Earls, and at the same time the University, the vice-chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin speech; he received from the chancellor on his knees the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of Common Prayer, the cuts of the university, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared, but an anonymous letter being found on the stairs, it was said there was a design to poison his majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not escape the search of magistrates at the university, Sir William Trumbal, secretary of state, as one of their representatives in parliament.

§ XXIII. The wish, interest generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were renegades, and when the parliament met, Foley was again chosen speaker of the Commons. The king, in his first speech, extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compassion the miserable situation of the French Protestants; took notice of the bad state of the orange-letters being found on the streets, and replied there was a design to poison his majesty, William refused to eat or drink, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not escape the search of magistrates at the university, Sir William Trumbal, secretary of state, as one of their representatives in parliament.

§ XXIV. This important affair being discussed, the Commons proceeded to examine the accounts and estimates, and voted above five millions for the service of the ensuing year. The state of the coin was by this time become such a national grievance as could not escape the attention of parliament. The Lords prepared a bill to the throne, for a proclamation to stop the current of diminished coin; and to this they desired the concurrence of the Commons. The lower House, however, determined to take this affair under their own inspection. They appointed a committee of the university, Sir William Trumbal, secretary of state, as one of their representatives in parliament.

The king character had proved ineffectual; he was still dry, reserved, and forbidding; and the malcontents weighed bitterly against his behaviour to the Process Anne of Denmark. The queen, when left alone, or sequestered in England, this lady congratulated him upon his success in a dutiful letter, to which he would not desire to send a reply, either by writing or message; nor had she or her husband been favoured with the slightest mark of his favour or recognition.
that after an appointed day, no clipped money would pass to payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans or payment into the exchequer: that, after another day to be appointed, no clipped money of any sort should pass to payment whatsoever: and that a third day was to be appointed to bring their clipped money to be resumed, after which they should have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addressed the king to issue a proclamation agreeing to these resolutions: and, if the clipped money was not be resumed on such day, it was to be published accordingly. Such were the fears of the people, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceased, and a face of distraction appeared through the whole kingdom. The adversaries of the king seized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehensions of the public. They inveighed against the ministry, as the authors of this national grievance; they levelled their satire particularly at Montague; and it required uncommon fortitude and address to avert the most dangerous consequences of popular discontent. The House of Commons agreed to the following resolutions: that twelve hundred thousand pounds should be raised by a duty on glass windows, to make up the loss on the clipped money; that the recompense for supplying the deficiency of clipped money should extend to all silver coin, though of a coarser alloy than the standard: that the collectors and other officers of the government and services to be employed should receive all such moneys; that a reward of fifteen per cent. should be given to all such persons as should bring in either milled or broad uncropped money, to be applied to the expenses of the kingdom: that a reward of three-pence per ounce should be given to all persons who should bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: that persons might pay in their whole next year’s land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpose: that the commissioners should be appointed in every county, to pay and distribute the milled and broad uncropped money, and the new coined money, in lieu of that which was diminished. A committee was appointed by the House, to examine into these determinations, was sent up to the House of Lords, who made some amendments, which the Commons rejected; but, in order to avoid cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another without the clauses which the Lords had inserted. They were again proposed in the upper House, and overruled by the majority: and, on the twenty-first day of January, the bill received the royal assent. The king, in instructing the commissioners to inquire into the clipping annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the same time, the king passed the bill of trials for high treason, and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers measures were introduced to enforce the Commons; and that the losses in their trade and payments, occasioned by the rise of guineas, might be taken into consideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligations and encouragement for coming guineas for a certain time; and the Commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin: a task in which they met with great opposition from some members, who alleged that it would foment the public disturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea should be lowered from thirty to eight and twenty shillings, and afterwards to six and twenty: at length a clause was inserted in the bill for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, setting the price of a guinea at fifteen and half-pence, and naturally sunk to its original value of twenty shillings and sixpence. Many persons, however, supposing that the price of gold would be raised the next session, hastened up the proceedings; and many sums and recommendations by the malcontents, the new coined silver money was reserved, to the great detriment of commerce. The king ordered mints to be erected in York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester, for the purpose of the recovery, which was executed with great diligence, and with a view to the currency of England, which had been the worst, became the best, coin in Europe.

§ XXV. At this period the attention of the Commons was almost exclusively directed to the king’s fortune, and to the affairs of Derbyshire. While the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county resolved to oppose it with all their power. In consequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the lords of the treasury. Sir William Williams, in the name of the rest, alleged that the lordsships of the Princes of Wales, actually unalienable; that the revenues of those lordsships supported the government of Wales, in paying the judges and other salaries; that the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign subject; and that the people of the county were too great to be subject to any foreigner. Sundry other substantial reasons were used against the grant, which, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, would have passed were not the king’s gentlemen addressed themselves by petition to the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, Mr. Price, a member of the House, harangued with great severity against the Dutch in general, and did not even abstain from sarcasms upon the king’s person, title, and government. The objections started by the petitioners being duly considered, were found so reasonable, that the Commons presented an address to the king, representing, that those mansions had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and proceeded on the Princes of Wales for their support: that many persons in those parts held their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and grants. The king and Scotch had enjoyed great privileges and advantages under such tenure. They, therefore, besought his majesty to recall the grant, which was in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown; and that he would not have passed were not the representatives of the kingdom in foreign parts not been allotted without the consent of parliament. This address met with a cold reception from the king, who promised to recall the grant which had given such offence to the Commons; and said he would pass it, in some other way of showing his displeasure. at the time ofPortsmouth.

§ XXVI. The people in general entertained a national aversion to this nobleman: the malcontents imputed a notion that he made use of his interest and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flourish without competition. To his suggestions they imputed the act and patent in favour of the Scottish company, which was supposed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The subject was first started in the House of Lords, who invited the Commons to a conference; a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for creating the Scottish company, and that evening presented a joint address against it, as a scheme that would prejudice all the subjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the English nation. They represented, that, in consequence of the concessions made to the Scotch, the trade of England might be injured, that king’s subjects would become a free port for all East and West India commodities: that the Scots would be enabled to supply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the English could afford to sell their manufactures for: therefore England would lose the benefit of its foreign trade: besides, they observed that the Scots would smuggle their commodities into England, to the great detriment of his majesty and his estates. To this remonstrance the king replied, that he had been ill served in Scotland; but that he hoped some remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniences of which they were apprehensive. In all probability he had been imposed on by the merchants, that dangers for, in a little time, he discarded the Marquis of Tweedale, and dismissed both the Scottish secretaries of state, in lieu of whom he appointed Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Sunderland. Nevertheless the committee proceeded on the inquiry, and in consequence of their report, confirming a petition from the East India company, the House resolved, that the directors of the Scottish company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, in administering the crown with the greatest injury, and that they should be impeached for the same. Meanwhile, Roderick Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered not to be retaken; but he could not be retaken, although the king, at their request, issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots were
extremely incensed against the king, when they understood he had disowned his company, from which they had promised themselves such wealth and advantage. The settlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution, though it miscarried. It was a subject of the committee to consider the state of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions: that a council of trade should be formed, to consider of the necessity of measures for the more effectual preservation of commerce: that the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, but none of them have seats in the House; that they should take a oath, acknowledging the title of King William as rightful and lawful; and adjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person. The king considered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the Earl of Sunderland, who pacified this measure, but it was so popular in the House, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the Commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of King James had formed a council of Queen Mary’s secretaries for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overrode their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of King William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the court of St. Germain’s, to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, son to the Marquis of Povva, Sir John Fennick, Sir John Frew, Captain Charnock, Captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the first contrivers of this project. Charnock, with a view to this, was to procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French king could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the Earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Louis, in which the scheme of an invasion was entered upon. The Duke of Berwick, the Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, the Duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators, assured them that King James was ready to make a descent with a considerable fleet of horse, ships, and troops, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horse, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found everything prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side: a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk: Monsieur Garet had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Meanwhile, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very near completed a regiment of horse. Considerable progress was made in levying troops by Sir William Pimble, Sir John Fennick had enlisted four troops. Colonel Temple had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: Colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malcontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed.

§ XXVIII. While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, in another commanding of the business, there was formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot to the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was funded with other officers, in Rom-

neymarsh, by one Captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassinating King William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnston, a priest, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Pimble, who agreed to be pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the design of their intentions was a large between Brentford and Turnham-Green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each man in his proper posture; and, when their complements were full, they determined to execute their purpose on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or capitivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the eleventh day, Mr. Fisher informed the Earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a more circumstantial account of their number, and recommended himself to the earl. The earl was accosted by one Pendergrass, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been sent out to town, and beguiling him in a design to assassinate King William. He said he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detected it in his own mind, and took this first opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his majesty’s life that owned himself a Roman catholic, but declared, that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, it would not be for his interest to accuse them, and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The king had been so much used to fictitious plots, and false discoveries, that he paid little regard to the information, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to Brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. Then the king believed the story, and, and that a commission of Pendergrass, such as Mr. Fisher and La Rue were severely examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrass in particular for this instance of his probity; but observed, that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would be sent amongst them, and, without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against their attempts. At length Pendergrass was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew, yet not before the king had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them, except with his own consent. As the king did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they should ride in a body as far as Hammersmith, and then disperse, either London by different avenues. But, on the morning when they understood that the guards were returned to their quarters, and the king’s coaches sent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden alarm, on the suspicion that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barelaw withdrew himself, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole discovery was communicated to the privy council. To procuring the most effectual compulsion, great diligence was used to find Sir George Barelaw, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the Prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.
§ XXIX. This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarce reached Calais, when the Duke of Wirttemberg despatched his aide-de-camp to Flanders to King William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from Sweden, and further subscribe or corroborate Vaudémont's pretenses. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, Admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with about fifty sail of the line. The English were confounded at his appearance, and hailed in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he could not follow and destroy them: but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried some weeks at Calais, returned to Germany. His declarations have finally opened the garrison from which they had been drafted: the people of France exclaimed that the malignant star which ruled the destiny of James, had blasted this and every other project formed for his restoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumbull, and was executed. The design, however, which had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrass were apprehended together. This last insisted upon the king's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence; but the sheriff stoutly maintained that he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession; and they were both admitted as evidence for the crown.

§ XXX. After the examination, the king, in a speech to both Houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion: he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in the Parliament, as the means of guarding everything that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two Houses waited upon him at Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they expressed their alacrity of the willanous and barbarous design which had been formed against his sacred person, of which they besought him to take more than ordinary care. They assured him they would to the utmost defend his life, and support his government against the late King James, and all other enemies; and declared, that in case his majesty should come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleased with this warm address, and asked them to take the opportunities of recommending himself to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The Commons forthwith empowered him, by bill, to secure all persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. They likewise desired him to call in the supplies. A new bill for making good the deficiency in the supplies, and for the despatch of national affairs. They voted an address, to desire that his majesty would banish by proclamation all adherents of ten miles from the counties of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against Roman Catholics and non-jurors. They drew up an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the king and his government, and to revenge any violence that should be committed against his person. This was signed by all the members then present: but, as some had abstained themselves on frivolous pretences, the House ordered, that in sixteen days the absentees should appear and sign. Five did not appear, and the members neglecting to comply with this injunction within the limited time, the speaker was ordered to write to those who were in the country, and demand a peremptory answer; and the clerk of the House attended such as pretended to be all in W. The absentees, including two peers pressed in this manner, thought proper to sail with the stream, and sign the association, which was presented to the king by the Commons in a body, with a request that it might be lodged among the records of the House of Commons, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The king received them with uncommon complacency; declared, that he heartily entered into the same association; that he should always be ready to venture his life with his good subjects, against all who should endeavour to subvert the religion, laws, and liberties of England; and he promised that this, and all other associations, should be lodged among the records of the Tower of London. Next day the Commons approved the scheme which he had hinted at; and the Earl of Newcastle, Sir Edward Seymour, and Mr. Finch, objected to the words rightful and lawful, as applied to his majesty. They said, as the crown and its prerogatives were vested in him, they would yield obedience, though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful king. Nothing could be more absurd than this distinction, started by men who had actually constituted part of the administration; unless they supposed that the right of King William extended to the Queen Mother, and the Earl of Rochester proposed an expostulation in favour of such tender consciences, by altering the words that gave offence; and this was adopted accordingly. Fifteen of the Peers, and ninety-two Commons, signed the association with reluctance. It was, however, subscribed by all sorts of people in different parts of the kingdom; and the Bishops drew up a form for the clergy, which was signed by a great majority. The Commons brought in a bill, declaring all men incapable of public trust, or of sitting in parliament, who would not engage in this association. At the same time, the council issued an order for renewing all the commissaries in England, and resolved, that those who had not signed it voluntarily should be dismissed from service as disaffected persons.

§ XXXI. After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the Commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the necessary revenue. A bill was introduced, by which the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds should be raised; and it was called the land bank, because established on land securities. This scheme, said to have been projected by the famous Dr. Chamberlaine, was patronized by the Earl of Sunderland, and managed by Foley and Harley; so that it seemed to be a Tory plan, which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to the court. The Bank of England petitioned against this bill, and were heard by their counsel; but their representations produced no effect, and the bill having passed through both Houses, received the royal assent. On the twenty-first day of May, the new bank began to issue money, at one shilling and sixpence on the pound; and a commission was appointed to examine all depositions made in the House of Commons.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were. An act for voiding all the elections of parliament-men, at which the elected had been an enemy to his country, but it was rejected by a great majority.
seventh day of April the king closed the session with a short but gracious speech; and the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth day of June.

§ XXXI. Before this period some of the conspirators had been brought to trial. The first who suffered was Richard Jewel, who, in the reign of James, had denounced the Protestant religion; the next were lieutenant King and Thomas Keys, who last had been formerly a trumpeter, but lately assigned to Captain Pemberton, to raise in high treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the sheriff, in which they solemnly declared, that they had never seen or heard of any commission from King James for assassinating the Prince of Orange; nor had they ever been concerned in any plot to levy war, but that they had been engaged in it as a personal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed papists. The orate of Hutchinson, who officiated as chaplain in the prisoner’s house, declared upon oath that after the revolution he used to pray for King William, and that he had often heard Sir John Friend say, that though he could not comply with the present government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conspiracy. Mr. Howland, father of the present Bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of king-killing principles. Friend himself owned he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street, but heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed, that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that his being at a reasonable concert could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord Chief Justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy, or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III., yet if the design was to commit actual violence against the person of the king, by the means of levying war, then the consultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high treason, though no war be actually levied. The same inference must be drawn against the orators and witnesses of the revolution. The judge’s explanation influenced the jury, who, after some deliberation, found the prisoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Everlank, his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the king’s life. The evidence was scanty, and the prisoner, having been bred to the law, made an artful but vigorous defence; but the judge acted as counsel for the crown; and the jury decided by the hints they received from the bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend professed innocence, and denied that he had ever had any notion of dismemberment; but that he had been engaged in the assassination scheme; that he died in the commission of that crime; and that he had no knowledge of the design purposed by King James, and therefore had made no preparations; that he was utterly ignorant of the assassination scheme; that he died in the commission of that crime; and that he had no notion of the cause in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenor of the king’s commission, which he saw, was general, directed to all the king’s subjects. The King’s Bench took up the Prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c. but that he neither saw nor heard of any commission particularly levelled against the person of the Prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the design; but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. These two criminals were in their last moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjurors clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace with an imposition of hands; a public infusion of holy water, or holy water poured over them. They were found guilty of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. The condemned were presented by the grand jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. A vindication was given to the conduct of King James, and he and the others were connected against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. The absolution of many of the other priests, observed, the men of the commonwealth. Those three clergymen were presented by the grand jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. A vindication was given to the conduct of King James, and he and the others were connected against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. The absolution of many of the other priests, observed, the men of the commonwealth.
condemnation the court-agents tampered with him to make further discoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was sent into banishment. From the whole tenour of these discoveries and proceedings, it appears that James had actually meditated an invasion: that his partisans in England had made preparations for joining him on his arrival; that a few despatches of that faction had concerted a scheme against the life of King William; that in prosecuting the conspirators, the court had countenanced informers; that the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the prisoners: in a word, that the administration had employed all the private means that could be used for those unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom.

§ XXXIII. The warthen, however, manifested on this occasion may have been owing to national resentment of the purpose invasion. Certain it is, the two Houses of parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation against France at this juncture. The Lords besought his majesty, in a solemn address, to appoint a day of thanksgiving of Almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpose of his enemies; and this was observed with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral William and the commander-in-chief of the French coast, returned to the Downs; but Sir Cloudesley Shovel, being properly prepared for the expedition, subjected Calais to another bombardment, by which the town was taken, with a loss near 3000 porters, who were overwhelmed with consternation. The generals of the allied army in Flanders resolved to make some immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanned design upon the life of King William, as they took for granted that Louis was accessory to the scheme of assassination. That monarch, on the supposition that a powerful diversion would be made by the descent on England, had established a vast magazine at Givet, designing, when the allies should be sufficiently furnished with military provisions, to strike some stroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the Earl of Athlone and Mouwen de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the duke of Holstein-Ploen, who commanded the allies, sent a strong detachment of horse, drafted from Brussels and the neigh ing garnisons, to amuse the enemy on the side of Charlevoix; while they assembled forty squadrons of horse, and also sixteen pieces of cannon, to the number of 130 mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body invested Dinant, while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to batter the town on the seventh day of April, which was taken on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the magazine it contained. Then the two generals joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the republic of Venice had deferred acknowledging King William; but now they sent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose, consisting of Signors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London, and on the first day of May had a public audience. The king, on this occasion, knighted Soranzo as the senior ambassador, and presented him with the sword according to custom. On that day, too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the same regency which had governed the kingdom during his last absence; and embarking on the seventh at Margate, arrived at Orange-Polder in the evening, under convoy of Vice-Admiral Aymer. This officer had been ordered to attend with a squadron, as the famous Du Bart still continued at Dunkirk, and some attempt of that instance was apprehended from his enterprise gens.

§ XXXIV. The French had taken the field before the allied army could be assembled: but no transitus of consequences distinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The scheme of Louis was still offensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of King William were defeated for want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective; the land bank failed, and the national bank sustained a rude shock in its credit. The loss of the nation upon the recent damage amounted to two millions of pounds; and though the different mints were employed without intermission, they could not for some months supply the circulation, especially as great part of the new money was kept by persons who received the profit and disposed of it at an unreasonable advantage. The French king, having exhausted the wealth and patience of his subjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to be dissident of his arms, and employed all the private means that could be used for those unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom.

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through a wood. A very desperate action ensued, in which the Generals Heuser and, Poland, with many other gallant officers, lost their lives. At length the Ottoman horse were driven from the assault, and the Germans, though roughly handled on the second day after the engagement, retreated at midnight, and the Turks remained quiet in their entrenchments.

§ XXXV. In Pidemont the face of affairs underwent a strange alteration. The Duke of Savoy, who had for some time been engaged in a secret negotiation with France, at length embraced the offers of that crown, and privately signed a separate treaty of peace at Loretto, to which prince the emperor was persuaded the French king engaged to present him with four million of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had sustained; to assist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies; and to effect a marriage between the Duke of Burgundy and the Princess of Pidemont, as soon as the parties should be marriagable. The treaty was guaranteed by the Pope and the Venetians, who were extremely desirous of seeing the Germans driven out of Italy. King William being apprized of this negociation, communicated the intelligence to the Earl of Galway, his ambassador at Turin, who expostulated with the duke upon this defecion; but he persisted in denying any such correspondence, which was the advance of a little army emboldened him to avow it, without fearing the resentment of the allies whom he had abandoned. Catani marched into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thousand men, and an armed meeting prior to that of Augsburg; and the duke imported to the ministers of the allies the proposals which France had made; represented the superior strength of his army; the danger to which he was exposed; and finally his inclination to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged till the fifteenth of September. He wrote to all the powers engaged in the confederacy, except King William, expatiating on the same topics, and solicit- ing the English to concur in his measures. Though with this concurrence, he on the twenty-third day of August signed the treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private. The emperor was no sooner informed of his design, than he took every step which he thought could divert him from his purpose. He sent the Count Mansfelt to Turin, with proposals for a match between the King of the Romans and the Princess of Savoy, as well as with offers to augment his forces and his subsidy; but the duke had already settled his terms with France, and could not recede. Prince Eugene, though his kinsman, expressed great indignation at his conduct. The young Prince de Commercy was so provoked at this defection, that he chose to make it a subject of complaint to his chief; but the quarrel was compromised by the intervention of friends, and they parted in an amicable manner. He had conceived the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the confederates. A considerable sum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use; but Lord Galway no sooner received intimation of his new engagement, than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milaneese, for the subsistence of those troops that were in the British service. King William was encamped at Gleemours when the duke's envoy notified the separate peace which his master had concluded with the French king, of which France was immediately cognizant; on receiving the information, he assembled his army, and, attended by the minister without the least emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that within a limited time the allies should evacuate the duke's dominions; otherwise they should be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; and this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the French and Savoyard forces, under the command of those duchies, and undertook the siege of Valetta: so that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. The garrison of Valetta, consisting of seven thousand men, and fifteen thousand men; cavalry, and French corsairs; and the Duke of Savoy prosecuted the siege with uncommon impetuosity. But, after the

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truces had been opened for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account of his catholic majesty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. The King of England had his attention engaged in the affairs of Poland, who died at the age of seventy, in the course of this summer, after having survived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition arose for the succession. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the Dutch, being now set sail towards Ushant in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grosnez, Ileau, and Heydie; made prize of about twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Re, and the town of Olonne, besieging it by land, and bombarding it by sea; and the French, in five different places with the Dutch, landed on shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprises of small import, they certainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that year, in order to diminish the number of the English, ordered the Breton and Guetuel they ordered above one hundred battalions to be erected, and above sixty thousand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. To the month of May, Rear-Admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up the port of Dunkirk, but that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Bahle, under a convoy of five frigates. He pursued them in the tracks of the enemy, and the number of the trading ships; but, falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the fifth afloat, and part with all his prizes, except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

§ XXXVII. The parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September: and Lord Murray, secretary of state, now Earl of Tollibardine, presented king's commissioners, to which he was appointed, to reintroduce the war, and two successive bad harvests, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no opposition to the court measures. The members of parliament adjourned his majesty's confederacy, and granted a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land. They passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and property, in case his majesty should come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all persons in public trust to sign the association; and then the parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The disturbances of Ireland seemed now to be entirely appeased. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. elected the chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, to be lord justice and chief governor of that kingdom, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The parliament met in June, and the court of admiralty, and the guilds, were summoned by the king. The corporation of London were adjourned to the fourth day of August. By that time Sir Charles Porter, and the Earl of Month and Droughead, were appointed lords justices, and signed the king's pleasure that they should be the members of the beginning of December the chancellor died of an apoplexy.

§ XXXVIII. King William being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and about the latter end of August repaired to his palace at Loé, where he enjoyed his favourite exercise of stag-hunting. He visited the court of Brandenburg at Berne, and the court of Denmark; and then returned safe and sound to the Hague; and embarking for England, landed at Margate on the sixth day of October. The domestic economy of
the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the sinking of public credit, and the stagnation that necessarily attended a reconnoissance. These grievances were, with difficulty, induced by a tax on coin and the entire suspension of the coin of the realm. It was a symptom that the prime minister, the shrewd statesman, chancellor of the exchequer, acting upon the national sense of adventure, which the moment interest had produced. The king opened the session of parliament on the twentieth day of October, was a speech importing that the time had been made for a negotiation, but that the best way of treating with France would be sword in hand. He, therefore, desired that they would be expeditious in raising the money and in completing the house of commons for making good the funds already granted. He declared that the civil list could not be supported without assistance. He recommended the miserable condition of the French Protestants to their compassion. He desired they would continue the best expedients for the recovery of the national credit. He observed, that unanimity and despatch were now more than ever necessary for the honour, safety, and advantage of England. The Commons having taken this speech into consideration, resolved that they would support his majesty and his government, and assist him in the prosecution of the war; that the standard of gold and silver should not be altered; and that there should be no counterfeiting of old or new coins. Then they presented an address, in a very spirited strain, declaring, that notwithstanding the blood and treasure of which the nation had been drained, the Commons of England would not be diverted from their firm resolutions of paying the war charges by a variety of representations and threats. They, therefore, renewed their assurances, that they would support his majesty against all his enemies at home and abroad. The House of Lords delivered another to the same purpose, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward, on their parts, in what might be necessary to his majesty's honour, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Christendom. The Commons, in the first transports of their zeal, ordered the petitions palliatives to be brought by the hands of the common hangmen. They deliberated upon the estimates, and granted above six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They resolved that a supply should be granted for making good the deficiency of parliamentary funds; and appropriated several duties for this purpose.

§ XXXIX. With respect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and extending the operation of guineas for a certain time, and improving and coining guineas and half guineas, at the extravagant price of those coins, which occasioned this act, was now fallen. They passed a second bill for remediying the ill state of the coin; and a third, explaining an act in the last session for laying an additional duty on wine and spirits of the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, their income offices, pensions, and professions. A duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all persons not receiving alms. A further imposition of one farthing in the pound per week was fixed upon all servants receiving four pounds per annum, at wages, and upwards to eight pounds a-year inclusive. Those who received from eight to sixteen pounds were taxed at one halfpenny per pound. An aid of three shillings in the pound for one year was laid upon all lands, tenements, and appurtenances to this act. The treasury was enabled to borrow a million and a half at eight per cent. and to circulate exchequer bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three guineas, was appropriated. The Commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recompensing the hammered money, and the recompense for bringing in plate to the mint. This sum was not to be paid out of the current revenue, but was to be taken from the bank, board, vellum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into consideration the services, and the present languishing state of the bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they resolved, that it should be enlarged by new subscriptions, made by four-fifths in talles struck on parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in bank-bills or notes: that effectual provision should be made by parliament for paying the principal of all such talles, as should be subscribed in the bank, as well as the interest; and that there should be allowed to all such subscribers: that an interest of eight per cent. should be allowed on all such talles: and, that the continuance of the bank should be prolonged to the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten. That all assignment of orders on talles subscribed into the bank, should be registered in the exchequer: that, before the day should be fixed for the beginning of the new subscriptions, the old should be made one hundred per cent. and what might exceed that value should be divided among the old members: that all the interest due on those talles which might be subscribed in the bank-stock, at that time appointed for subscriptions, to the end of the last preceding half-year, should be allowed from all such subscriptions: and that liberty should be given by parliament to enlarge the number of bank-bills, to the value of the sum that should be so subscribed, over and above the twelve hundred thousand pounds required for the subscriptions: that all bills should be obliged to answer such bills and demands; and, in default thereof, be answered by the exchequer out of the first money due to them: that no other bank should be erected or allowed by act of parliament, during the continuance of the bank of England: that no act should be exempted from all tax or imposition: that no act of the corporation should forfeit the particular interest of any person concerned therein; that provision should be made to prevent the officers of the exchequer, and all other officers or receivers of the money being diverted, delaying, or obstructing the course of payments to the bank; that care should be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forgery any bank-bills or notes: that the estate and interest of each other in the stock of the corporation should be made a personal estate: that no contract made for any bank-stock to be bought or sold should be valid in law or equity, unless actually registered in the bank-books within seven days, and actually transferred by the party to whom the stock was made. A bill upon these resolutions was brought in, under the direction of the chancellor of the exchequer: it related to the continuation of tonnage and poundage upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco; and comprehended a clause for laying an additional duty on wine, spirituous and other liquors, at three quarters. All the several branches constituted a general fund, since known by the name of the General Mortgage, without prejudice to their former appropriations. The bill also provided, that the talles should bear eight per cent. interest: that from the tenth of June for five years they should bear no more than six per cent. interest: and, that no premium or discount upon them should be taken. In case of the general funds proving insufficient to pay the whole interest, it was provided, that every proprietor should receive his proportion of the product, and the deficiency be made good from the next aid: but should the fund produce more than the interest, the surplus was estimated to operate to the multiplying fund, and to the principal. In order to make up a deficiency of above eight hundred thousand pounds, occasioned by the failure of the land bank, additional duties were laid upon leather: the tax was enlarged for persons to come in and annually upon the annuities payable by several former acts, and to obtain more certain interest in such annuities.

§ XI. Never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of the government; and never by the government served such a set of enterprising undertakers. The Commons having received a message from the king, touching the condition of the civil list, resolved, that a sum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds shall be granted for the support of the civil list for the ensuing year, to be raised by a mail-tax, and
additional duties upon mim, sweets, eyder, and penny. They likewise resolved, that an additional aid of one shilling in the pound should be had upon land, as an equivalent for the duty of ten per cent., for raising one million four hundred thousand pounds by a lottery. The treasury was empowered to issue an additional number of exchequer bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds, every lbour day. Bills bearing interest at the rate of five-ounce a day, and ten per cent. for circulation: finally, in order to liquidate the transport debt, which the funds established for that purpose had not been sufficient to defray, a money-bill was passed to oblige pedlars to take out licences, and pay for them at certain stated prices. One cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous sums that were raised up by usurers and extortioners from the distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength, until it was put to this extraordinary trial: and the experiment of mortgages funds succeeded so well, that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burthen upon burthen, as if they thought the sneezes of the nation could never be overstrained.

X.1. The public credit being thus bolstered up by the supply of bills, Mr. Montagu, in his speech, told the supplies of the ensuing year, the attention of the Commons was transferred to the case of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, by his mendicant, to Elybridge, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this being seized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly excused him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was sent abroad to his majesty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring testimonies, appeared to have been counsel of the malicious comploters and uncomploivers. The first, headed by the Earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from King James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: the second, of the other party, at the head of which was the Earl of Melfort, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generosity. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the Earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russell, of having corresponded with King James, and engaging to act for his interest. Meanwhile his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancys, who acted as agent for Sir F. Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined, and set in the pillory; but they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared; so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russell acquainted the House of Commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick; he therefore desired, that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character. Mr. Secretary Trumbull had published the papers, which having been read, the Commons ordered, that Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the House. There he was exhorbit by the speaker to make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined, except with the provision that he should first receive some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should deliberate on his request. Then he was called in again, and the speaker told him that he might desire the favour of the House, by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the House. The House consented, he was allowed to go to his own security; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. voted, that his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the House, and others, upon borsaw, were false and scandalous, contrary to the understanding of the House, which was the king and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.

XII. A motion being made for leave to bring in a bill to attain him of high treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a large majority, and presented with the bill. The bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a petition, praying that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be heard, and that the bill be read in the bar of the House: so that he was surprised into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their passing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the House; and the bill being read in his hearing, the speaker called upon the king's counsel to open the evidence. The prisoner's counsel objected to their proceeding to trial, alleging, that their client had not received the least notice of their purpose, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but that they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The House, after a long debate, resolved, that he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his own behalf; and if they should also be likewise allowed to produce evidence to prove the terrors of which he stood indicted; and an order was made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In the mean time, his counsel, who were examined, which had been found against him by the grand jury was produced; and Porter was examined as an evidence. Then the record of Clancys's conviction was read; and one Rix testified, that Dighton, the prisoner's solicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds, to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The king's counsel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the council, might be read. Sir J. Pows, and Sir Edward Seymour, who were taken in Sir Bartholomew Shower's house, and the names of the comploivers and uncomploivers. The first, headed by the Earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from King James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: the second, of the other party, at the head of which was the Earl of Melfort, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generosity. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the Earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russell, of having corresponded with King James, and engaging to act for his interest. Meanwhile his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancys, who acted as agent for Sir F. Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined, and set in the pillory: but they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared; so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russell acquainted the House of Commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick; he therefore desired, that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character. Mr. Secretary Trumbull had published the papers, which having been read, the Commons ordered, that Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the House. There he was exhorbit by the speaker to make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined, except with the provision that he should first receive some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should deliberate on his request. Then he was called in again, and the speaker told him that he might desire the favour of the House, by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the House. The House consented, he was allowed to go to his own security; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. voted, that his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the House, and others, upon borsaw, were false and scandalous, contrary to the understanding of the House, which was the king and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.
whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Then two of the grand jury who had been present at the trial, Mr. Russell, Cockley, and others, had who had suffered death in the reign of Charles II. This author (said he) takes notice, that a conspiracy or agreement to levy war is not treason without actually levying war; a sentiment on which he concurred with Lord Coke, and chief justice St. John. Fenwick, who was not raised to the bar, in legal opinion, was a lawyer. He asserted, that the House of Commons has a right to be represented both by the upper and lower houses, for the protection they are constituted. Let us, therefore, reflect upon the possibility of a parliament debarred by the arts of corruption into servile compliance with the designs of tyrants, and the fruits of such compliance would be so formidable for the consequences. The debate being finished, the prisoner was, at the desire of Admiral Russell, questioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that great gentleman and others, from bastardy: but he desired to be excused on account of the risk he ran while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him might be turned to his prejudice.

§ XLIV. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the desire of the House, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to procrastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the speaker at the bar enquired, if the question should be put for its being committed to a grand jury, which would be immediately followed by a new flame of contention. Hawles, the solicitor-general, affirmed, that the House in the present case should act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harescourt said, he knew no trial for treason but what was confirmed by Magna Charta, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Englishman, or per legem terrae, which includes impeachments in parliament; it was a strange trial where the person was accused of the offence, but he never heard of a juryman who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath; and was not empowered to save the innocent as well as to convict the guilty. Sir John Fenwick was of opinion, that the parliament ought not to stand upon little niceties and forms of other courts, when the government was at stake. Mr. Howe asserted, that to de
a thing of this nature, because the parliament had power to do it, was a strange way of reasoning: that what was justice and equity at Westminster-hall, was justice and equity that one had precedent in parliament, was of worse consequence than a hundred in Westminster-hall, because personal or private injuries did not foreclose the claim of original right; whereas the parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption, because it could establish twenty laws. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of parliament is to make any law, but the jurisdiction of parliament is to govern itself by the law: to make a law, therefore, against all the laws of England, was a "peninnunm," never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed, that by this precedent the House overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man upon one witness; secondly, in passing an act without any trial. The Commons never did nor can assume a jurisdiction of trying any person: they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is no trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have passed against persons that were dead or dead, or without the compass of the law: some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials, and they were generally reversed. He denounced the advantages that the House declare any treason which was not treason before. When inferior courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony; but there was no way found by the laws, nor any judgment was not in the parliament by bill, but only in the House of Lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and Colonel Granville, spoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and sent up to the House of Lords, where it produced the longest and warmest debates which had been known since the restoration. Bishop Burnet, in his "History," speaks of the House of Commons, by a long speech in favour of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length it was carried by a majority of seven voices; and one-and forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest, couched in the strongest terms, against the decision.

§ XVI. When the bill received the royal assent, another act of the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and some other incorporators who had left from the nation, in case they should not surrender themselves upon or before the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing. Sir John Fenwick solicited the mediation of the Lords in his behalf, which the lords, by a recommendation of the Earl of Granville, gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they insisted upon his depending on their favour. He stated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which last be at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the disgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the axe, in consideration of his rank and alliance with the house of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill with great composure. In the paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he took God to witness, that he knew not of the intended treason, until it was the common subject of discussion in every private place, and that he was not for the service of King James. He thanked those noble and worthy persons who had opposed his attainder in parliament; protested before God, that the information he gave to the sheriffs, he had received in letters and messages from France; and observed that he might have expected mercy from the Prince of Orange, as he had been instrumental in saving his life, by preventing the execution of a design which had been for his execution; a circumstance settled with the probability induced in the late conversation of the Lords to conceal their purpose of assassination from his knowledge. He professed his loyalty to King James, and prayed Heaven for his speedy restoration.

A. D. 1697. While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the Earl of Monmouth had set foot some practices against the Duke of Shrewsbury.
hitherto promoted his councils behind the curtain. That politician was now sworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of lord-chamberlain, which had been resigned by the Earl of Leicester, in the time of his imperious and unrelenting silence; severe and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess, in his commerce with individuals.

III. Thus having made some promotions, and appointed a regency, embarked on the twenty-sixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negociation for a general peace. By this time the treaty of May, and the French, Dutch, and the Swedish minister, and Mr. Dykvelt, in behalf of the States-general, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions: yet his imperial Majesty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and provided the King of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies, in case France should break through this stipulation. This proposal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna presented a joint memorial, pressing his imperial majesty to ratify the second article of the place at which the congress might be opened. The emperor complied with reluctance. On the fourteenth day of February, all the ministers of the allies, except the ambassador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and on the twenty-first Lottinburgh sent the Swedish plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France should agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long list which the minister of that crown presented to the assembly. The emperor proposed, that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Frankfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more disposed to negotiate in Holland. At length the French king suggested, that the minister which would more belong to King William, called Newbourg-house, situated between the Hague and Delft, close to the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. Those of England were the Earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson: France sent Harley and Crevy to the assistance of Calilieres. Louis was not only tired of the war, on account of the misery which it had involved his kingdom; but in siring a peace, he was actsued by another motive. The King of Spain had been for some time in a very ill state of health, and the French monarch had an eye to the succession. This aim could not be accomplished while the enemy was alive; and it was of traction from the kingdom, that he might at once turn his whole power against Spain, as soon as Charles should expire. The emperor harboured the same design upon the Spanish crown, and for that reason interested himself in the continuance of the grand alliance. Besides, he foresaw he should in a little time be able to act against France with an augmented force. The Czar of Muscovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raise the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made some progress in a negociation with the circles of the Rhine, for a considerable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of securing a barrier in the Netherlands. King William insisted upon the French king's acknowledging his title; and the English nation wished for nothing so much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February, Calilieres, in the name of his master, agreed to the following preliminaries: That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimuegen should be the basis of this negociation; that Strasburg should be restored to the empire, and Luxembourg to the Spaniards, together with all their dominions and revenues by the French in the county of Luxembourg; that Dinant should be ceded to the Bishop of Liège, and all union since the treaty of Nimuegen be made void; that the French king should make restitution of Lorraine, and, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King of Great Britain, without condition or restraint. The confederates of eleemosynary work were severe and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess, in his commerce with individuals.

§ XLIX. Meanwhile, the French king, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, resolved to make his last effort against the Spaniards in Catalonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the Prince of Conti to the throne of Poland; an event which would have greatly improved the interest of France in Europe. Louis had got the start of the confederates in Flanders, and sent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Catinat, Villeroi, and Bourdies. The campaign was opened with the siege of Aeth, which was so sooner invested, than King William, had resolved of having the site of the fiercest and perhaps the most notable of all the French monarchs, who commanded a separate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which surrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but continued with his army to Flanders, with the intention of making an advantageous camp, where he covered Brussels, which Villeroi and Bourdies had determined to besiege. In Catalonia, the Duke of Vendome invested Barcelona, in which some thousands of Frenchmen, besides five thousand burgheurs, who had voluntarily taken arms on this occasion. The governor of the place was the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had served in Ireland, and been vested with the command of the imperial troops which were sent into Spain. The French general being reinforced from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with surprising impetuosity; and was repulsed in several attacks by the valour of the defenders. At length the enemy surprised and routed the Viceroy of Catalonia; and, flushed with this victory, stormed the outworks, which had been long battered with their cannon. The dispute was very bloody and obstinate; but the French, by dint of numbers, made themselves masters of the covered-way and two bastions. There they erected batteries of cannon and mortars, and fired furiously on the town, which, however, the Prince of Hesse resolved to defend to the last extremity. The court of Madrid, however, was unwilling to risk any troops in that place, and the probability it would be restored at the peace, despatched an order to the prince to capitulate; and he obtained very honourable terms, after having made a glorious defence for nine weeks; in consideration of which he was appointed viceroy of the province. France was no sooner in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards became as eager for peace as they had been before averse to a negociation.

§ L. Their imprudence was not a little inflamed by the success of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagena, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an English squadron under Admiral Neville had arrived in the West Indies, with a design to attack him in his return, he bore away for the Straits of Bahama. On the twenty-second day of May he fell in with the English fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken. The supper proceeded. Then Neville steered to Carthagena, that he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been roused a second time by the conspiracy, was released upon bail; but this privilege was denied to Lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account.
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mSTOKY OF ENGLAND.

buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of
their sliare of the plunder.
Tins wa^ really the ca.ne they
bad in a grcJit measure contributed to the success of PointLS, and were very ill rewarded.
In a few days the English
admiral discovered eight sail of their ships, two of which
were forced on shore and deslroyerl, two taken, and the
rest escaped.
Then he directed liis course to Jamaica,
and, by the advice of the governor. Sir William Iteeston,
dclached Uear-Ailmiral Meeze with some ships and forces
to attack Petit-Guavas, which he accordingly surprined,
burned, and reduced to ashes. After this small expeiiitiou, Nevil proceeded to the Havannah on purjxise to lake
the galleons under his convoy for F.urojic, accortimg lo
the instructions he had received from the king: but tlic
governor of the place, and the general of the Plate-fleet,
suspecting such an offer, would neither suffer him to enter
tlie harbour, nor put tire galleons under his protection,
lie now sailed through the gulf of Florida to Virginia,
where he died of chagrin, and the command of the Heet
dc\olve<l on C'antam Dilkes, who arrived in Engl.uid on
the Iweiitv-fourin clay of October, with a shnUered souadron, half manned, to the unspeakable murtihcatioTi of the
people, who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth
;

and

glory from this expedition.
Pointis, steering to the
Ijanks of Newfoundlaiia, entered the l»ay of Concenlione,
at a time when a stout English squadron, commanaed by
Commodore Norris, lay at anchor in the bay of St. John.
officer being informeil of the arrival of a French fleet,
at first c«nclude<l, that it was the squadron of M. Nesmond come to attack him, and exerted his utmost endeavours to put the place in a (>osture of defence: but, afterwards, understanding that it was Pointis returning with

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S{H)it of Carthagena, he called a council of war, and
proposed to go immediately in qui‘St of the enemy. He
\v;is, however, overruled by a maiorily, who gave it as
iheir Opinion that they should remain where they were,
without running unnecessary hazard. By virtue of this
.scandalous determination, Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe ; but he had not yet escaped
every danger. ()n the fourteenth dav of August he fell in
with a squadron under the command of Captain Harlow,
by whom he was boldly engage<l till night parted the
combatants. He w.as pursued next day ; but his ships
.sailing Wtler than thov* of Harlow, he accomplished his
escape, and on the morrow entered the harbour of Brest.
Tliat his ships, which were foul, should outsail ttie English squadron, which had just put to se:i, 'vas a mystery
which the jieople of England could nut explain. Tliey
complained of having been betrayed through the whole
course of the ^^'cst Indian expeiJition. The king owned
he did not understand marine affairs, the entire conduct
of which he afjandoned to Russel, who became proud,
arhitiarv, and unpopular, and was sup|>osed to be betraved bv h'is ilepcndants. CaTlain it is, the scrvic*e was greatly
obstruried by fiction among the officers, which with respect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and
misconduct.
Tlie success of the French in Catalonia, Flanders,
§ LI.
and the West Indies, was balanced by their disappointment in Poland. lx>uis, encouraged by the remonstrances
of the Ahln^ de Polignac, who managed the affairs of
France in Uiat kingdom, resolved to support the Pnnee
of ('oiiti as a candidate for the crown, and remitted great
sums of money, which were distrilHiterl among the Polish
nobility. Tlie emperor had at fir«t declared for the son
of the late king: hut, finding the French |>afty too strong
for his competitor, he entereil into a m'gocialion with the
Elivtnr of Saxony, who «'.;reed to change his religion, to
disinlmle eight millions of florins among the Poles, to
confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to
the frontiers of that kingdom.
Having performed these
articles, he declarefl himself a candidate, and was publicly
espoiiKxl bv the imperialists. The Duke of Lorraine, the
Prim e of Baden, and Don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to
Pope Innot'enl, were likewise comj>ctitors ; but finding
their irilcresl insufficient, they unitea their influence with
that of the elector, who was proclaimed King of Poland.
He forthwith took the oath required, procured an atte.station from the imperial court of his having changed his
religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where he

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[A. D. 1697.— Book I.

was crowned with the usual solemnitv.
in

Louis persisted
maintaining the pretensions of the Prince of Conti, and

Dunkirk for his convoy to DanUick in
his way to Poland.
But the magistrates of that city, who
had declared for Uie new king, would not suffer his men
to land, though they offered to admit himself with a small
retinue.
He, therefore, went on shore at Marienburgh,
where he was met by some chiefs of his own |»artv hut
the new King Augustus acted with such vigilance, that he
found it impracticable to form an army besides, he susequipped a

fleet at

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own Polish partisans : he, thererefused to part with the treasure he had brought, and
in ifio beginning of winter relumed to Dunkirk.
of Augustus on the throne
§ LH. Tiie esiahhshmenl
of Poland was in some measure owing to the conduct of
Peter the Czar of Muscovy, who having formed great designs against the Ottoman Porte, was very unwilling to
see the crown of Poland pos-<esse<l by a fiartisan of F* ranee,
which was in allnnce with the grand signor. He, therefore, interested himself warmly in the di^mte, and ordered
his gener.d to asMuuhle an armv on the mxiticrs of Lithuania, which, by overawing the Poles that were in the interest of the Prince of Conti, considerably influenced Uie
election. Tliis extraordinary legislator, who was a strange
compound of heroism and barKirity, conscious of the de~
fects in his education, and of the gross ignorance that
overspread his dominions, resolved to extend his idea.s,
tH*rted tlie fidelity of his
fore,

and improve
might be Uie

his

judgment, by travelling; and that he
bv forms, or interrupted by

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he determined
He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime
power, and in particular' of maintaining a fleet
the
Black sea ; and nis immediate aim was to leam the |irinciples of ship-building.
He apiminted an emba-ssy for
Holland, to regulate some points of niminerce with the
Having intniMed the care of his domiSlates-general.
nions to persons in *hom he could confide, he now disguised himself, and travelled as one of their retinue. lie
first disclosed himself to the F'lecior of Brandenlmrgh in
Prussia, and afterwards to King William, with whom he
He engaged himself as a
conferred in private at Ulrecht.
common labourer with a ship-car|>enter iti Holland, whom
he served for some months with wonderful patience and
assiduity.
He aftenvanis visited Englano, where ho
amused himself chieflv with the same kind of occu|iation.
From thence he set out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions, that his sister was concerned in
managing intrigues against his government, he relumed
suddenly lo Moscow, and found the machinations of the
conspirators were already Iviftleil by the vigihuice ami
fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of
the administration.
His savacc nature, however, broke
out upon this occasion ; he ordered some hundreds to be
hanged all round his capital ; and a good mimher were
beheaded, he himself with his own hand performing the
to travel

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Rvswick proceeded very
demanded,

imperial minister

that France should make restitution of all the places and
dominions she hud wrested from the empire since the
peace of Munster, whether bv force of arms or pn'tcnce
of right. The Spaniards claimed all thev could demand
by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen an»l the Ire.aly of the

Pvrennees. Tlic F'rench affirmed, that if the prcliminarit‘5
bv Callieres were accepted, these pro|>osiiions
could not be taken inlo consideration. Tlie inqKrialists
persisted in demanding a ciniimstuntial answer, article
nv article. The Spanianls iii.siHicd u|>on the same manner of proceeding, and callwi upon the mediator and
Dutch ministers lo support their luvlensions. Tlie plenipotentiaries of France d<*clared, thev wouM not admit any
demand or proposition, conlrarv lo the i»reliminarv articles : but were willing lo deliver in a project of peace, in
order to shorten the negociations, and the .Sjiaiusn ainlwssadors consented to this expedient. During these transactions, the Earl of Porll.md held a conference with Mareschal Boufflers, near Halle, in sight of the two opjKisite
armies, which was continued in five successive meetings.
On the second day of August they retire*! together to a
house in the suburlis of Halle, and mutually signed a
offered


paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed. The subject of this field negotiation is said to have turned upon the interest of King James, which the French monarch most wished to abandon: others, however, suppose that the first foundation of the partition treaty was laid in this conference. But, in all probability, William's sole aim was to put an end to the English in the camp, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the court of France an acknowledgment of his title, which had since the queen's death become the subject of dispute. He perceived the emperor's backwardness towards a pacification, and foresaw numberless difficulties in discussing such a complication of interests by the common method of treating: he, therefore, chose such a step as he thought would alarm the jealousy of the allies, and quicken the negotiation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, King James had published two manifestos, addressed to the catholic and protestant princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress; but before the emperor could arrive, the letters he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negotiated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realm, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth of June, declared, that to lay aside the project of a perpetual peace, declaring at the same time, that this should not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered; but Caunin, the emperor's plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediators an ultimatum, importing, That he adhered to the terms of Westphalia, and Strasburg, and accepted of Strasbourg with its appurtenances: That he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name; and demanded, That the church and chapter of Liège should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, That the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: That, therefore, the King of France would reserve Strasburg, and unite it, with its dependencies, to his crown for ever: That in other respects he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to revise. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire, represented the inconveniences and dangers that would accrue to the German body from France's being in possession of Luxemburg, and that no one could be a judge to decide such a case: They offered of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the States-general, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. Then the imperial ambassadors demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles: but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between him and the emperor should be prolonged till the first day of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland should be signed on that day, even though the emperor and empire should not concur.

§ LIV. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors, and the imperial ministers protested against the transaction, observing the second condition that a separate peace had been concluded with France, and that the states of the empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future engage to act in the character of mediators in certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, King William promised to pay a yearly pension to Queen Mary D'Esty, of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of parliament. This stipulation, as a violation of articles—The French king engaged, that he would not disturb or disquiet the King of Great Britain in the possession of his realms or government: nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocated. A free conference was allowed. Commissaries were appointed to meet at London, and settle the pretensions of each crown to Hudson's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the English: both the limits of the lands to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewise stipulated, That, in case of a rupture, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects: That the separate articles of the treaty of Nimweigen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed: and, That the ratifications should be exchanged in three weeks from the day of signing. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutual restitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between her and the provinces of Brabant and Brabant-Neuve, a hundred and seventy, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or in six months after the conclusion of the treaty. Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty of commerce with which their king should be in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, Rhodes, Barcelona, Luxemburg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French, in the province of Luxemburg, Namur, Dender, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French: this dispute was left to the decision of commissioners, or in case they should not agree, to the determination of the States-general. A remonstrance in favour of the French protestant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany, was delivered by the Earl of Pembroke to the mediators, in the name of the protestant allies, on the day that preceded the conclusion of the treaty; but the French plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to King William about the English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles; the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London.

§ LV. The emperor still held out, and perhaps was encouraged to persevere in his obstinacy by the success of his arms in Hungary, where his general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the grand signor, who commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the twenty-seventh of September, the grand vizir, the aga of the janissaries, seven-and-twenty bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed or drowned in the river Tysse; six thousand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, provision, and ammunition, the grand signor himself escaping with difficulty; a victory the more glorious and acceptable, as the Turks had a great superiority in point of numbers, and as the imperialists did not lose a thousand men during the whole action. Thus the emperor, perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought proper to make use of the armistice, and continued the negotiation after the forementioned treaties had been signed. This was likewise the case with the princes of the empire; though those of the protestant persuasion complained, that their interest was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty, it was stipulated, That in the places to be restored by France, the Roman catholic religious should continue to be re-established. The ambassadors of the protestant princes joined in a remonstrance, demanding, That the Lutheran religion should be restored in those places where it had been previously prevailed, and that both parties should be equally disagreeable to France and the emperor. Then they refused to sign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the emperor, and the catholic
princes of the empire. By this pacification, Trea, the palatinate, and Louvain, were restored to their respective owners. The countries of Spanheim and Veldenz, together with the duchy of Deux Ponts, were ceded to the King of Sweden. Francis Louis Palatine was confirmed in the electorate of Cologne; and Cardinal Weinsberg restored to all his rights and benefits. The claims of the Duchess of Orleans upon the palatinate were referred to the arbitration of France and the emperor; and in the mean time the pretender palatine was supplied with his necessary without an annuity of one hundred thousand florins. The ministers of the protestant princes published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion, and afterwards solemnly protested against the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted. Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging vanity and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connexions, as well as a national debt, which was gradually increased to an intolerable burthen. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenue amounted to nothing. Nevertheless, he reapplied the solid advantage of seeing himself firmly established on the English throne; and the confederate, though not successful in every instance, accomplished their great aim of putting an end to the enmity which had agitated the nation for a hundred years. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to disgorge the acquisitions which, like a robber, he had made in violation of public faith, justice, and humanity. Had the confederate war been to one end, they had acted from genuine zeal for the common interest of mankind; and prosecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Louis would in a few campaigns have been reduced to the most abject state of disgrace and submission; for he was destitute of true courage and magnanimity.

King William having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November; he was received in London with a joyous accost and salutations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have infallibly beggar'd.

Chapter VI.

§ 1. Peace of partition. § 11. Characters of the ministers. § 111. The Commonwealth reduces the number of standing forces to ten thousand. § IV. They shew the fallacy of the national debt. § V. They take cognizance of fraudulent inducements of marching bolts. § VI. The committee of the house of commons propose a reduction of the army. § VII. Proceedings against a book written by William Mother of Dublin. § VIII. The last of the certain events, which they introduced into France. § IX. Society for the reformation of manners. § X. The treaty of Vervins, the last of the foreign transactions connected with the kingdom, is annulled. § XI. The lords consider the office of the king's private secretary. § XII. The king and parliament are not only reconciled, but entertained an opinion of each other. § XIII. The most extraordinary transactions of the year. § XIV. The condition of the king, and his council. § XV. The Commons address the king against the papists. § XVI. The parliament meets. § XVII. The Scottish company makes a settlement on the mission of Turenne. § XVIII. The parliament is not summoned to meet. § XIX. The Commons were not consulted in the treaty of partition. § XX. The Commons in their resolutions to meet the king. § XXI. Inquiry into the expense of Captains card. § XXII. A motion made against Porte. Bishop of Sarum. § XXIII. The terms of the treaty of Vervins. § XXIV. The Commons were apprehensive of an union to be made with Scotland. § XXV.d Attestation for the recovery of Moray. § XXVI. The Commons overheard the king's declaration in Scotland. § XXVII. The Lords. Lords dissenting from the treaty of Vervins. § XXVIII. Section two of the treaty of Vervins. § XXIX. The king and Duke of Gloucester. § XXX. The king sends a fleet into the English Channel, to the assistance of one brand. § XXXI. The king sends another petition generally disagreeable to the English people. § XXXII. The French minister presents at the court of Versailles. § XXXIII. The king and Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Marlborough, all the leading ministers of the crown, set about the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XXXIV. The king and Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Marlborough, and the rest of the leading ministers of the crown, set about the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XXXV. The king and Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Marlborough, and the rest of the leading ministers of the crown, set about the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XXXVI. The king and Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Marlborough, and the rest of the leading ministers of the crown, set about the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XXXVII. The king and Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Marlborough, and the rest of the leading ministers of the crown, set about the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XXXVIII. The French king's apology for negociating the peace of the empire. § XXXIX. The king of Spain's answer to the French king's apology. § XL. A new ministry and a new parliament. § XLI. The Commons propose a bill to secure the peace. § XLII. An intercepted letter from the Earl of Malmouth his brother. § XLIII. The king signs the treaty of Vervins. § XLIV. The treaty of Vervins signed in the presence of the king of Spain, and the king of France, the latter being present in the presence of the king of Spain. § XLV. The two houses were to return to the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XLVI. The treaty of Vervins signed in the presence of the king of Spain, and the king of France, the latter being present in the presence of the king of Spain. § XLVII. The two houses were to return to the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § XLVIII. The treaty of Vervins signed in the presence of the king of Spain, and the king of France, the latter being present in the presence of the king of Spain. § XLIX. The two houses were to return to the business of negociating the peace of the empire. § L. The Earl of Portland and Oxon, the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Devon in Scotland. § LI. Resolve between the two houses. § LII. The House of peers acquiesces the
majority of those who really entertained revolution principles opposed the court, from apprehensions that a standing army once established would take root, and grow into an habitual maxim of government: that should the people be disarmed, and the sword left in the hands of mercenary soldiers, they might be more easily brought under the mercy of him by whom those mercenaries should be commanded. They might overthrow elections, dictate to parliaments, and establish a tyranny, before the people could take their own measures for their own defense. They could not help thinking it was possible to form a militia, that with the concurrence of a fleet might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of an invasion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to military discipline, and wages paid for their services, so that they did not doubt they would surpass those hirelings in courage, considering that they would be animed by every concurrend motive of interest, sentiment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, surrounded as it was by a boisterous sea, secured by floating bulwarks, abounding with stout and hardy inhabitants, did not deserve to be free, if her sons could not protect their liberties within the seas as well as on them, or share the dominion of the kingdom. Yet, among the genuine friends of their country, some individuals exposed the opposite maxims. They observed, that the military system of every government in Europe was now altered, that the standing army might be a dangerous power; and it might be learned but by those who made it their sole profession; that, therefore, while France kept up a large standing army of veterans, ready to embark on the opposite coast, it would be absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation, to maintain a small standing force, which should be voted in parliament from year to year. They might have suggested another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of disciplined men. The idea of a standing army was entertained, for a term of years, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their discharge, volunteers would have offered themselves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the desire of learning the use and exercise of arms, the ambition of being concerned in scenes of actual service, and the chagrin of little disappointments or temporary disgusts, which yet would not have impelled them to enlist as soldiers on the common terms of perpetual slavery. In consequence of such a succession, the whole kingdom would soon have been stocked with members of a disciplined militia, equal, if not superior, to any army of professed soldiers. But this scheme would have defeated the policy of the nation, as it would make them domestic foes than of foreign enemies; and industriously avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malcontents of the nation more formidable. The plan which the parliament in this session, in considering this matter, may not be amiss to sketch the outlines of the ministry, as it stood at this juncture. The king's affection for the Earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his esteem for Sunderland increased, together with his consideration for Mrs. Villiers, who had been distinguished by some particular marks of his majesty's fav'ur. These two favourites are said to have supplanted Portland, whose place in the king's bosom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Sunderland, who had first served his majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as private secretary. The Earl of Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the king resolved to send him into honourable exile, in quality of an ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; and Trumbull, his friend and creature, was dismissed from the office of secretary, which the king conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as under-secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman railed the Earl of Sunderland, in his credit at the council-board, and was supported by Somers, lord chancellor of England, by Russell, now Earl of Orford, first Lord of the Treasury, and by R. C. a gentleman of the court, who was an upright judge, a plausible statesman, a commissary-courte, affable, mild, and insinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montagu had distinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but he soon converted his attention to the cultivation of more solid talents. He rendered himself remarkable for his eloquence, discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate taste, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first cared for the enjoyment of life; the other inspired with a great ambition. He, at the same time, was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment he was liberal, easy, and amiable: as a statesman, bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

§ III. The terrors of a standing army had produced such a universal ferment in the nation, that the dependents of the court in the House of Commons durst not openly oppose the vote of the standing army to the lower branch of the latter, and employed all their address in persuading the House to agree, that a very small number should be retained. When the Commons voted, that all the forces raised since the year one thousand six hundred and eighty should be disbanded, the courtiers desired the vote might be recommitted, on pretense that it restrained the King to the old tody regiments, on whose fidelity he could not rely. This motion was entertained, and the standing army was reduced to an abridgment of the standing army. The king was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the Commons; and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust. His displeasure was aggravated by the resentment expressed against Sunderland, who was supposed to have advised the unpopular measure of retaining a standing army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the Commons, resolved to avert the fury of the impending storm, by resigning his office, and retiring from court, contrary to the entreaties of his friends, and the earnest desire of his majesty.

§ IV. The House of Commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the king, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from other services. Then they passed a law prohibiting the circulation of all hammered coin, including a clause for making out new exchequer bills, in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with indorsements: they framed another to open the correspondence of the foreign ministers, and to declare that an act of the 2d of August, 1709, was to be held null and void; and a third for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: a fourth granted further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the exchequer and bank of England. These bills having received the royal assent, they resolved to grant a supply, which, together with the funds already settled for that purpose, should be sufficient to answer and cancel all exchequer bills, to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to such commissioned officers as were natural-born subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds, to make good deficiencies. They resolved, that the sum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and two pounds was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, contingencies, general officers, guards, and garrisons; of which sum eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and two pounds remained in the hands of the paymaster. Then they took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers, and the sums owing to contractors for the bread and for maintaining the distant dependencies of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thousand one
hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The transport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other services, did not fall short of four hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nineteen thousand five hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for quartering and clothing the army, which had been raised by one act of parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous loan or debt had not been discharged, the Commons passed a number of votes for raising sums of money by which it was considerably lightened; and settled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax, the rated poor-tax, and various other assessments. With respect to the revenue, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excise, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post office, the first-fruits and tenth of the clergy, the fines in the alienation office, and post fines, the revenue of the wine-levellers, mortality, sheriffs' proffers, and compositions in the exchequer, and seizures, the income of the duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other crown lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon exports, and contributed to the Tower: Leeward Islands. The bill imported, That the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to parliament. Six hundred thousand pounds of this money was allotted in the first instance to the expenses of the end of the year; the rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be paid to Queen Mary d’Est, according to the stipulation at Ryswick; and to maintain a court for the Duke of Orleans. The revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, ... expenditure, was voted preceptor. § V. The Commons having discussed the ways and means for raising the supplies of the ensuing year, which rose almost to five millions, took cognizance of some frauds in the collection of exchequer-seals, a species of forgery which had been practised by a confidence, consisting of Charles Duncombe, receiver-general of the excise, Bartolomeo Burton, who possessed a place in that branch of the revenue, John Knight, treasurer of the customs, and John Marriot, a stationer of the excise office at London. The last became evidence, and the proof turning out very strong and full, the House resolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncombe and Knight, both members of parliament, were sent in contempt, and committed to the Tower: Burton was sent to Newgate: and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought in against them. The first, levelling at the House of Lords, passed through the House, though not without great opposition: but was rejected in the House of Lords by the majority of one voice. Duncombe, who was extremely rich, is said to have paid debt for his release. The other two bills met with the same fate. The Peers discharged Duncombe from his confinement; but he was recommitted by the Commons, and remained in custody till the end of the session. While the Commons were employed on ways and means, some of the members in the opposition proposed, that one fourth part of the money arising from improper grants of the crown should be appropriated to the service of the public, but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the wages of King William's reign, but also the taxes which had been granted by Charles II. and his brother. A great number of petitions were presented against this measure, and so many difficulties raised, that both parties agreed to lay it aside. In the course of this inquiry, they discovered that one Railton held a grant in trust for Mr. Montagu, chancellor of the exchequer. A motion was immediately made that he should withdraw; but the House, after some debate, and upon the opinion of a great many members in the prosecution of this minister, the House voted it was their opinion, That Mr. Montagu, for his good services to the government, did deserve his majesty's favour. § VI. This extraordinary vote was a sure prelude of success in the execution of a scheme which Montagu had concerted against the East India company. They had been sounded about advancing a sum of money for the public service, by way of loan in consideration of a parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition: but before they formed this resolution, another body of merchants, under the auspices of Montagu, offered to lend two millions of pounds, and undertook to be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the House of Commons. A bill for this purpose was immediately brought in; and the Commons, by a special committee, represented their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families of consequence; the interests of the nation, the wealth of the company, and the means of raising it in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alleged they had expended a million in fortifications: that during the war they had lost twelve great ships, with fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since the last subscription they had contributed a hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very just, growing under the most oppressive burthens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or administration since the first establishment of the English government. § VII. The Commons now transferred their attention to certain objects in which the people of Ireland were interested. Colonel Michelborne, who had been joint governor of London, and Lord lieutenant of Limerick, was sent to that place, petitioned the House in behalf of himself, his officers, and soldiers, to whom a considerable sum of money was due for subsistence; and the city itself implored the mediation of the Commons with his majesty, that its services and sufferings might be taken into consideration. The House having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, presented an address to the king, recommending the councils of Londonerry to his majesty's favour: that they might no longer remain a notorious spectacle to all, a scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to well-affectcd subjects; they likewise declared, that the government, having found matters raised, to be justifications of royal favour, for a lasting monument to posterty. To this address the king replied, that he would consider them according to the desire of the Commons. William Molineaux, a gentleman of Dublin, having published a book to prove that thirty wives of Ireland, drawn up in the midst of that parliament of England, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the cause and nature of this performance. An address was voted to the king, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the authors. Upon the report of the committee, the Commons in a body presented an address to his majesty, representing the dangerous attempts which had been lately made by some of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and
dependence upon England: attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pertinacious assertions contained in a book lately published, but more fully and authentically by the proceedings of the Commons in Ireland. These had, during their last session, transmitted an act for the better security of his majesty's person and government, whereby an English act of parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of justice and the citizens of England. The Commons, therefore, besought his majesty to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty therein; that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonstrance was graciously received, and the king promised to comply with their request.

§ VIII. The jealousy which the Commons entertained of the government in Ireland, animates them to take other measures, that averted the subject of that kingdom. Understanding that the Irish had established divers woolen manufactories, they, to another address, entrusted his majesty to take measures for discouraging the woolen manufactories in Ireland, and to restrict the importation of English manufactures, and to promote the linen manufacture, which would be profitable to both nations. At the same time, receiving information that the French had subsidised some English manufactories, and set great work for frustrated an act for the House, by the lurking company, against certain merchants who had smuggled alamodes and lustrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to inquire into the allegations; and all the secrets of the trade were opened, the key was taken, and the company resolved, that the manufactures of alamodes and lustrings set up to England had been beneficial to the kingdom; that there had been a destructive and illegal trade carried on during the war, for importing these commodities, by which the king had been defrauded of his customs, and the English manufacturers greatly discouraged, that, by the smuggling vessels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into England during the war, and the enemies of the government conspired from justice. Stephen Segrregor, Rhene, Baudoine, John Gooele, Nicholas Santim, Peter de Hierre, John Pierce, John Dumatre, and David Barreau, were imprisoned at the bar of the House of Commons, and their property sequestered; and, after the bills upon them, according to their respective circumstances, they were in the mean time committed to Newgate, until those fines should be paid: and the Commons addressed the king, that the monies might be appropriated to the maintenance of Greenwich hospital. The House having taken cognizance of this affair, and made some new regulations in the prosecution of the African trade, presented a solemn address to the king, representing the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beseeching his majesty to command all his judges, justices, and magistrates, to put the laws in execution against plunderers and robbers, to make the king professedly to himself well pleased with this remonstrance, presented to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expressed his desire that some more effectual proviso might be made for suppressing impious books, containing doctrines against the Trinity; doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licentiousness and profanity of the times.

§ IX. In the midst of this unprovoked immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechists, itinerants, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. The book was printed and published, by subscription, and the bill having been brought into the House of Commons, for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the Gospel among the people of Virginia, and the Leeward Islands. About this period, a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read the Scriptures at certain places of public worship, to administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society resolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and not to publish by law those who should be proved to constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the king, on the third day of July, proposed the parliament, after having thanked them, in a short speech, for the many testimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was dissolved.

§ X. In the month of January, the Earl of Portland had sent out on his embassy to France, where he was received with very particular marks of distinction. He made a public entry into Paris with such magnificence, as is said to have astonished the French nation. He interceded for the protestants in that kingdom, against whom he proposed to redress with his whole heart. If, however, he proposed that King James should be removed to Avignon, in which case his master would supply him with an honourable pension: but his remonstrances on both subjects proved ineffectual. Louis, however, in a conference with him at Mols, is supposed to have communicated his project of the partition treaty. The Earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himself totally eclipsed in the king's favour, by Keppel, now created Earl of Albemarle, resigned his employments in disgust; nor could the king's solicitations prevail upon him to resume any office in the household; though he promised to serve his majesty in any other shape, and was soon employed to negotiate the peace with the Dutch. If this nobleman miscarried in the purposes of his last embassy at the court of Versailles, the agents of France were equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England, which the war had interrupted. Their commissary, sent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with insuperable difficulties. The parliament had burdened the French commodities with heavy duties which were already appropriated to different uses; and the channel of trade was in many respects entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with timber from Holland and the fisheries of the Channel Islands. The Dutch were hindered by the English manufactures of paper, hats, stuffs, and silks, had been erected up and successfully carried on in England, by the French refugees.

§ XI. By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the apposition and discourses their new company had sustained. They had employed agents in England, Holland, and Hamburg, to receive subscriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the measures which had been taken in parliament against the Scottish company. The Dutch East India company took the alarm, and exerted all their interest to prevent their countrymen from subscribing; and the king permitted his resident at Hamburg to present a memorial against the Scottish company to the senate of that city. The parliament of Scotland being assembled by the Earl of Marchmont as king's commissioner, the company presented it with a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances, arising from the conduct of the English House of Commons, as well as from the memorial presented by the king's minister at Hamburg, in which he actually disowned the act of parliament and letters patent which had passed in their favour, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his majesty's resentment, in case they should join the Scots in their undertaking. They represented, that such instances of interference had put a stop to the subscriptions; and each individual would be ill advice to risk his property in the credit of the company, discouraged the adventurers, and

*On the 5th day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitchell, through the carelessness of a landsman, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and several adjoining apartments, were entirely consumed; but the banqueting house was not affected.*
threatened the entire ruin of a design, in which all the most considerable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The parliamentarians, for that case into consideration, sent an address to his majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the design, and entreaty that he would take measures to effectually vindicate their undoubted right and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying that his majesty would give some intimation to the senate of France to prevent the inhabitants of that city to renew the subscriptions they had withdrawn: that, as a gracious mark of his royal favour to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then lying useless in the harbour of Burntisland; and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities for such longer time as should seem reasonable to his majesty. Though the commissioner was wholly devoted to the king, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not apprise the resentmeut of the nation; and the heats in parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn it to the fifth day of November. In this interval, the directors of the company, understanding from their agent at Hamburg, that the address of the parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect in their favour; they wrote a letter of complaint to the Lord Seafield, secretary of state, that they had received assurances of the king's having given orders to his resident at Hamburg touching their memorial; and entreaty the interposition of his lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The secretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his majesty; but he said this could not be immediately expected, as the king was much engaged in the affairs of the English parliament. This declaration the directors considered as a mean respite, a mere measure towards a more efficacious one, to abate the minds of that people from the king's person and government.

§ XI. King William at this time resided in his own mind a project of the greatest consequence to the interest of Europe; namely, that of settling the succession to the throne of Spain, which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II., whose constitution was already exhausted. He had lately redressed extremities, and his situation was no sooner known in France, than Louis detached a squadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the Plate-sheets, in case the King of Spain should die before the expected arrival of his fleet at the galleons; but it arrived too late for that service, and the nation loudly exclaimed against the tardiness of the equipment. His catholic majesty recovered from his disorder, contrary to the expectation of his people: but continued long in the severest illness, which was supposed to be a relapse every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July, King William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a recess from business, which was necessary to his constitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himself for some time from a kingdom in which he had been exposed to such opposition and chagrin. But the real motive of his voyage was a design of uniting with the French king, remote from the observation of those who might have penetrated into the nature of his negotiation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and, as one of the ombre, nominated the Earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been constituted governor of the Duke of Gloucester. At his majesty's departure, seated orders were left with the minister, directing, that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the Commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alleged, that the apprehension of troubles which might arise at the death of King Charles, induced him to transgress this limitation; and he hoped that the new parliament would be more faithful to his secret. His enemies, however, made a fresh handle of this step, to depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

§ XII. Having assisted at the assembly of the States-
conclus. He was instructed to procure the succession of the crown for one of the dauphin's sons, or at least to hinder it from devolving upon the emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negotiations, the French king entered an army of sixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Narbâre, while a great number of ships and galleys cruised along the coast and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately before his departure informed the emperor of his design; but the latter had no power to dispose of his crown against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm: that, by the order of succession, the crown ought to descend to the children of his brother-in-law; that, in that instance; that, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the dauphin's second son, the Duke of Anjou, they might train him up in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse to this proposal, he assured them his master would approve of the Elector Prince of Bavaria, rather than consent to the succession's devolving upon a son of the emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would choose a sovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his most Christian majesty, who had no other view than that of preventing the host of Austria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Queen of Spain, having discovered the intentions of the Elector Prince of Bavaria, and the presence of the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He supposed her intention was to prevail upon her husband, in his absence, to consent to this union. But all doubts were all removed, when he understood that the Count de Harach, the imperial ambassador, had privately repaired to Toledo. He forswore the same road, prefacing to have received a memorial from his master, with a positive order to deliver it into the king's own hands. He was given to understand, that the management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of Cardinal Corfalanda at Madrid, and that the king's health would not permit him to attend to the choice of his successor. The Emperor offered of French force to assist in raising the siege of Ceuta in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken: but this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts at Madrid, and found means to engage Cardinal Portocarrero in the interests of his master. In the mean time Louis concluded an alliance with Sweden, under the pretext of preserving and securing the commonwealth; by such means as should be adjudged, most proper and convenient. During these transactions, King William was not wanting in his endeavours to terminate the war in Hungary, which had raged fifteen years with so little success. About the middle of August, Lord Paget and Mr. Collins waited at Brunswick on the coast of Holland, arrived in the Turkish camp near Belgrade; and a conference being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlswitz was signed on the twenty-sixth day of January. By this treaty, the emperor renounced in possession of all his conquests: Cammack was restored to the Poles: all the Moras, with several fortresses in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the Zbor of Muscovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years; so that the Turks, by this pacification, lost great part of their European dominions. The cardinal primate of Poland, who had strenuously adhered to the Prince of Conti, was prevailed upon to relinquish his pretensions, and the commotions in Lithuania being appeased, peace was established through all Christendom.

§ XV. In the beginning of December the King arrived in England, where a new parliament had been chosen, and prorogued on account of his majesty's absence, which was prolonged by contrary winds and tempestuous weather. His ministry had been at very little pains to influence the elections, which generally fell upon men of revolution principles. This the king had not omitted to let them know devoted to the person of their sovereign: yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttleton for speaker seemed to presage a session favourable to the ministry. The two Houses being convened, Lord Westmorland's motion for the two last sessions observed. That the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom would in a great measure depend upon the strength which they should think proper to maintain by sea and land. He desired they would some further progress in discharging the national debt; counter effectual expedients for employing the poor; pass good bills for the advancement of trade, and the description of unprofitable manufacturies: and act with unremittent and dispatch. The Commons of this new parliament were so irritated at the king's presuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted, that they resolved he should not have their disapprobation. He was content with the common compliment of an address: they resolved that all the forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; and also that the masts and yards of the ships, and all the vessels and the yards of those retained should be his majesty's natural-born subjects. A bill was brought in on these resolutions, and prosecuted with peculiar eagerness, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who was not only extremely sensible of the affront, but also particularly alarmed to see himself disabled from maintaining his Dutch guards, and the regiments of French refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached. Before the meeting of the parliament, the ministry gave him to understand, that they should be able to procure a vote for ten or twelve thousand; but they would not undertake for a greater number. If he professed himself unsatisfied with the proposal, observing, that they might as well disband all his Talleyrand, the ministers would not run the risk of losing all their credit, by proposing a greater number; and, having received no directions on this subject, sat silent when it was debated in the House of Commons.

§ XVI. Such was the indignation of William, kindled by this conduct of his ministry and his parliament, that he threatened to abandon the government; and had actually prepared to accept the succession on that occasion: but he was diverted from this purpose by his ministry and confidants, and resolved to pass the bill by which he had been so much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal assent, he went to the House of Peers, where having demanded of the Commons what he had thought that although he might think himself unhappily indisposed, in being deprived of his guards, which had constantly attended him in all his actions; yet, as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation than any distrust or jealousy between him and his parliament, he was come to pass the bill, according to their desire. At the same time, for his own justification, and in discharge of the trust reposed in him, he declared, that in his own just opinion the nation was left too much exposed; and that it was incumbent upon them to provide such a strength as might he necessary for the safety of the kingdom. They thanked him, in an address, for this conduct of his ministry, and assented to the desires of his parliament. They assured him, he should never have reason to think the Commons were undutiful or unkind: for they would, on all occasions, stand by and assist him in the preservation of his sacred person, and in the support of his government, against all his enemies whatsoever. The Lords presented an address to the same effect; and the king assured both Houses, he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith issued orders for reducing the army to the number of seven thousand men, to be maintained in England under the name of guards and garrisons; and, hoping the hearts of the Commons were now mollified, he made another motion in favour of his Dutch guards, whom he continued dismants without the most sensible regard. Lord Ranalgh was sent with a written message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who did not come with him to England, and that they should embark immediately, unless out of consideration to him, the House should be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; a favour which his majesty would take very kindly. The Commons, with his advice, sent an address to the king, to express some sunder and unspeakable grieve, that he should propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to the constitution, which he had taken upon himself to offer in the name of any person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promised that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing
conducted more to the happiness and welfare of the nation, than an entire confidence between the king and people, which could no way be so firmly established as by intrusting his sacred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves during the late long and expensive war. They received a soothing answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the king was fully acquiesced. On the other hand, guards were now transported to Holland. At a time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their deliverer, such an opposition, in an affair of very little consequence, savoured most strongly of obstinacy. In the midst of all these professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice against himself, and all the foreigners in his service. Even to the House of Commons his person was treated with great disrespect in violent imputations. They suggested that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation: that he treated the natives with the most disagreeable reserve; and chose his confidants from the number of strangers that surrounded him; that, after every session of parliament, he retired from the kingdom, to enjoy an indolent and nugatory privacy with a few favourites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely disgusted with the English, whom he considered had shameful, ignominious, and ungrateful, and he took no pains to disguise his sentiments.

§ XVII. The Commons having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportion of the seamen of the nation, as a guard for the safety of the kingdom: they created one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen hundred pounds, for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of petitions from men of estabished credit, were carried away by the revolution, were now encouraged, by the treaty of Ryswick, to return, and appeared in all public places of London and Westminster, with remarkable encouragement. Among these was a secret whisper about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favour of those who professed that religion; and some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a papist in his heart. The Commons alarmed at the number and insolence of those religions, desired the king, in an address, to remove by proclamation all papists and non-jurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the work of designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The king gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded: but a remarkable law was enacted against papists in the course of this session. The other members of the new cabinet, about this period, petitioned the lower House, to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his majesty, for the payment of five pounds per cent. by the late act for settling the trade to the East Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner, as not to remain a burden on the petitioners; and that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the East India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the second reading.

Discontented men had risen to such a height, that some members began to assert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former parliament; and upon this maxim would have constructed their interest towards a repeal of the act made in favour of the new compacts; but such a scheme was of too dangerous consequence to the public credit, to be carried into execution.

§ XVIII. That spirit of persecution which could not be gratified with this sacrifice, produced an inquiry into the management of naval affairs, which was aimed at the Earl of Orford, a nobleman whose power gave unbreage,

and whose wealth excited envy. He officiated both as treasurer of the navy, and lord commissioneer of the admiralty, and seemed to have forgot the sphere from which he had risen to titre and office. The Commons drew up an address, complaining of some A.D. 1692. unimportant articles of maimangement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl was wise enough to avoid further prosecution. The country was at peace. On the fourth day of May the king closed the session, with a short speech, hinting dissatisfaction at their having neglected to consider some points which he had recommended to their attention. He declared his intention to the first of June. In a little time after this prorogation, his majesty appointed a regency, and on the second day of June embarkred for Holland.

§ XIX. In Ireland nothing of moment was transacted. The parliament of that country, passed an act for raising one hundred and twenty thousand pounds on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expense of maintaining twelve thousand men, who had been voted by the Commons of England, when the assembly was prorogued. A new commission afterwards arrived at Dublin, constituting the Duke of Bolton, the Earl of Berkeleys and Galway, lords-justices of Ireland. The clamour in Scotland increased; for the minister had recommended the union of their companies, and in a great measure defeated the design from which they had confined themselves such heaps of treasrue. Notwithstanding the discouragements to which their country was subjected, the king of England: they created four large ships which had been built at Hamburgh for their service. These were laden with a cargo for traffic, with some artillery and military stores; and the advenures returned, to the number of twelve hundred, they sailed from the port of Edinburg, and were lost: the ship left the seventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madura they took in a supply of wine, and then steered to Crab-Island in the neighborhood of St. Thomas, lying between St. Cruz and Porto-iero. The design was to take possession of this little island; but, when they entered the road, they saw a large tent pitched upon the shore, and the Danish colours flying. Finding themselves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their course to the coast of Darom, where they met with the natives for the establishment of their colony, and taking possession of the ground, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, began to form a projected plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their council, consisting of Pateron the projector, and six other directors. They had no sooner completed their settlement, than they wrote a letter to the king, containing a detail of their proceedings. The whole by the French was doubted intelligence that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil consequences which might arise to his majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of such a scheme. They acknowledged his goodness in granting those privileges by which their company was established; they implored the continuance of their royal favour and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of parliament, and the potent they had obtained.

§ XX. By this time, however, the king was resolved to crush them effectually. He understood that the greater part of their savages had been procured by the king of France, and had received compacts, restrictions, and other articles, under the form of treaties, and the other English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or any instruments, who had discovered, ammunition, or provision; on pretence that they had not communicated their design to his majesty, but had people

was sent ambassador extraordinary to France; the Earl of Pembroke was declared, by his majesty, to be the president of the council, and Lord Viscount Lonsdale keeper of the grey seal.

The king of France, seeing how far the intrepidity, the king of France, the lord steward of the household, the Earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner, and Sir Godfrey Carteret, the minister, the Earl of Monmouth, the Earl of Jersey, and Mr. Montagu.
plied Darien, in violation of the peace subsisting between him and his allies. Their colony was, doubtless, a very dangerous encroachment upon the Spanish dominions, and it would have complicated the relations between Porto-Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French king complained of the invasion, and offered to supply the court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the intruders; but the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presented a memorial to King William, remonstrating against the settlement of this colony, as a mark of disregard, and a breach of the alliance, and alleging that it would take proper measures against such hostilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to subdue: that, therefore, they had an original and incontrovertible right to dispose of their own lands, part of which the company had purchased for a valuable consideration. But there was another cause more powerful than the remonstrances of the Spanish court, to which the colony fell a sacrifice; and that was the jealousy of the English traders and planters. Darien was said to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprising and profiting people, and the harbour near Golden Hills was already declared a free port. The English apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony; by the double prospect of finding gold, and plundering the Spanish vessels coming to that part of the world. They would choose it as their chief residence: that the plantations of England would be desolated; that Darien would become another Algiers; and that the settlement would produce effects of the most alarming nature. The remonstrances of England in that kingdom would be confounded.

The Dutch, too, are said to have been jealous of a company, which in time might have proved their competitors in the commerce, and have diminished the hitherto dominant trade of the English nation, and by a loyal and lenient treatment, had softened the king's heart against the new settlers, whom he abominated to their fate, notwithstanding the repeated petitions and remonstrances of their constituents. Fanine compelled the first adventurers to quit the coast: a second group, of men and provisions, was sent thither from Scotland: but one of their ships, laden with provisions, being burnt by accident, they likewise deserted the place: another reinforcement arrived, and being better provided than the former, had maintained their footing; but they were soon divided into factions that rendered all their schemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced against them, but, finding themselves incapable of withstanding their numbers, they had drawn back into their former plantation, and to quell their attempts, they were permitted to retire. Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this design with incredible eagerness, and even embarked their fortune in the enterprise. The men of the Spanish nation, however, were seized upon any other occasion. They were now not only disappointed in their expectations of wealth and influence, but a great number of families were absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the design, which they imputed solely to the conduct of King William. The whole kingdom of Scotland seemed to join in the clamour that was raised against their sovereign, taxed him with double dealing, ingratitude, and base ingratitude, to a people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition; and had their power been equal to their animosity, in all probability a rebellion would have ensued.

§ 82. The English minister at Lisbon, William, had long cultivated an intimacy of friendship. During his residence in this place, the Earl of Portland and the grand-duke of Tuscany had been in high displeasure with William for their measure, and had begun a private negociation for that purpose. The court of Spain, apprized of their intention, sent a written remonstrance to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressing their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and declaring that a stop might be put to those intrigues, seeing the King of Spain would of himself take the necessary steps for preserving the public tranquillity, in case he should decide without their consent. A reparation of the same kind was made to the ministers of France and Holland: the Marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the lords-justices, couched in the most virulent terms, against this transaction, and even accused the king to the parliament. This Spanish was pleased with an opportunity to insult King William, who hated his person, and had hurled him the court, on account of his appearing covered in his father's burial, that he had ordered the ambassador to send him a letter, in which the king, more distant in the next day, when the ambassador had heard communicated this paper to the king, than he ordered the ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own house till the time of his departure. He was likewise given to understand, that no writing would be received from him or any of his domestics. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his master, which he styled an insolent and saucy attempt to stir up sedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the people and parliament of England against his majesty. The court of Spain justified what their minister had done, and in their turn ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spanish ambassador in Holland, presenting a memorial on the same subject, to the States-general; which, however, they refused to accept. These remonstrances did not interrupt the negociation, in which Louis was so eager, that the king had simplified what had been put forward, and in which he not only employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to signify their accession to the articles agreed upon by France and England: but his Britannic majesty found means to remove the remainder.

§ XXII. About the middle of October, William returned to England, and conferred upon the Duke of Shrewsbury the office of chamberlain, vacant since the death of William the Prince of Orange. The King had resigned his seat at the treasury-board, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer; either foreseeing uncommon difficulty in managing a House of Commons, after the great dissension, or in ill humour, or dreading the interest of his enemies, who might procure a vote that his two places were inconsistent. The king opened the session of parliament, on the sixteenth day of November, with a long speech, advising a further provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, as well as the repairs of ships and fortifications; exhorting the Commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the debts of the nation, and provide the necessary supplies. He recommended some measures for the encouragement of agriculture, and punishing unlawful and clandestine trading; and expressed a desire, that some method should be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burthen to the kingdom. He assured them, that his resentment was in the highest degree of tenderness and discourse vise; and that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with these words: "Since then, our arms are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another; which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and yu a great and flourishing people."—The Commons were now become wanton in their distrust. Though they had received no real provocations, they were resolved to mortify him with their proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmless expression of, "Let us act with confidence in one another." Instead of an address of thanks, according to the English custom, they presented a sullen remonstrance, complaining that a jealousy and disgust had been raised of their duty and affection; and declaring he should show marks of his high displeasure, if it was not openly avowed, that he overreigned their proceedings to his majesty. He declared, in his answer, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings, and, that if any should presume to impose upon him with such calumnies, he would treat them as his worst enemies.

§ XXIII. The House was not in a humour to be appeased with soothing promises and protestations: they determined to distress him, by prosecuting his ministers. During the war, the colonies of North America had grown
rich by piracy. One Kidd, the master of a sloop, undertook to suppress the pirates, provided the government would furnish him with a ship of thirty guns, well manned. The board of admiralty declared that such a number of seamen could not be spared from the public service. Kidd was equipped by the private subscription of the Lord chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney, Oxford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harrison, and Colonel Livingstone, of New York. The king promised to contribute one half of the expense, and reserved to himself one tenth of the profits; but he never advanced the money. Kidd, being thus equipped, and provided with a commission to act against the French, as well as to make war on certain pirates therein mentioned by name, set sail from Plymouth; but, in lieu of cruising on the coast of America, he directed his course to the East Indies, where he himself turned pirate, and took a rich ship belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, none of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ship, and sailed with his prize to the West Indies. There he purchased a sloop, in which he steered from North America, leaving part of his men in the prize, to remain in one of the Leeward Islands, until they should receive further instructions. Arriving on the coast of New York, he sent one Emmet to make his peace with the Earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who received him into his protection, in the course of which he was apprehended. Then his lordship sent an account of his proceedings to the secretary of state, desiring that he would send for the prisoners to England, as they were of too great consequence to be punished by murder, with death, and the majority of the people favoured that practice. The admiralty, by order of the lords-justices, despatched the ship Rochester to bring home the prisoners and their effects; but, after having been tossed for some time with tempests, and having been saved, the ship returned to Plymouth in a shattered condition. This incident furnished the malcontents with a colour to paint the ministry as the authors and abettors of a practical expedient to divert the public from the revenue of the public. The old East India company had complained to the regency of the capture made by Kidd in the East Indies, apprehending, as the vessel belonged to the Moors, they should be exposed to the resentment of the Mogul. In the beginning of December, this subject being brought abruptly into the House of Commons, a motion was made, That the letters patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of piracy generally, were dishonourable to the king, against the laws of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate ensued, in the course of which, some members declared war against the Duke of Shrewsbury, as partners in a piratical scheme; but these imputations were refuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not but they might have stigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which those nabobmen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

§ XXIV. While this affair was in agitation among the Commons, the attention of the upper House was employed upon the case of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's. This prelate was supposed to have paid a valuable consideration for his bishopric; and, after his elevation to that dignity, he had, with a view of being reimbursed. He was accused of simony; and, after a solemn hearing before the Archbishop of Canterbury and six suffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his innocence; and, to shew that the affair was brought into the House of Lords, in order to own him as a peer, for he had ceased to be a bishop. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to the court of delegates, by whom the archbishop's sentence was confirmed. The next effort that the Commons made in that behalf was a visit to the Illiain, with a view to the dismissal of that prelate. This was to raise a clamour against Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Siam. He was recalled in the House as a very unfit preceptor for the Duke of Gloucester, both as a Scottish man, and from the idea that his political views had been turned by order of the parliament, for asserting that William had a right to the crown from conquest. A motion

was made for addressing his majesty that this prelate might be dismissed from his employment, but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the trust. He had declined the office which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to resign the bishopric of Siam; and, after the difficulty of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a pastor. He insisted upon the duke's residence all the summer at Windsor, which is in the diocese of Siam; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

§ XV. The circumstance on which the anti-courtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the inquiry into the Irish forgeries, by which it is believed the king had distributed among his dependents. The commissioners appointed by parliament to examine these particulars, were Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction; the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. They began their inquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with such severity as seemed to flow rather from resentment to the court, than from a love of justice and absence of corruption. They in particular scrutinized the grant of an estate which the king had made to Mrs. Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, as so to expose his majesty's partiality for that favourite, and subject him to the consequences of his action. In the course of their examination, the Earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewster, opposed the rest of the commissioners in divers articles of the report, which they refused to sign, and sent a letter to the king, explaining their reasons for dissenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were considered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their representations. The others delivered their report, declaring that a million and a half pounds was obtained of the confiscated estates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the use of the public. A motion being made to reserve a third part for the king's disposal, it was amended; that the Commons passed an extraordinary vote, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever concerning the grants; and that they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed the inquiry into the forfeited estates. They resolved, that the four commissioners who had signed the report had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; and, That Sir Richard Leving, although boundless and sedate, in the part cast upon his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following resolution, which was presented to the king in form of an address: That the procuring and passing those grants were done against the law, and contrary to the heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the king's honour; and, That the officers and instruments concerned in the same had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The king answered, That he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged in justice to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He observed, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, was what, in his opinion, would best contribute to the security of the kingdom. This answer kindled a flame of indignation in the House. They forthwith resolved, That the adviser of it had used his utmost endeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people.

§ XXVI. They proceeded, Basford, Hemming, and Basford, passed a bill of resumption. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the king's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the House touching the forfeited estates, to be added at the head of the public books. This was a high crime and misdemeanor. That justice might be close to purchasers and creditors in the act of resump-
tion, thirteen trustees were authorized and empowered to bear and determine all claims relating to those estates; to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising from the sale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It passed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his majesty, by the sale of forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland; and that it might undergo the fifth day of May, was connected with the money bill for the service of the year. In the House of Lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the Commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be in the habit of prevaricating, and ordered a list of the privy council to be laid before the House. The Lords demanded conferences, which served only to exasperate the two Houses against each other; for the Peers insisted upon their amendments; and the Commons were so provoked at their interfering in a money bill, that they determined to give a loose to their resentment. They ordered all the doors of their House to be shut, that no minister should go forth. Then they took into consideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the list of the privy councilors: and a question was moved, That an address should be made to his majesty, to remove John Lord Somers, Chancellor, and the other barons from highness's council forever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a large majority. The king was extremely chagrined at the bill, which he considered as an invasion of his prerogative, an insult on his person, and an attempt to break up the council: and at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refusing to pass it into law: but he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of the Commons, and they might be called a council after all. 

Burke, Old, Monday, Colk's, Monday, M'Kean, M'Coll's, midday, Lewis's, Easter, his majesty's letter. Ralph.

Burning, Old, Monday, Colk's, Monday, M'Kean, M'Coll's, midday, Lewis's, Easter, his majesty's letter. Ralph.

The Commons resolved not to address his majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the Earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but before the address could be presented, the king went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill which had produced such a ferment, with some others, commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, speaker of the House, in the absence of the chancellor, who was indisposed, to propruge the parliament to the twenty-third day of May.

A.D. 1700.

In the House of Commons, the Commons having prosecuted their inquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more effectual suppressing of piracy, which passed into a law. An alias writ was directed against the House of Commons; and, in the mean time, the Commons were brought over to England; they presented an address to the king, desiring that the king might be not tried, discharged, or pardoned, till the next session of parliament: and his majesty complied with their request. Boiling still with indignation against the lord chancellor, who had turned many distressed persons out of the commission of the peace, the House ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying justices of the peace; and appointed a committee to inspect the commission, under whose authority many dissatisfied men of small fortunes, depending on the court, were put into those places, the Commons declared in an address, that it would much conduce to the service of his majesty, and the good of this kingdom, the settlement of justice and good estates should be restored, and put into the commission of the peace and lieutenancy: and that men of small estates be neither continued, nor put into the said commission: and the payment of their salaries from his majesty; and that he would give directions accordingly. They were so mollified by this instance of his conciliating, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious answer. The bill was then referred to add the committee to sign the association, either through mistake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancaster clergy, complaining of the insolence and attempts of popish priests, they appointed a committee to inquire how far the laws against popish refugees had been put in execution; and upon the report, a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict popish priests and Jesuits; and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It enacted, That no person born after the twenty- second year of the reign of King George the first, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and, That no papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name or in the name of any other person, or in trust for him. Several alterations were made in this first draft, before it was at last shufled and sent up to the Lords, some of whom proposed amendments: these, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the royal assent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the measure, on the supposition that the king was a favourer of the papists. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution; so that the law was very little regarded in the sequel.

§ XXVIII. The court sustained another insult from the old East India company, who petitioned the House that their navigation of the East Indies was a considerable part of the remaining part of the trade prescribed to them. They, at the same time, published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company now drew up a bill to obstruct the rest of the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished; the supply was not yet discussed, and the ministry had not considered the case: the bill to restrain them from the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished; the supply was not yet discussed, and the ministry had not considered the case: the bill to restrain them from the East Indies. The Commons, not yet satisfied with the vexations to which they had exposed their sovereign, passed a bill to appoint commissioners for taking and examining the public accounts. Another law was made to prohibit the use of India silks and stuffs which interfered with the English manufactories; a third, to take off duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and biscuit; and a fourth, in which provision was made for punishing governors or commanders in chief of plantations and colonies, in case they should commit any crimes or acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of their administration.

§ XXIX. The policy of Scotland continued in violent agitation. They published a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances, which they in a great measure ascribed to his majesty. A complaint being preferred to the court, the king answered the charges of this petition, were referred to the baronet, and his majesty's justiciary, and was voted a false, scandalous, and treasonable libel; and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The Commons addressed his majesty, to issue his royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the said libel; and he complied with their request. The Scottish company had sent up an address to the king, in behalf of some adventurers who were unwillingly detained prisoners in Carthagena; but Lord Basset Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refused any assistance in his majesty's court, and the ministry took shelter from their solicitations behind a parliamentary inquiry. The subject of the Scottish colony being introduced into the House of Lords, the ministers, who had discoursed of the same subject, gave in evidence a distinct rumour of the king's intentions; and the ministers were answerable for the whole debate arose, not from any regard to the interest of Scotland, but from mere opposition to the court, which, however, triumphed in the issue. A motion was made, that the settlement of the Scottish colony at Darien was uncon-
sistent with the good of the plantation trade of England; and
and passed in the affirmative by a small majority. Then
they presented an address, declaring themselves content with
the measure. This was the general sentiment of the House; and their opinion that a
prosecution of the design must end, not only in far greater
disappointments to themselves, but also prove very incon-
venient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They re-
minded the House of the benefits derived to both Houses, in the
conveniences of the new settlement; and they expressed their approbation of the
orders he had sent to the governors of the plantations on
this subject. The king, in his answer to the address, in which
he adhered to it, and declined to consent to the
exhorting them to consider of a union between the two
kingdoms as a measure, than which nothing could more
contribute to their mutual security and advantage. The
Lords, in pursuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appoint-
ing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat
with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both king-
doms; but it was obstructed in the House of Commons,
who were determined to throw every step that might tend
To lessen the disgust or appease the animosity of the Scot-
tish nation. The malcontents intimated, that the king's
opposition to the Scottish company flowed neither from
his regard to the interest of England, nor from his pœso-
tual observance of treaties with Spain; but solely from his
attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous
trade from the island of Curaçoa to the Spanish plantations
in America, and were apprehensive that the Scottish com-
pany might be beneficial to the interest of this intercourse.
The pretensions served as fuel to the flame already kindled in
Scotland, and industriously blown up by the calumniators
of the Jacobites. Their parliament adopted the company as
a motive to distraction; and that the clergy of Caith-
ness, in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, which
the parliament would maintain and support. On account
of this resolution the session was for some time discon-
tinued: but when the Scots understood their new settle-
ment was totally abandoned, their capital lost, and all their
hopes entirely vanished, the whole nation was seized with
a transport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had
been sacrificed and basely betrayed in that quarter whether
they were entitled to protection. They conceived an ad-
dress to the king, couched in a very high strain, represent-
ing the necessity of an immediate parliament. It was cir-
culated about the kingdom for subscriptions, signed by a
great number of those who sat in parliament, and presented
to the king by Lord Ross, who with some others was de-
poted for that purpose. The king told them, they should
know his intention in Scotland; and in the mean time ad-
devantage by protestation of faith. The people were
exasperated at this new provocation, began to form the
draft of a second national address, to be signed by the
shires and boroughts of the kingdom; but, before this
road could be pursued, the king wrote to the Duke of Queens-
berry, and the privy council of that nation, which was
published for the satisfaction of the people. He pro-
fessed himself grieved at the nation's loss, and willing to
give what might be needful for the relief and ease of the
kingdom. He assured them, he had their interest at heart;
and that his good subjects should have convincing proofs
of his sincere inclination to advance the wealth and pros-
perity of that ancient kingdom. He said he hoped this
declaration would be satisfactory to all good men; that
they would not suffer themselves to be misled; nor give
advantage to enemies, and ill-designing persons, ready to
seize every opportunity of embroiling the government. He
gave notice, he understood that his personal absence had
occasioned the late adjournment; but as soon as God
should bring him back, their parliament should be as-
sembled. Even this explanation, seconded by all the cre-
eds, was not sufficient to quiet the storm raised by the
national ferment, which rose to the very verge of
rebellion.

§ XXX. The king, who, from his first accession to the throne,
was not now convened in a capacity so much attended to as in
other, according to the circumstances of his affairs, and the
opposition he encountered, was at this period so incensed and
embarrassed by the caprice and insolence of the Com-
mons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the
tories, who undertook to manage the parliament according
to his pleasures, provided he would part with some of his
ministers, who were peculiarly odious to the Commons.
The person thus adjusts himself was the Lord Chancellor Somers, the most active leader
of the whig party. They demanded his dismissal, and the
king exhorted him to resign his office; but he refusing to
take any step that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or
a concurrence of the House, this was not proceeded with
for the seals by the Lord Jersey, to whom Somers delivered
them without hesitation. They were successively offered
to Lord Chief Justice Holt, and Trevor, the attorney-gene-
ral, who were suspected and contemptuous; but neither
was acceptable. Meanwhile, the king granted a temporary commission to
three judges to sit in the court of chancery; and at length bestowed the seals, with the title of lord keeper, on Nathan
Wright, one of the proprietors of a manor but little really
qualified for the office to which he was now preferred.
Though William seemed altogether attached to the tories,
and inclined to a new parliament, no person appeared
to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed,
for some time the administration seemed to be under no par-
ticular direction.

§ XXXI. During the transactions of the last session, the negotia-
tions for a second secret treaty had been con-
ccluded in London by the French minister, Tallard, in
conjunction with the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and
was soon brought to perfection. On the twenty-first day of
February the treaty was signed in London; and on the
twenty-first of February, the king's emissaries appeared in
the Hague by Brond, the French envoy, and the plenipo-
teniaries of the States-general. By this convention the treaty
of Hyswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed,
that, in case of the royal majesty being without a
successor, and the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the
kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano,
Porto Hercilo, Oristello, Telamone, Porto Logune,
Prignano, the city and county of Enfola, of the province of
Gopasca, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, in exchange
for which but the Duke of Lorraine should enjoy the
duchy of Milan; but that the counties of Bische should remain in
severence. But this treaty, signed by the first
Angevin, duke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain and all
its dependences in and out of Europe; but in case of his
dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child
of the emperor, excepting him who might succeed as
emperor or King of the Romans: that this monarchy should
never descend to a king of France or dauphin; and that
three months should be allowed to the emperor, to consider
whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether
the French would be content to make themselves
parties to this jonture, or proposed this treaty with a view to make
a clandestine use of it at the court of Spain for more inter-
ested purposes, it is not easy to determine; at first, how-
ever, it was the opinion of the public, as if the parties had resolved to take no step in consequence of it, during the life of his catholic majesty.

§ XXXII. In the beginning of July the king embarked for
Holland, after having appointed a regent to govern the
kingdom in his absence. On the twenty-ninth day of
the same month, the young Duke of Gloucester, the only
remaining child of seventeen which the princes Anne had
borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his
age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the
English nation, not only on account of his promising
talents and gentle behaviour, but also, as it left the suc-
cession undefined, and might create disputes of fatal con-
sequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly expressed
in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar
of the interest of the Prince of Wales; but the protestants
generally turned their eyes upon the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, who was created in allaying
the national ferment, which rose to the very verge of
rebellion.
tion. The king’s health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobites also, in England, were embittered by the loss of their sentiment. They despatched Mr. Graham, brother of Lord Preston, to the court of St. Germain’s immediately after the death of the Duke of Gloucester: they began to bear themselves as if they were all over the kingdom. A report was spread that the Princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

§ XXXIX. The new treaty between King William and the Dutch, by which they were bound to renew the war against the Spanish monarchy, obtained a great share of the public attention. The Elector of Brandenburgh, who had formed a league to crush the young King of Sweden, by invading his dominions on different sides, had been defeated. The Swedes actually entered Livonia, and undertook the siege of Riga; the King of Denmark, having demolished some forts in Holstein, the duke of which was connected with Sweden, invaded Tømningen. The Swedish minister in England demanded that assistance of William which had been stipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The States of Holland were solicited to the same purpose. Accordingly, a fleet of thirty sail, English and Dutch, was sent to the Helvetic coast. Mr. Rooke, who joined the Swedish squadron, and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Danish fleet had retired. At the same time, the Duke of Luxembourg, with the Swedish forces, which happened to be at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and landed at the further end of Holstein. The Danes immediately abandoned the siege of Tømningen; and a body of Sixons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Brunswick, were obliged to retreat in disorder. By the mediation of William, a negociation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark, which, in order to quieten, Charles the young King of Sweden made a descent upon the Isle of Zealand. This was executed with great success. Charles was the first monarch that entered Holstein; and here he exhibited such marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally astonished and intimidated his adversaries. Theo he determined to besiege Copenhagen; a resolution that struck such terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty, which was brought to a conclusion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, about the middle of August. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen, and the squadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltic.

§ XXXIV. When the new treaty party was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally received with a very unfavourable construction. Some feared that the negotiations would be embittered with their own quarrels, consequently could not give much attention to such a remote transaction. The Princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the resentment of the House of Austria. The Elector of Brandenburgh, in particular, had set his heart upon the real dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the emperor. The Italian states were averse to the partition treaty, from their apprehension of seeing France in possession of Naples, and other districts of their country. The Duke of Savoy afforded a ambiguous neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for any considerable advantages. The Swiss cantons declared seceding as guarantees. The emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposition should be made of the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the present possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed, that neither justice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance without his consent; that a motion would be freely made to share to a third person not yet named; and he declared, that he could take no final resolution, until he should know the sentiments of his catholic majesty, on an affair so important to his mutual interest was so nearly concerned. Leopold was determined, that the King of Spain, who signed a will in favour of his second son Charles; yet he took no measures to support the disposition, either by sending the archduke with a sufficient force to Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

§ XXXV. The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolvency of the treaty of Pavia, which they supposed a new intrigue to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm, at the prospect of their monarchy being dismembered; and their grandees repined at the thoughts of losing so many lucrative governments which they now expected. The king’s life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The minister was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and the people discontented. The ministers of France had been alienated from the House of Austria, by the considerable and rapacious disposition of the Queen Mariana. The French had gained over to their interests the Cardinal Porto carrero, the Marquis de Monterey, with many other noblemen and persons of distinction. These, perceiving the sentiments of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that France alone could maintain the succession entire; that the House of Austria was feebile and exhausted, and any prince of that line must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. Porto carrero tampered with the weakness of his sovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all the suggestions: he advised him to consult Pope Innocent XII. for support on this momentous point of regulating the succession. That pontiff, in orature of France, having taken the advice of a college of cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Marie Theresa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom of Spain. He, therefore, exhorted Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandson of the French monarchy. This edict was seceded by the representatives of Porto carrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal. In the mean time, the King of France seemed to act hastily, as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts co-operated with each other in their collections of information upon the different potentates in Europe. When Count Zinzendorf, the imperial ambassador at Paris, presented a memorial desiring to know what part France would act, should the King of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Louis the fourteenth upon the throne, the Marquis de Torcy answered in writing, that his most christian majesty would by no means listen to such a proposal: nay, when the emperor’s minister gave them to understand that his master was ready to enter into a separate negociation with the Court of Versailles, touching the Spanish succession, Louis declared he could not treat on that subject without the concurrence of his allies.

§ XXXVI. The nature of the partition treaty was no sooner known in the kingdom of France, than it was at once pronounced to be a prejudicial to the interest of England. All the arguments were trumpeted by the malcontents, so that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of disaffection. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession of the English crown upon the person of the Prince of Wales. They are said to have sent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain’s with an offer of composition to this purpose, and an assurance of the base and heartless dispositions of the House of Spain, in order to pass a vote that the crown should not be supported in the execution of the partition treaty. King William was not ignorant of the censure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himself so unpopular among his own subjects. That he might anticipate the effect of the attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he resolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the
Scottish nation. He permitted the parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October, and wrote a letter to them from his house at Lou, containing his assurance that he would not take any thing that could be reasonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal assent to such acts as they should frame for the better establishment of the presbyterian discipline, for preventing the growth of papacy, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses and promoting the interest of their African colonies, and those of their companies. He expressed his conviction that he could not assert the company's right of establishing a colony at Barren, without disturbing the peace of Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and dispatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the Duke of Queensberry in the office of high-commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the parliament seemed altogether intractable. By this time the company had received certain tidings of the entire surrender of their settlement; and at the close of the session they represented to the parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was succeeded by another national address to the king, who told them he could not comply any further, since the parliament was now assembled; and he had already made a declaration with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestowed themselves so successfully, that the heats in parliament were entirely cooled, and the outery of the people subsided into unwavering murmurs. The parliament, with some solicitude, on the consideration of their great delinquency by his majesty, and as, next under God, their safety and happiness wholly depended on his preservation and that of his government, they would support both to the utmost of their power, and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends. They passed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men for two years, to be maintained by a land-tax. Then the commissioner produced the king's letter, desiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the first day of June following: they forthwith complied with his request, and were prorogued to the sixth of May. The supernumerary troops were sent over by the States-general; and this archduke was honour'd with the title of duke, as a recompence for having concurred with the commissioners in managing the session of parliament.

§ XXXVII. King William had returned to England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little elusenred at the perplexities in which he found himself involved; and in the beginning of the next month he received advice that the King of Spain was actually dead. He could not be surprised at this event, which had been so long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles, by his last will, had declared the Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, the sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the Duke of Berry; in default of him, and children, to the Archduke Charles and his heirs, failing of whom, to the Duke of Parma and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the Duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Louis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagement. He came to the same resolution as James and the States-general. Madame de Maintenon is said to have joined her influence to that of the dauphin, in persuading the king to accept the will; and Pontchartrain was engaged to support the same inclination. For the present, however, the council was content to divide the real effects of the monarchy. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition; the king affected a kind of neutrality. The dauphin spoke for his son, with an air of resolution he had never assumed before; Pontchartrain seconded his argument: Madame de Maintenon asked what the Duke of Anjou had done to provoke the king, that he should be barred of every thing that was his by right. Louis answered, nothing could be more reasonable in a council, for preventing the growth of papacy, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses and promoting the interest of their African colonies, and those of their companies. He expressed his conviction that he could not assert the company's right of establishing a colony at Barren, without disturbing the peace of Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and dispatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the Duke of Queensberry in the office of high-commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the parliament seemed altogether intractable. By this time the company had received certain tidings of the entire surrender of their settlement; and at the close of the session they represented to the parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was succeeded by another national address to the king, who told them he could not comply any further, since the parliament was now assembled; and he had already made a declaration with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestowed themselves so successfully, that the heats in parliament were entirely cooled, and the outery of the people subsided into unwavering murmurs. The parliament, with some solicitude, on the consideration of their great delinquency by his majesty, and as, next under God, their safety and happiness wholly depended on his preservation and that of his government, they would support both to the utmost of their power, and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends. They passed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men for two years, to be maintained by a land-tax. Then the commissioner produced the king's letter, desiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the first day of June following: they forthwith complied with his request, and were prorogued to the sixth of May. The supernumerary troops were sent over by the States-general; and this archduke was honour'd with the title of duke, as a recompence for having concurred with the commissioners in managing the session of parliament.

§ XXXVIII. When the will was accepted, the French minister, de Turcy, endeavoured to justify his master's conduct to the Earl of Mancheater, who resided at Paris in the character of ambassador from the court of London. He urged the necessity and propriety of the king's resolution, and the answer for which it had been communicated: That the emperor had refused to accede: That it was relished by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated: That the people of England and Holland had expressed their discontent at the prospect of France's being in possession of Naples and Sicily: That if Louis had rejected the will, the archduke would have had a double title derived from the former will, and that of the latter: That the Spaniards were so averse to the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: That the ships to be furnished by Great Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for the purposes of such a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the States-general would engage themselves in a greater expense. He concluded with saying, That the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the king accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. His master hoped, therefore, that a good understanding would subsist between him and the king of Parma: and in the same letter was expressed an intention to be actuated by the same principles as he was actuated by: That he would be guided by the advice of his council; and that in the case of any collision with the Council of ministers, he would communicate it to the French court. This was according to the custom of the ministers of France and the States-general, who only depart from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

§ XXXIX. With this answer he sent a letter to the States, giving them the intelligence that the king of Spain was no longer to be considered as the master of his kingdom, as he had not appeared at the court of Madrid, stipulated by the will of his grandson, that he did not doubt their approbation of his succession to the Spanish crown. The States observed, That they could not declare themselves pleased upon the subject, and that the case was now become one of negotiation between their respective provinces. Louis admitted the excuse, and assured them of his readiness to concur with whatever they should desire for the security of the Spanish crown. The next day the minister of foreign affairs was sent to the States, who presented them with a letter from his new master, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the King of England. The emperor loudly ex-
claimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. The Spaniards apprehending that a league would be formed between his imperial majesty and the maritime powers, for setting aside the successors of Ferdinand and his issue, and conscious of his inability to defend their dominions, resigned themselves entirely to the protection of the French monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garrisons; a French squadron occupied the port of Cadiz; and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, were moved to Antwerp, on the turn of the King of Spain, whom their masters had not yet acknowledged. The States were overwhelmed with consternation by this event, especially when they considered their own naked situation, and reflected that the Spanish garrisons might fall upon them before they could assemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was so imminent, that they resolved to acknowledge the King of Spain without further hesitation, and wrote a letter to the French king for peace and friendship. It was not sooner received, than orders were issued for sending back their battalions.

§ XI. How warmly sooner King William resented the conduct of the French king, in accepting the will so disadvantageous to his people, as was so often insisted upon his new ministry. He now seemed to resume his chief confidence in the Earl of Rochester, whom he had undertaken for the tonics, and was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Rochester being at that time minister of the treasury, Lord Tankerville succeeded Lord Lovelace, lately deceased, as keeper of the privy seal, and Sir Charles Hedges was declared secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Jersey; but the management of the Commons was intrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the measures of the court with equal virulence and ability. These new undertakers, well knowing they should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to secure a majority in the house of commons in order to carry their bills, and were afraid of being rendered impossible of passage, it was resolved to dissolve it by proclamation; then the sheriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs issued for a new parliament to meet on the sixth day of February, 1720. This was thought an ill-timed day for the conclusion of peace with France, as ambassador from the emperor, to explain Leopold's tute to the Spanish monarch, supported by repeated entreaties and representations, confirmed in the most solemn treaties. This minister met with a very cold reception from those who stood at the helm of affairs. They sought to avoid all connexions that might engage their country as a principal in another war upon the continent; snarling as they were from the losses and encumbrances which the last had imputed upon them and their posterity.

They seemed to think that Louis, rather than involve himself in fresh troubles, would give all the security that could be desired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even, should this be refused, he was willing to reason his Britannia's exhausting her wealth and strength to support a chimerical balance, in which her interest was but remotely concerned. It was their opinion, that, by keeping aloof, she might render herself more respectable. Her reserve would overawe contending powers: they would in their turn sue for her assistance, and improve her good offices; and, instead of declaring herself a party, she would have the honour to decide as arbiter of their disputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and in all probability, their notions were inflated by a spirit of faction. They hated the wags as their political adversaries, and detested the war, because it had been countenanced and supported by the interests of that party. The conjuncton of the two monarchs of France and Spain would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an enthusiast in this argument, and fully convinced that he himself, of all the potentates in Christendom, was the only prince capable of adjusting the balance. The imperial ambassador could not, therefore, he long upon this purpose, as he conversed with the Dutch favourites, who knew and approved of their master's design, though he avoided a declaration, until he should have rendered his ministers more propitious to his aim. The true secret, however, of that reserve with which Count Wratislaw was treated at his first arrival, was a private negociation which the king had set on foot with the regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He proposed, that certain towns should be garrisoned with English and Dutch troops, by way of security against the ambitious designs of France; but the regency were so devoted to the French interest, that they refused to listen to any proposal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, Sir William's residence, for which the ambassador maintained a wary distance from the emperor; and, when his effort miscarried, the ambassador found him much more open and accessible.

§ XII. The parliament meeting on the sixth, was pro¬
gaged to the tenth day of February, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker by a great majority in opposition to Sir Richard Oswald. The king had previously told Sir Thomas Gladstone, that he would be for his own part, that he should yield his pretensions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to absent himself from the House on the day of election. The king observed, in his speech, that the nation's loss, in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, had been so severely felt by the ministry, as to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line: that the death of the King of Spain had made such an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature deliberation. The rest of his harangue turned upon the usual topics of demanding supplies for the ensuing year, remitting them of the deficiencies and public debts, recommending to their inquiry the state of the navy and fortifications, exhorting them to encourage every plan that would employ the poor, and to decline with vigour and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favour of the Tory interest, the ministry had secured but one part of the commons, and in that they were compelled to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, as the Duke of Leeds, the Marquis of Normandy, the Earls of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrave, How, Finch, and Shrewsby, had been either neglected, or found refractory, and resolved to oppose the court measures with all their influence. Besides, the French king, knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great measure depend upon the resolutions of the English parliament, is said to have distributed great sums of money in England, by means of his minister Tallard, in order to strengthen the opposition in the House of Commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded at this period with the French coins called Louis-d'or and pistoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a below of trade in favour of England, or to the largesse of Louis, we shall not pretend to determine. We may likewise observe, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had never been so flagrant as in the choice of representatives for this parliament, and that scandalous traffic had been chiefly carried on by the whig party, and, therefore, their antagonists resolved to spare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour distinguished himself by his zeal and activity; he
brought some of these practices to light, and, in particular, stigmatized the new East India company, for having been deeply concerned in this species of venality. An inquiry being set on, a report was made to the House, that certain of the directors were declared void; and divers persons who had been illegally returned, were first expelled the House, and afterwards detained in prison. Yet these prosecutions were carried on with such partiality, as plainly indicated the connexion of the judges with the party in power. A considerable majority, had not one bold and lively expression given such a turn to the debate, as induced the misconducters to desist. One Mr. Morenet, in the heat of his declamation against this measure, said, he expected the next vote would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales. Though there was little or no connexion between these two subjects, a great many members were startled at the information, and deserted the measure, which was dropped accordingly. The king's speech being taken into consideration, the House resolved to support his majesty and his government; to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, and the preservation of the Protestant religion. This resolution was presented in an address to the king, who received it favourably. At the same time, he laid before them a memorial he had received from the States-general, and desirous of opening a correspondence with them, that he might stipulate the necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe; and that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majesty and their other allies. They therefore begged he would send a minister to the Hague, with full powers and instructions to enter into a negotiation with them in this negotiation; they told him that, in case it should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the assistance of England, and hoped his majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty, to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was likewise communicated to the House of Lords. Meanwhile, the Commons desired that the treaties between England and the States-general should be laid before the House. These being persued, they resolved upon an address, to desire his majesty would enter into a negotiation with the States-general, and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to assure him of their support and assistance, in performance of the treaty subsisting between England and the States-general. This resolution, however, was not carried without great opposition from those who were averse to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers abroad to act in concert with the States-general and other powers, for the attainment of those ends then proposed.

§ XI. He communicated to the Commons a letter written by the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, governor to the pretended Prince of Wales. It had been intercepted by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England, together with some reflections on the character of the Earl of Middleton, who had supplanted him at the court of St. German. Melfort was a mere projector, and in this letter, besides saying nothing of recommending himself to King James, and bringing his rival into disgrace. The House of Lords, to whom the letter was also imparted, ordered it to be printed. Next day the bill for the subscription of the king for the care of the protestant religion; desiring all the treaties made since the last war might be laid before them; requesting him to engage in such alliances as he should think proper for preserving the balance of power in Europe; assuring him of their concurrence, expressing their acknowledgment for his having communicated Melfort's letter; desiring him in the meantime to provide for the removal and safe conduct of arms and persons of disaffected persons; for removing papists from London; and for searching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of his majesty, and from the king's house his gracious answer to this address, which was a further encouragement to the king to put his own private designs in execution; towards the same end the letter contributed not a little, by giving the fears and resentment of the nation against France, which in vain declared the Earl of Melfort a fantastical schemer, to whom no regard was paid at the court of Versailles. The French ministry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to sow jealousy between the two crowns; and, as a convincing proof of their sincerity, banished the Earl of Melfort to Angers.

§ XI. The credit of exchequer-bills was so lowered by the charge of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries. The Commons proposed that this deficiency should be made up by the following resolution should be made from time to time for making good the principal and interest due on all parliamentary funds; and afterwards pass a bill for renewing the bills of credit, with a testimonial to the king, and a declaration to the Lords on the sixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal assent. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Commons was the settlement of the succession to the throne, which the king had recommended to their consideration in the beginning of the session. Having deliberated on this subject they resolved, that for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary to co-operate with them in this negotiation; they told him that, in case it should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the assistance of England, and hoped his majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty, to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was likewise communicated to the House of Lords. Meanwhile, the Commons desired that the treaties between England and the States-general should be laid before the House. These being persued, they resolved upon an address, to desire his majesty would enter into a negotiation with the States-general, and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to assure him of their support and assistance, in performance of the treaty subsisting between England and the States-general. This resolution, however, was not carried without great opposition from those who were averse to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers abroad to act in concert with the States-general and other powers, for the attainment of those ends then proposed.

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and their salaries ascertained and established: but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament. Having settled these points, they resolved, That the princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the protestant line, after his majesty and the present king. This resolution was opposed to the present party, and, That the further limitation of the crown be to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. A bill being formed on these resolutions, was sent up to the Lords, who would not withdraw it, and would not give a vote from the Marquis of Normandy: a protest was likewise entered against it by the Earls of Huntington and Plymouth, and the Lords Guilford and Jeffries. Nevertheless, it passed without amendments, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal assent: the king was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he considered as an open insult on his own conduct and administration: not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne of England. As the stories lay under the imputation of favouring the late king's interest, the party which supported him made this occasion, to wipe off the aspersions, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the sequel they should be able to restrain the nation from entertaining such fears, as they had created themselves against the Protestant succession, without incurring the evil consequences apprehended. The act of settlement being passed, the Earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the Electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the royal commission.

§ XLVI. The act of succession gave umbrage to all the puppy princes who were more nearly related to the crown than this lady, whom the parliament had preferred to all others. Their attempts to interest their Prince Charles I by her mother, ordered her ambassador, Count Maffei, to make a protestation to the parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as sole daughter to the Princess Anna, next in succession to the crown of England, after King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the lord-keeper and the speaker of the lower House, by two of his generals, who had no power to give them any answer, as no notice was taken of the declaration. The Duke of Savoy, while his minister was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the crowns of France and Spain, that he might have an ally for his own designs, and should expose his youngest daughter without a dowry. That he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with five-and-twenty hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

§ XLVII. During these transactions, Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-general, was empowered to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, according to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament. He represented, that though his most christian majesty had thought fit to derive from the partition treaty, it was not reasonable that the King of England should lose the effect of that conference. Nor had his majesty any intention out of the power of the treaty. But for that purpose insisted upon certain articles, importing, that the French king should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: that, for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Neckport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majesty: that no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be yielded, or ceded, to the present prince or any of his heirs: that the parity whatever: that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dependencies of Spain. He was engaged at the death of his late catholic majesty; and all his rights, liberties, immunities, and franchises, as the subjects of France, or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future: that all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed; and, that a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the contractors should solicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewise were the proposals made by the States-general, with this difference, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the strongest places in the Netherlands. Count D'Avax, the French minister, said he was so engaged with the demands, that he could not help saying, They could not have been harder, if his master had lost four successive battles. He assured them, that his most christian majesty would not be so easy a sexton, as soon as the King of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country: with respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer, but that he would immediately transmit them to Versailles. Louis was filled with indignation at the insolent strum of those proposals, which he considered as a sure mark of William's hostile intentions. He refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Wissick; and he is said to have tampered, by means of his agents and emissaries, with the members of the English parliament, that they might oppose all steps tending to a new war on the continent.

§ XLVII. King William certainly had no expectation that France would close with such proposals; but he was not without hope, that her refusal would warm the English nation into a concurrence with his designs. He commanded Count de Bussy, the French minister at the Hague, which had been made by him and the States-general; and by them to understand, that he would from time to time make them acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. The Commons, suspecting that his intention was to make them parties in a negociation to which they had not had a different end from that which they proposed, resolved to signify their sentiments in the answer to this message. They called for the treaty of partition, which being read, they voted an address to his majesty, in which they disapproved of most gracious declaration, that he would make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation: but they signified their disapprobation of the partition treaty, signed with the great seal of England, without the advice of the parliament, which was then sitting, and productive of all consequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it assumed over to the French king such a large portion of the Spanish dominion. Nothing could be more mortifying to the king than this open attack on his own conduct: yet he suppressed his resentment, and without taking the least notice of their sentiments with respect to the partition treaty, assured them, that he should never betray their advice; and in the business on which he had set foot, according to their desire. The debates in the House of Commons upon the subject of the partition treaty rose to such violence, that divers members in declaring against it, transmitted the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not scruple to say it was a felonious treaty: an expression which the king resented to such a degree, that he declared he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had he not been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered such an outrageous insult to his honour: when he called it a conspiracy of all the minds of the nation from all foreign connexions, or to wreak their vengeance on the late ministers, whom they hated as the chiefs of the whig party, certain it is, they now raised a universal outcry against the partition treaty, which was not only condemned in public pamphlets and private conversation, but even brought into the House of Lords as an object of parliamentary censure. In the middle of the month of March, a petition on this subject was begun by Sheffield Marquis of Normandy, and carried on with great vehement by other noblemen of the same faction. They exclaimed against the article by which so many territories were added to the crown of France: they complained that the emperor had not acceded: that the treaty was not communicated to the privy council or ministry, but clandestinely transacted by the Earls of Portland and
Jersey: that the sanction of the great seal had been unjustly and irregularly applied, first to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itself. The courtiers replied, that the king had engaged in a treaty of partition at the desire of the emperor, who had agreed to every article, except that relating to the duchy of Milan, and afterwards desired, that his majesty would procure for him the best terms he could, on all the points of finding security, that he might not forfeit his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to the treaty: that foreign negociations being intrusted to the care of the crown, the king lay under no legal obligation to communicate such secrets of state to his courtiers; and that he desired of her advice, and that the keeper of the great seal had no authority for refusing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the king should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made no provision for such emergency.  

The Earl of Portland apprehending that this tempest would burst upon his head, declared on the second day of the debate, that he had by the king's order communicated the treaty, before it was concluded, to the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Lords Lonsdale, Somers, Hallifax, and Secretary Vernon. These noblemen owned, that they had been acquainted with the substance of the negociations, when they exchanged some particular; they were told, his majesty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms; thus assured that every article was already settled, they said no longer insisted upon particular, but gave the king full power to engage himself and the crown of England in any measure that would produce a new war, seeing the nation had been so uneasy under the last. After long debates, and great variety as well of violence of altercation, the House agreed to an address, in which they disapproved of the partition treaty, as a scheme inconsistent with the peace and safety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain. They complained, that neither the negotiations given to his placitaments, nor the draft of the treaty itself, had been laid before his majesty's council. They humbly besought him that, for the future, he would in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his council, to the subjects of his throne, and foreigner, and that he would constitute a council of such persons, to whom he might impart all affairs which should in any way concern him and his dominions. They observed, that interest and natural affections to their country would incline them to every measure that might tend to its welfare and prosperity; whereas strangers could not be so much influenced by these considerations: that their knowledge of the empire should render them more capable than foreigners could be of advising his majesty touching the true interests of his kingdom: that they had exhibited such repeated demonstrations of their duty and affection, as must establish them in the real trust and confidence; nor could they want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all his secret and arduous affairs: finally, as the French king appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they advised his majesty, in future negociations with that prince, to proceed with such caution as might imply a real security.

§ XLVIII. The king received this severe remonstrance with his usual phlegm; saying, it contained matter of very great moment: and he would take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new ministers: but he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favourite measure, and humbly put himself into a dependence upon their interest in parliament. On the last day of March, he imparted to the Commons the French king's declaration, that he would grant no other support but the seal of the crown to the treaty of Lysanes; so that the negotiation seemed to be at an end. He likewise communicated two resolutions of the States-general, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the succours stipulated, in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they desired might be sent over with all convenient expedition. The House having considered this message, unanimously resolved to desire his majesty would carry on the negociations in concert with the States-general, and take such measures therein as might most conduct to their safety: they assured him, they would effectually conciliate the emperor, and by the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand men, and twenty ships of war, in case they should be attacked. Though the king was nettled at that part of this address, which, by confining him to one treaty, implied his desertion of his friends, he could not, after the show of his adherence, and that the keeper of the great seal had no authority for refusing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the king should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made no provision for such emergency.

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§ XLIX. The French king consented to a renewal of the negociations at the Hague; but, in the mean time, tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a separate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the King of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontier. On the hundredth day of April, the Marquis de Torcy delivered to the Earl of Manchester, at Paris, a letter from the new king of Spain to his Bourbon majesty, inviting his accession to that throne, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the king and crown of England. How severe soever William might have been to any correspondence of this sort, the Earl of Rochester and the new ministers imperturbed; they wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, that he be at length composed with their entreaties, and wrote a civil answer to his most catholic majesty. This was a very alarming incident to the emperor, who was bent upon a war, and by having made peace with France, who had concluded to send Prince Eugene with twenty thousand men, to the assistance of the duchy of Milan, as a sieve of the empire. The new Pope, Clement XI. who had succeeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French interest: the Vicar Apostolic was a friend of the emperor, but they refused to declare themselves at this juncture.

The French king was not only to be respected, but likewise to be feared, a very loud reply. "He hoped no man in England need be afraid of the French king; much less the peer who spoke last, who was too much a friend to that monarch to fear any thing from his remembrance."
kingsdom and allies had been exposed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counsels that prevented his majesty's sooner meeting his people in parliament.

That whereby large territories of the Houses could not but be very agreeable to the king, who expressed his satisfaction in his answer to each part. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time considerable progress was made in a treaty of partition. That division, therefore, from the tenour of their former conduct, could be owing to no other motive than a sense of their own danger, and resentment against France, which, even during the negociation, had been secretly employed in making carriers of the French to cross the States in general. The Commons having expressed their sentiments on this subject, resumed the consideration of the partition treaty. They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the House of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by Sir Edward Seymour, the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the nation: after warm debates they resolved, That William Earl of Portland, by negociating and concluding the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. They ordered Sir John Leveson Gower to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords; and no particular reason was so necessary at that impeachment. Thence, in a conference with the Lords, they desired to know the particulars of what had passed between the Earl of Portland and Secretary Vernon, in relation to the partition treaty; also, and a violation of the two articles they had obtained concerning negociations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The Lords demurring to this demand, the lower House resolved to address the king, that copies of both treaties of partitions, together with all the powers and instructions for negotiating those treaties, should be laid before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and the Lords sent down to the Commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jewson to carry on the negociation, and a detail of what they had obtained concerning negociations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The Lords demanding to this demand, the lower House resolved to address the king, that copies of both treaties of partitions, together with all the powers and instructions for negotiating those treaties, should be laid before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and the Lords sent down to the Commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jewson to carry on the negociation, and a detail of what they had obtained concerning negociations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The Lords demanding to this demand, the lower House resolved to address the king, that copies of both treaties of partitions, together with all the powers and instructions for negotiating those treaties, should be laid before them.

§ Li. Lord Somers, understanding that he was accused to the House of Commons of having consented to the treaty of partition, desired that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His request being granted, he told the House, that when he received the king's letter containing the treaty, with an order to conciliate the necessary powers in the most secret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a stop to a treaty of such consequence, when the life of the King of Spain was so precarious; for had the king died before the treaty was finished, and he been blamed for delaying the necessary powers, he could not have justified his own conduct, since the king's letter was really a warrant for effect for his majesty's own safety. He then stated, that, as Lord Somers, he had entertained no confidence in the conduct of the king, having applied to his majesty, objecting to several particulars in the treaty, and proposing other articles which he thought were for the interest of his country; that he thought himself bound to put a great seal to the treaty when it was concluded: that as Lord Somers he had been employed for the king, and as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his justification gave rise to a long debate, which ended in a resolution carried by a majority of seven voices, That John Lord Somers, by advising his majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, in which the King of Spain was to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Votes to the same effect were passed against Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Hallifax; and all three were placed at the bar of the Upper House. But the Commons knowing that those impeachments would produce nothing in the House of Lords, where the opposite interest predominated, they resolved to proceed against the accused noblemen in a more expedient manner of-branding them as traitors. They voted and presented an address to the king, desiring he would remove them from his councils and presence for ever, as advisers of a treaty so pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded, by repeating their assurance, that they would always stand by and support his majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies both at home and abroad. The king in his answer, artfully overlooked the first part of the remonstrance. He thanked them for their repeated assurances; and told them he would employ none in his service but such as should be thought most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between him and his people, which was necessary for the preservation of their own security and the preservation of their allies.

§ LII. The Lords, inaccessed at this step of the Commons, which they considered as an insult upon their transactions of common justice, and that the Commons had delivered a counter-address, humbly beseeching his majesty, that he would not pass any censure upon the accused lords until they should be tried on the impeachments, and judgments be given according to the usage of Parliament. The king was so perplexed by these opposite representations, that he knew not well what course to follow. He made no reply to the counter-address; but allowed the names of the impeached lords to remain in the council, and gave the Commons a commission, which was to stigmatise those noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, suffered the impeachments to be neglected, until they themselves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the House of Lords sent a message to the Commons, importing, That no articles had as yet been exhibited against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up against the Earl of Orford: him they accused of having received exorbitant grants from the crown: of having been concerned with Kidd the pirate: of having committed abuses in managing and victualling the fleet, when it lay on the coast of Spain: and lastly, of having advised the Earl of Kent against his own interest, when he had received no grant from the king, except a very distant reversion, and a present of ten thousand pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue: that in Kidd's affair he had acted legally, and with a good intention towards the public, though to his own loss: that his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded had been examined and passed: yet he was ready to wave the advantage, and justify himself in every particular; and he absolutely denied that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accused of having set the seals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties: of having accepted some grants: of having acted the part of an accomplice with Kidd, and of having some guilt of partial and dilatory proceedings in chancery. He answered every article in the charge; but no replication was made by the Commons, either to him or to the Earl of Orford. When the Commons were stimulated by another message from the Peers, relating to the impeachments of the Earl of Portland and Lord Hallifax, they declined exhibiting articles against the former on pretence of receiving the latter's message, and took up the charge against Hallifax was sent up to the Lords. They was taxed with possessing a grant in Ireland, without paying the produce of it, according to the law lately enacted concerning those grants; and having enjoyed the forest of Downe to the waste of the timber and the prejudice of the navy: with having held places that were incompatible, by being at the same time commissioner of
the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and with having advised the two treatises of partition. It is answered,
that this grant in Ireland was of debts and sums of money,
and that the fact or context concerned no rent or dues; that he
had ever received from it did not exceed four hundred
pounds, which, if he was bound to repay, a common ac-
tion would lie against him; but every man was not to be immedi-
ately pressed and sued in another part until he obtained
the king's leave to withdraw from the treasury: that he
never saw the first treaty of partition, nor was his advice
asked upon the subject: that he had never heard of the
second but once before it was concluded; and then he
spoke his sentiments freely on the subject. This an-
tswer, like the others, would have been neglected by the Com-
mons, whose aim was now to evade the trials, had not the
Lords pressed them by messages to expedite the suits.
They even appointed a day for Oxford's trial, and signified
their resolution to the Commons. These desired that a com-
mittee of both Houses should be named for settling prelimi-
naries, one of which was, That the lord to be tried should
not sit as a peer; and the other reported, That those Lords
impeached for the same matter should not vote on the trial of
each other. They likewise desired, that Lord Somers should be first tried. The Lords made
him the first of the last demand; they rejected the
proposal of a committee consisting of both Houses, al-
leging, that the Commons were parties, and had no title to
sit in equality with the judges, or to settle matters relating
to the trial: that this was a demand contrary to the
principles of law and rules of justice, and never practised
in any court or nation. The Lords, indeed, had yielded to
this expedient in the popish plot, because it was a case of
emergency in which the king's life and safety of the king-
dom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the
court, and the whole nation was in a ferment; but at pre-
sent the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to
nothing more than misdemeanours; therefore, the Lords
could not assent to such a proposal as was derogatory from
their jurisdiction. Neither would they agree to the pre-
liminaries; but on the twelfth day of June, resolved, That
no peer impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours,
should, upon his trial, be without the bar; and, That no
peer impeached could be precluded from voting on any
occasion, except in his own trial. Divers messages passed
between the two Houses; the Commons still insisting upon
settling preliminaries: at length the dispute was brought to a free conference.
§ LII. Meanwhile the king going to the House of Peers gave the royal assent to the bill of succession. In
that time he disclosed his warm acknowledgments of
their repeated assurances of supporting him in such alli-
ances as should be most proper for the preservation of the
liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and the
States-general. He observed, that the session of the year
was advanced; that the posture of affairs absolutely re-
quired his presence abroad: and he recommended despatch
of the public business, especially of those matters which
were of the greatest importance. The Commons thanked
him in an address for having approved of their proceed-
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ances as he should think fit to make in conjunction with the emperor and the States-general, for the peace of
Europe, and to prevent the revolution of France. Then they resumed their dispute with the upper House.
In the free conference, Lord Haversham happened to tax
the Commons with partiality, in impeaching some peers,
against whom, as he supposed, it was guilty of
same misdemeanours. Sir Christopher Minsho, and
the managers for the Commons, immediately withdrew: this
unguarded sally being reported to the House, they imme-
diately resolved, That John Lord Haversham had uttered
most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly
reflecting upon the honour and justice of the House of
Commons, tending to a breach in the good correspondence
between the two Houses, and to the interruption of the
disputes of the nation: that the said Lord Haversham
should be charged before the Lords for the said words:
that the Lords should be desired to proceed in justice
against him, and to inflict upon him such punishment as
so much against the Commons and desire.
The Commons had now a pretence to justify their
delay; and declared they would not renew the conference
until they should have received satisfaction. Lord Havers-
ham denied them a right to make use of their power at the very last
moment of the payment. He observed, that as his grant in the forest of
Deane extended to Weddings only, it could occasion no
waste of timber, nor prejudice to the navy; that the au-
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prosecution. Each House ordered a narrative of these proceedings to be published; and their mutual animosity had proceeded to such a degree of rancour, as seemed to preclude all possibility of reconciliation. The Commons, in the mean time, were engaged only against the House of Lords, from motives of faction and revenge: for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipatory adress to the king, and their assertions in the proceedings. Their conduct on this occasion was so flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inspire the generality of the nation with disgust. This the whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny, and in particular, they endeavoured to reconcile the aversion, which they had found means to engage the majority of the Commons in its interest.

§ LIV. This faction bad, since the beginning of this session, employed their emissaries in exciting a popular aversion to the Tory ministers and members, and succeeded so well in their endeavours, that they formed a scheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that should induce the Commons to alter their conduct, on the supposition that it was contrary to the sense of the nation. In execution of this scheme, a petition signed by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty justices of the peace, and the grand juries of the county of Kent, had been presented to the House of Commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. The porpoit of this remonstrance was, to recommend union among themselves and confidence in his majesty, and to the grand juries of the county of Kent, had been presented to the House of Commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. The porpoit of this remonstrance was, to recommend union among themselves and confidence in his majesty, and to their own rulers. This aecorded to the arguments, and his majesty's sacred and unsullied character, which had been so often forgotten without the blackest ingratitude: to beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and safety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addresses might be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred majesty might be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it should be too late. The House was so incensed at the petulance of the petition, that they ordered an address, in partibus, acquiescent of the gentlemen who had presented it, to be taken into custody. They were afterwards committed to the Gatehouse, where they remained till the prorogation of parliament; but they had no reason to repine at their imprisonment, which recommended them to the notice and esteem of the public. They were visited and caressed by the chiefs of the whig interest, and considered as martyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave rise to a spirit of popular importunity, which the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants, of the counties of — in behalf of themselves, and many thousands of the good people of England. It was signed Legion, and in the names of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the House of Commons. In this strange expostulation, the House was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars; a new claim of right was raised on seven heads; and the Commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: For Englishmen are no longer to be slaves to parliaments than to kings—our name is Legion, and we are many. The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel de Foe, a scorner of party writing, in a very little pamphlet. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the House; but a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to look into his address, informing him of those solemn proceedings, and beseeching him to provide for the public peace and security.

§ LV. The House, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for their sovereign, and to demand redress from the popular resentment, thought fit to change their measures with respect to this object, and present the address we have already mentioned, in which they promised to support him in the whole course of his government, and beseeching him to provide for the public peace and security.

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Mareschal Catonat and the Prince of Vaudemont, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement; but Mareschal Villeroi arriving in the latter end of August with orders to attack the imperialists, Catonat retired to disguise. The new general marched immediately towards Chiari, where Prince Eugene was entrenched, and attacked his camp; but met with such a reception that he was obliged to retire to the Nape. Several thousands of troops, with the camp followers, the campaign the prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, and Gosto, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oder, and marched into the whole of Saxony, exhibiting repeated marks of the most irritable conscience, indefatigable vigilance, and extensive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh surprised Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced open the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered; Villeroi being weakened by the noise, ran out into the street, where he was taken; and the town must have been irreparably reduced, had Prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, which he had ordered to march from the Parmesan, and secure the bridge.

These not arriving at the time appointed, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the Prince of Condé was obliged to retire, without proving any very considerable damage.

§ LVII. The French king, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the imperial general, sent a reinforcement to his army in Italy, and the Duke of Vendome to conciliate the Spaniards in that country. He likewise summoned the Duke of Savoy to assist him effectually; but that prince having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His second daughter was by this time married to the new King of Spain, whom he introduced into his dominions, and involved in disputes with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until their privileges should be confirmed; and he was obliged to gratify them in that particular. The Duke of Savoy was also engaged to rage in the same matter.

The young King of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danube: thence he marched into Courland, and took possession of Miltau without opposition; while the King of Poland retired into East Prussia. In Hungary the French emissaries endeavoured to sow the seeds of a new revolt. They excited themselves with indefatigable industry in almost every court of Christendom. They had already gained the Elector of Bremen, and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, together with the Dukes of Wolfsbomth and Saxa-Gotha, who professed neutrality, while they leaved troops, and made such preparations for war, as plainly indicated that they had received subsidies from France. He had also entered into a treaty of alliance with the King of Portugal, who was personally attached to the Austrian interest; but this weak prince was a slave to his ministers, whom the French king had corrupted. During this summer the French king consolidated his combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who sailed down the Channel in the latter end of August, and attacked Vice-Admiral Benlow with a strong squadron to the West Indies. In order to deceive the French king, with regard to the destination of this fleet, King William demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours, as if his design had been to send a squadron to the Mediterranean; but he met with a refusal, while the French ships were at anchor, and could not be admitted. About this period the king revoked his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and constituted the Earl of Pembroke lord high admiral of England, in order to avoid the frigates, the disputes, and divided counsels of a board. The earl was no sooner promoted to this office, than he sent Captain Loads with three frigates to Cadiz, to bring home the sea stores and effects belonging to the English in that place, before the war should commence; and this piece of service was successfully performed. The French king, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, determined to form with a company of Genoese and Pemi; and concluded a new Assiento treaty, for supplying the Spanish plantations with negroes. At the same time, he sent a strong squadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dress was introduced into the court of Spain;

and, by a formal edict, the grandees of that kingdom and the peers of France were put on a level in each nation. There was no vigour left in the councils of Spain; her finances were exhausted, and her former spirit seemed to be quite extinguished; the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and distress. The condition of France was not much more prosperous. She had long shut up her ports towards the sea, and clung on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miserable.

§ LVIII. These circumstances were well known to the emperor, who attended the whole of the negociations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the seventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his imperial majesty, England, and the States-general. The objects proposed were to procure satisfaction to Spain in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. They engaged to use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and for putting the emperor in possession of the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany belonging to the Spanish dominions. They agreed, that the war was to be maintained, till Spain should keep and possess whatever lands and cities they should conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies; that the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to the emperor; and that, in case of his failing to concur with the rest: that they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: that, in concluding a peace, the confederates should in all things be on the present footing. The prince-regent, and his allies, in the Treaty of Ryswick, was completely. They determined to employ two months, to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded; and stipulated, that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified.

§ LX. On the sixteenth day of September, King James expired at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious misposition. This unfortunate monarch, since his family had lost all the advantages promised to them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, had had aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy gomus of his queen from plotting his overthrow, he was too much occupied in the best possible way to which confusedly projects. Hunting was his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortifications. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness; he became affable, kind, and easy; and his dependants; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it seemed to impair the faculties of his soul. In his last illness he conjured his son to profess his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and Christian forgiveness. Before his death he forgave the Prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral ceremonies. The French were engaged in the French war, and there was no public lamentation at his death. His body was carried to Westminster, and interred with all the ceremonies of state.
They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falsehood of calumny, and all the bitterness of rancour; so that truth, candour, and temperance, seemed to be banished by consent of both parties. The king had found himself deceived in his new ministries, who had opposed his measures with all their influence. He was particularly displeased with the deportment of the Earl of Rochester, who proved altogether impetuous and untractable; and, instead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The king declared, the year in which that nobleman directed his counsels, he perceived that he could not help expressing his displeasure in such a coldness of reserve, that Rochester told him he would serve his Majesty no longer, since he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no answer to this expostulation, but resolved he should see him no more. The Earl, however, at the desire of Mr. Harley, became more placid and submissive; and, after the king's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William, foreseeing nothing but opposition from the present spirit of the House of Commons, closeted some of their leaders, with a view to bespeak their compliance: but finding them determined to pursue their former principles, and to insist upon their impeachments, he resolved, with the advice of his friends, to dissolve the parliament. This step he was the more easily induced to take, as the Commons were become extremely hostile to the nation, had breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French monarch. The parliament was accordingly dissolved by proclamation, and another summoned to meet on the 5th of April, 1702.

§ LXIII. Never did the two parties proceed with such heat and violence against each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The whigs, however, obtained the victory, as they included the money-interest, which will always be more powerful among them. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and, had the people been so universally virtuous and provident, that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their success. Though the majority thus obtained was staunch to the measures of the court, the choice of speaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the king, who favoured Sir Thomas Lyttleton; but his Majesty's speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the revolution, that they printed it with decorum, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a peculiar guarantee of all that the king's last legacy to his own and all protestant people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation by the French king's acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales: he explained the danger to which it was exposed, by his personal invasions and that to the throne of Spain: he gave them to understand he had conclusion several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both Houses of parliament, which alliances should be laid before them, together with other treaties still depending. He observed, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this parliament; and all matters at a stand, until their resolution should be known; therefore, no time ought to be lost. He told them, they had yet an opportunity to secure for themselves and their posterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themselves, but would exert the ancient and natural instinct of the nation. He promised the commons to support the public credit, which could not be preserved without keeping sacred that maxim, That they shall never be losers who trust to the parliamentary security. He declared, that he never asked aid from his people without regret; what he desired was, that they should enjoy peace and safety and honour, at such a critical time; and that the whole should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended. He expressed his willingness that the accounts should be set, and the free election of the parliament. He again recommended despatch, together
with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and suppressing vice. He expressed his hope that they were determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said, he should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unwise animosities which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest, offences committed against his person. He conceived that so long as they deserved the hopes of their unity. As he had always shown, and always would show, how desirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he desired they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinction should be heard of amongst them, but of those who were friends to the protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming, that if they, in good earnest, desired to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity. The Lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed theirsentiment of the proceedings of the French king, in enoowing the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England. They assured his majesty, they would assist him to the utmost of their power, and when it should please God to deprive them of his majesty's protection, they would vigorously assist and defend against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatever, and protect, and preserve the person and estate of his majesty. They were, by virtue of the acts of parliament for establishing and limiting the succession. On the fifth day of January, an address to the same effect was presented by the Commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his majesty. The Lords, as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into consideration the dangers that threatened Europe, from the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, drew up another address, explaining their sense of that danger; stating to the French king as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion that his majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be safe and secure, until the House of Austria should be restored to their rights, and the invaders of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; and assuring his majesty that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might answer the reasonable expectations of his majesty's friends in England, in thus supporting the reputation of the English name, when engaged under so great a prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe. The Commons, in order to acquire the confidence of the Commons, ordered Mr. Secretary Vernon to lay before them copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded, which were so well approved, that the House unanimously voted the supply. By another vote, they authorized the exchequer to borrow six hundred thousand pounds at six per cent. for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the subsistence of guards and garrisons. They deliberated upon the state of the navy, with the debt due upon it, and examined an estimate of what would be necessary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no provision had been made. They ordered the steps to be taken in order to pay the dividends in the United Estates in Ireland, to attend the House with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimously resolved, That the motions to be made with respect to his majesty, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. They resolved to address his majesty, that he would insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing That no peace should be made with France, until his majesty and the nation have resolution for a declaration to be made, in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, according to the proportions settled by the contract. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions. They imposed an annual tax of two per cent. on stocks and trade, and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; a capitation tax of four shillings; an imposition of one per cent. on all articles delivered to their enemies or their company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; a duty of sixpence per bushel on malt, and a further duty on mium, cider, and perry.

§ XV. The Commons seemed to vie with the Lords in zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attaining the pretended Prince of Wales, which being sent up to the other House, passed with an additional clause of attaining against the queen, who acted as regress for the pretender. Thus, however, was not carried without great opposition in the House of Lords. When the bill was sent back to the Commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular. They observed, that attainers by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law; and that the straining of it ought to be avoided. They proposed, that the queen should be attained by a separate bill. The Lords assented to the proposal, and the bill against the queen passed another for attaining the queen; however, it was neglected in the House of Commons. But the longest and warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill, which the Lords had passed to enable the pretended Prince of Wales, and swearing to the king by the title of rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the act of settlement. It was proposed, that this oath should be voluntary, tendered to all persons, and the refusal of it should be with no penalty, provided no other penalty. This article was violently opposed by the Earl of Nottingham, and other lords of the fiery interest. They observed, that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract; so that there was no occasion for a new imposition: that oaths relating to men's opinions had been always considered as severe impositions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful. During these disputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Hedges, that should be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employment in church or state; it likewise included a clause, which was objected to, for attending the Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the church of England, together with the toleration for dissenters. Warm debates arose upon the question, Whether the oath should be voluntary, or voluntary; and whether it should be carried for imposition, by the majority of one vote. They agreed to insert an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her royal highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, as it was to compell or imagine the death of the king's eldest son and heir. In the House of Peers this bill was strenuously opposed by the peers; and, when after long debates it passed on the twenty-fourth day of February, ten lords entered a protest against it, as an unnecessary and severe imposition.

§ XVI. The whole nation now seemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party heats began to abate; the factions in the city of London were in a great measure moderated by the recovery of the United Estates in the East Indies, which found their mutual interest required a coalition. The troops in the House of Commons, having concurred so heartily with the inclinations of the people, were at length resolved, and the Lords agreed, for their own account, to support the conduct of their party in the preceding parliament. They complained of some petitions and addresses which had reflected upon the proceedings of the last House of Commons, and the conduct of the King's petitioners. But the majority, however, determined, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the king, for the calling, sitting, or dissolving of parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances, and for all cases of subject and nation; without being imposed upon or otherwise had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. A complaint
being likewise made, that the Lords had denied the Commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments, a furious debate ensued; and it was carried by a very small majority that justice had not been denied. In some parts of the House a suggestion was thrown out to the effect that an election at Maidstone, between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Culpepper, the House resolved, That the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indi

ratory manners, and that he procured himself to be re-elect ed a burgess; but likewise, being one of the instruments in presenting and promoting the scandalous, insolent, and seditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, for being a medley of scandalous, vicious, and promoting a scandalous, villainous, and groundless reflection upon that House, by aspiring the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate, and to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorneys

 general. They also resolved, That to assert that the House of Commons is not the only representative of the Commons of England, tends to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the House the trustees appointed to the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: That to assert, that the House of Commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the fundamental constitution of this country. That to print or publish any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House of Commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high vio

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icular letter, to stop up the grand jury of Ireland against the trustees. This occasioned a great deal of clamour, that king, coughed in very strong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the protestant interest, and had been obtained by gross misinformations. The king having communi

cated these addresses to the House, they were immedi

ately voted scandalous, false, and groundless; and the Commons resolved, That, notwithstanding the complaints and clamours against the trustees, it did not appear to the House but those complaints were groundless; nevertheless they afterwards received several petitions, implying relief against the said act; and they ordered that the petitioners should be relieved accordingly. Proposals were delivered in for recouping such petitioners for the expenses of the estates, on certain terms therein specified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchaser; but, whereas in this rent-roll, the value of the estates had been estimated at something more than seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, those who under

took to make the purchase affirmed, they were not worth five hundred thousand pounds; and thus the affair re

mained.

§ LXVII. With respect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the House of Peers, the Earl of Notting

ham declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill, yet he was a friend to the design of it: and in order to secure a protestant succession, he thought a union of the whole island was absolutely necessary. He therefore moved for an address to the king, that he would dissolve the parliament; and that if another convoca

tion might be called in question, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that a new parliament should be summoned, that they might treat about a union of the two kingdoms. The king declared, that it was his wish at heart, that even when he was disabled from going to the parliament in person, he sent a letter to the Commons, expressing an eager desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, and earnestly recommending this affair to the consideration of the House; but, as a new parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great risk, while the nation was in such a ferment, the project was disposed to a more favourable opportunity.

§ LXIX. Before the king's return from Holland, he had concert with his allies the operations of the ensuing campaign. He had engaged in a negotiation with the Prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt, who assured him, that if he would bestow some money, he could procure a large body of men, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the House of Austria. The allies had also determined upon the siege of Reuserswaert, which the Elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the United Provinces. Neither of Hanover had resolved to disarm the Princes of Wolfen

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§ LXVII. With respect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the House of Peers, the Earl of Notting

ham declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill,
viciss: he delivered to Lord Albermarle the keys of his closet and privy-chamber, telling him he knew what to do with them. He urged for the Earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart, with free and tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The Lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were about to wait on the King for his undivided crown, was introduced to the King who died, the thatch-roofed Roof to unite from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late Queen Mary. The body, being opened and examined, lay in state at Saint James's from time to time. A veil was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Westminster-abbey. In the beginning of May, a will which he had interested with Monsieur Schavilenberg was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin Prince Frans of Nassau, Statholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the States-general his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the Lordship of Brevetti, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the Earl of Albermarle.

§ LXXI. William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, a delicate constitution, subject to an acute and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, where he was deportment, and amusing. In courage, fortitude, andennie, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity: and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was too speculative, too fardom, and uncertain, to make him more violent transgressions of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great Britain. For the distinguishing mark of the character was an ambition to be considered as a king, and to possess the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe: and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he truly thought the interests of the continent, and Great Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the conflict as a convenient ally, certain it is, he involved these kingdoms in foreign combinations, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. For he seems to have been the principal instrument employed to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of traitors, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the riches of their country. He establisht upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words—William was a bigot in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics; dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign.

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. Anne succeeds to the throne. § 11. She resolves to fulfill the engagements of her predecessors with her allies. § 111. A French memorial presents the case of the exiled James Stuart to the English. § IV. War declared against France. § V. The parliament proclaims the Prince of Orange as the lawful successor to the present sovereign in Scotland, and Scotland. § VI. State of affairs on the continent. § VII. Henry Stuart takes possession of the throne of Scotland. § VIII. The Saxons in arms. § IX. The Prince of Orange arrives in Flanders. § X. He publicly enters the city taken by a French partition. § XIV. The emperor is mortally wounded at Fribourg. § XV. Battle of La Hogue, in Italy. § XXI. The King of Navarre dies at the palace of the Tuileries. § XXII. James Stuart attacked at the palace of the Tuileries. § XXIII. The King of Naples is saved by the Swiss. § XXIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXV. The Pope is saved by the Swiss. § XXVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XXXIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XL. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § L. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LXXXIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XL. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLIV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLV. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLVI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLVII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLVIII. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § XLIX. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § L. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss. § LI. The Queen of France is saved by the Swiss.
who, on the eleventh day of March, went to the House of Peers with the usual solemnity, where, in a speech to both Houses, she expressed her satisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies in humbling the power of the enemy. She assured the Commons, that proper methods towards obtaining a union between England and Scotland. She observed to the Commons, that the revenue for defraying the expenses of the civil government was so much increased, and to exertion, that on the affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. She declared it should be her constant endeavour to make them reflect that they were, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all her subjects. As and as I know my own heart to be entirely English, (continued she,) I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England, and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word. These assurances were extremely agreeable to the parliament; and good effects of it; but that, if the King, and ministers, the Dutch, and Germans, for their support, could be in time obtained, was doubted, but by Mr. Hills. Addresses of congratulation were presented by the bishop and clergy of London; by the dissenters in and about that city; and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England, and Ireland. The queen promised her protection to the dissenters; and received the compliments of all her subjects with such affability as insured their affection.

§ II. The death was no sooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with consternation. The States immediately assembled, and, for some time, gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They suspected their minister, and interchanged suspicions. The English, the States, and the French, had promised, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Then they despatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and desiring them to support the queen. The express from England having brought the queen's speech to her privy council, it was translated and published, to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day Pensionsary Farel imported to the States of Holland a letter which he had received from the elder Earl of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days, the queen wrote a letter in the French language to the States, confirming the assurances; it was deputed by Mr. Hills, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials as envoy from England. Thus animated, the States resolved to prosecute vigorous measures; their resolutions were still more determined by the intimation of orders from the queen, to whom the queen honoured with the order of the Garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general; he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad. He assured the States, that her Britannic majesty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late king, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The speech was answered by Dickwell, president of the week, who, in the name of the States, expressed their hearty thanks to her majesty, and their resolutions of concurring with her in a vigorous prosecution of the common interests.

§ IIII. The days of William's life was envied by the joy that diffused itself through the kingdom of France at the news of his decease. The people who first brought the tidings to Calais was imprisoned by the government, until his inquest was held. However, the French consuls could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event; all decency was laid aside at Rome, where this invidious and odious event was considered as a public misfortune. Cardinal Ge
di, the imperial minister, complained of them to the Pope, as an insult on his master the emperor, who was William's friend, confidante, and ally. The French king despatched secret notes to Buxiie, where the Count d'Arras had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negotiation with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This minister presented a memorial implying severe reflections on King William, and the past conduct of the Dutch; and insinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the court of France hoped they would consult their true interest. The Count de Goes, envoy from the emperor, animadverted on these passages, and the imperial government was likewise published; the States produced in public an answer to the same remonstrance, expressing their resentment at the insolence of such insinuations, and their veneration for the venerable character of their late sovereign. The Earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negociation. He animadverted the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigour; he concerted the operations of the campaign; he agreed to settle all the disputes with the States-general, by a just and careful administration for the good of all her subjects. As and as I know my own heart to be entirely English, (continued she,) I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word. These assurances were extremely agreeable to the parliament; and the representations of the Commons, that the revenue for defraying the expenses of the civil government was so much increased, and to exertion, that on the affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. She declared it should be her constant endeavour to make them reflect that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Then they despatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and desiring them to support the queen. The express from England having brought the queen's speech to her privy council, it was translated and published, to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day Pensionsary Farel imported to the States of Holland a letter which he had received from the elder Earl of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days, the queen wrote a letter in the French language to the States, confirming the assurances; it was deputed by Mr. Hills, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials as envoy from England. Thus animated, the States resolved to prosecute vigorous measures; their resolutions were still more determined by the intimation of orders from the queen, to whom the queen honoured with the order of the Garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general; he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad. He assured the States, that her Britannic majesty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late king, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The speech was answered by Dickwell, president of the week, who, in the name of the States, expressed their hearty thanks to her majesty, and their resolutions of concurring with her in a vigorous prosecution of the common interests. The days of William's life was envied by the joy that diffused itself through the kingdom of France at the news of his decease. The people who first brought the tidings to Calais was imprisoned by the government, until his inquest was held. However, the French consuls could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event; all decency was laid aside at Rome, where this invidious and odious event was considered as a public misfortune. Cardinal Gedo, the imperial minister, complained of them to the Pope, as an insult on his master the emperor, who was William's friend, confidante, and ally. The French king despatched secret notes to Buxiie, where the Count d'Arras had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negotiation with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This
concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was supported by the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. The queen being resolved to declare war, communicated her intention to the House of Commons, by whom it was approved; and on the fourth day of this declaration, she publicly proclaimed it. The king of France was, in this proclamation, taxed with having taken possession of great part of the Spanish dominions; with design ing to invade the liberties of Europe, and obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; with the tyranny and usurpation unjustly inflicted to the queen and her throne, by taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The three declarations of the emperor, England, and the states-general, which were published in one day, did not fail to disconcert, as well as to provoke, the French monarch. When his minister De Torcy recited them in his hearing, he spoke of the queen with some animity; but with respect to the States-general, he declared with great emotion, that "Messieurs the Dutch merchants should one day repent of their insensibility and presumption, in declaring war against so powerful a monarch;" he did not, however, preface his declaration till the third day of July.

VI. The House of Commons, in compliance with the queen's desire, brought in a bill, empowering her majesty to name commissioners to treat with the Scots for a union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm opposition from several gentlemen of the court, and other members, who disapproved of the measure and the discharges of disabuse of state and ridicule upon the Scottish nation; but the measure seemed so necessary at that juncture, to secure the protestant succession against the Irish incursions, and the danger of the present war, that the majority espoused the bill, which passed through both Houses, and on the sixth day of May received the royal assent, together with some bills of less importance. The emperor had so inconsiderately proceeded, that it began to gain credit all over the kingdom. Several peers interested themselves in William's character; and a motion was made in the upper House, that the truth of that report should be inquired into. The House immediately resolved that the commission for this purpose should be to be appointed by the House. The Commons resolved, that the report was groundless, false, villainous, and scandalous; to the dishonour of the late king's memory, and highly tending to the disservice of her majesty. They formed a bill, and the House resolved, that the authors or publishers of such scandalous reports should be prosecuted by the attorney-general. The same censure was passed upon some libels and pamphlets, tending to inflame the factions of the kingdom, and to propagate a spirit of sedition. On the twenty-first day of May, the Commons, in an address, advised her majesty to engage the emperor, the States-general, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to consequent, that the acts of the States-general might most effectually secure the trade of her subjects and allies. The Lords presented another address, desiring the queen would encourage her subjects to equip privateers, as the preparations of the enemy seemed to be made for a piratical war, to the interruption of commerce: they likewise exhorted her majesty to grant commissions or charters to all persons who should make such acqui-sitions in the Indies, as she in her great wisdom should judge most expedient for the good of her kingdoms. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the queen having passed several public and private bills, dismissed the parliament by prorogation, after having, in a short speech, besought them for their real, recommended unanimity, and declared she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration.

VII. In Scotland a warm contest arose between the revolutionaries and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present parliament. The queen had signified her accession to the throne, in a letter to her privy council for Scotland; desiring that the officers of that council, in that office, until she should send a new commission. Meanwhile she authorized them to publish a proclamation, ordaining all officers of state, councillors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions of her late majesty, until new commissions should be prepared. She likewise assured them of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church. She had already, in presence of twelve Scottish counsellors, taken the coronation-oath for that kingdom; but those who wanted to embroil the affairs of their country affirmed that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons appointed for that purpose, either by the parliament or the privy-council of the kingdom. The present ministry, consisting of the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Marnholm, Melvil, Seafield, Hynford, and Selkirk, were devoted to revolution principles, and thought it necessary that a new parliament should continue, in pursuance of a late act for continuing the parliament that should be then in being, six months after the death of the king; and that it should assemble in twenty days after the death of the king. This resolution was deferred the meeting almost three months after the king's decease; and therefore the anti-revolutionaries affirmed that it was dissolved. The Duke of Hamilton was at the head of the council of magistrates, and of the part of the present parliament. This nobleman, together with the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earls Marshall and Rothes, and many other noblemen, required to London, in order to make the queen acquainted with the object of the commission of the present parliament. She admitted them to her presence, and calmly heard their allegations; but she was determined by the advice of her privy council for that kingdom, who were of opinion that the nation was in too great a ferment to be moved by the broken precedent. According to the queen's last adjournment, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the ninth day of June, the Duke of Queensberry having been appointed high-commissioner.

Before the tenth day the Duke of Hamilton, for himself and his adherents, declared their satisfaction at her majesty's accession to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by descent, but likewise because of her many personal virtues and royal qualities. He said they were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her majesty's right against all her enemies whatever: but, at the same time, they thought themselves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to sit and act as a parliament. He then read a paper to the following effect: that forsooth, as by the fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom, all parliaments do dissolve on the death of the king, the parliament was dissolved, and the act in the preceding reign, that the parliament in being at his majesty's decease should meet, and act what might be needful for the defence of the true protestant religion as by law established, and for the maintenance of the succession to the crown, as settled by the claim of right, and for the preservation and security of the public peace; and seeing these ends are fully answered by her majesty's succession to

a In their hours of debauch they drank to the health of sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the king, and under the appellation of the little green horse. The queen had been informed that the horse had stumbled. As the beast had formerly belonged to Sir John Giffard, one of the queen's household, by whom it was presented to the queen for her charity to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the event of the fall, by a gentleman named Mathew, in the following words: "Vesperi sacri, cor et anima, magna viri,fecit resurgere foedera, prorupit ante, alteriusque generis lux; et egenis oris ad impedimenta, munera venit; et omnia nobis, qui haec omittere, docebit animus, et memoria virtuti."

b Doctor Robins, in a sermon preached before the congregation on the thirteenth day of January, drew a parallel between the sufferings of Christ and those of King Charles, to which last he gave the preference, in point of right, character, and passion. c During the five years before the queen gave her assent to an act for laying a duty upon land, to another for encouraging the Greenland trade; and the third year of her reign, it was reported that William of Orange had fled with a large fleet of privateers to the inferiored estates of Ireland; in a sixth engaging the town of the mouth of the Great River, under the command of Lord Colborne; to a seventh obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their protestant children.
the throne; we conceive ourselves not now warranted by law to meet, sit, or act; and therefore do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted. The duke having recited this paper, and formally protested against the proposed measures, was joined by twenty-nine members amidst the acclamations of the people.

§ VIII. Notwithstanding their secession, the commissioner, who retained a much greater number, produced the queen's letter, signifying her resolution to maintain and preserve the established laws, liberties, and the presbyterian discipline. She informed them of her declaring war against France; she exhorted them to provide sufficient supplies for maintaining several garrisons; and she was disappointed of the enemy's designs, and preserving the present happy settlement; and she earnestly recommended to their consideration a union of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Queenberry and the Earl of Marchmont having enforced the different articles of this letter, committees were appointed for the security of the kingdom, for counter-verted elections, for drawing up an answer to her majesty's letter, and for revising the minutes. Meanwhile, the Duke of Athlone, and his adherents sent the Lord Blantyre to London, with an address to the queen, who refused to receive it, but wrote another letter to the parliament, expressing her resolution to maintain their dignity and authority. Of this letter, the former, had assured her, that the groundless secession of some members should increase and strengthen their care and zeal for her majesty's service. They expelled Sir A. Maitland from the university, to prevent his communications against presbytery. The lord advocate prosecuted the faculty of advocates before the parliament, for having passed a vote among themselves in favour of the protesta-tion and address of the dissenting members. The faculty was severely reprimanded: but the whole notion seemed to resent the prosecution. The parliament passed an act for recognising her majesty's royal authority: another for adjourning the court of judicature called the session; a third declaring this meeting of parliament legal: and forbidding any person to disown, quarrel with, or impugn the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high treason: a fourth for securing the true protestant religion and presbyterian church government: a fifth for a land-tax: and a sixth enabling her majesty to appoint commissions for a union between the two kingdoms.

§ IX. The Earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the high-commissioners, brought in a bill for altering the pretended Prince of Wales: but this was not supported by the court party, as the commissioner had no instructions how to act on the occasion. Perhaps the queen and her English ministry resolved to make its imprudence a ground of check upon the wags and house of Hanover. On the thirtieth day of June, the commissioner adjourned the parliament after having thanked them for their cheerfulness and unanimity in their proceedings; and the chiefs of the opposite parties hastened to London, to make their different representations to the queen and her ministry. In the mean time she appointed commissioners for treating about the union; and they met at the Cockpit on the twenty-second day of October. On the twentieth day of the next month, they adjusted preliminaries, importing, that nothing agreed on among themselves should be bind-ing until an act of the two kingdoms of both nations: and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding. The queen visited them in December, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours. They agreed, that the two kingdoms should be insepara-bly united into one monarchy, under her majesty, her heirs, and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement: but, when the Scott-ish commissioners represented, that the interests of the two col-leges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted, and no further progress was made. The question of the union was not interrupted by any new commission. That king-dom was ruled by justices whom the Earl of Rochester had appointed; and the trustees for the forfeited estates maintained their authority.

§ X. While Britain was engaged in these civil trans-actions, her allies were not idle on the continent. The old Duke of Zell, at the head of the Italians, with the Earl of Bridg-water, surprised the Dukes of Wolfenbuttel and Sax-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common councils of the empire. Thus the north of Germany was re-united to the interests of the empire; and it appeared they had been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the States-General resolved to mediate the disputes between the Kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conquest. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the cardinal-primate to summon a diet for choosing a new king. The situation of affairs at this juncture was far from being favourable to the allies. The court of Vienna had tarried vain with the Elector of Bavaria, who made use of this negotiation to raise his terms with Louis. His brother, the Elector of Cologne, admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The Elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the enemy to secure his provinces; and the Saxons had been for a long time冈en by a garrison, and the Swedes were overrun by the victory of the Swedish conqueror: the Duke of Saxony had joined his forces to those of France, and overran the whole province of Meissen. Augustus, though he professed a neutrality, evinced himself strongly biased to the French interests.

§ XI. The war was begun in the name of the elector-palatine war between the siege of Dusseldorf, which was invested in the month of April by the Prince of Nassau-Saar-burgh, mariscal-du-camp to the emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by the States-general. The French garrisons made a desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of ashes. At length the allies made a general attack upon the countess and ravelin, which they carried after a very obstinate engagement, with the loss of two thousand men. Then the garrison capitulated on honourable terms, and the fortifi-cations were razed. During this siege, which lasted from the sixteenth day of April to the middle of June, Count Tallard posted himself on the opposite side of the Rhine from whence he supplied the town with fresh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the besiegers with his artillery; but finding it impossible to save the place, he joined the second army, commanded by the Duke of Alken, to the assistance of the States of the Netherlands. The siege of Keizerswaert was covered by a body of Dutch troops under the Earl of Athlone, who lay encamped in the Duchy of Cleve. Meanwhile General Cohorn, at the head of another detachment, entered Flanders, demolished the French lines between the forts of Donat and Isabell, and laid the countenance of Burgers under contribution: but a considerable body of French troops advancing under the Marquis de Redimier, and the Count de la Motte, he overthrew the country, and retired under the walls of Sluis. The Duke of Burgundy, who had taken the command of the French army under Bou Qui-Ant, encamped at the mouth of the Durno, and marched into the country, and besieged the citadel of Bruges, and Great Nieuwen; in which, however, he was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Athlone, who, grasping his design, marched thither, and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was invested by Prince Louis of Baden: in the month of June the King of the Romans arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with such pomp and magnificence as exhausted his father's treasury. On the ninth day of September, the citadel was taken by assault: but the town surrendered.

§ XII. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Hol-land, the Earl of Athlone, in quality of Veldt mariscal, insisted upon an equal command with the English general: but the States-General would not yield to the request of Marlborough, whom they declared generalissimo of all their forces. In the beginning of July he repaired to the
The Duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers, who lost the confidence of Louis by the ill success of this campaign. The deputies of the States-General having represented to the Earl of Marlborough the advantages that would accrue to Holland, from his despoiling the enemy of the places they maintained in the Spanish Guelderland, by which the navigation of the Maas was obstructed, and the important town of Maestricht in a manner blocked up, he resolved to deliver them from such a troublesome neighbourhood. He detached General Schultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and castle of Venlo, which were surrendered after a very obstinate defence. In the meantime, he undertook the siege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after St. Michael had been stormed and taken by Lord Cutts and the English volunteers, among whom the young Earl of Huntington distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valour.

Then the general invested Remoninde, which he reduced after a very obstinate defence, together with the fort of Stedum, a redoubt at Liege. Boufflers, ever founded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city; but, at the approach of the confederates, he retired with precipitation to Tongern, from whence he directed his route towards Brabant, with a view to defend such places as the allies had no design to attack. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the suburbs of St. Walburg had been set on fire by the French garrison, who had retired to the citadel and the Châteaux. They immediately possessed the city; and in a few days opened the trenches against the citadel, which was taken by assault. On this occasion, the hereditary Prince of Condé, who had advanced the head of the enemies, was the first person who mounted the breach. Violating the governor, and the Duke of Charenton, were made prisoners. Three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in the citadel, besides notes for above one million, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. Immediately after this exploit, the garrison of the Châteaux capitulated on honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the success of this campaign, the Earl of Marlborough raised his military character above all censure, and confirmed himself in the entire confidence of the States-General; who in the beginning of the season had trembled for Niemegen, and now saw the enemy driven from Flanders and Brabant.

§ XIII. When the army broke up in November, the general repaired to Maestricht, from whence he proposed to return to the Hague by water. Accordingly he embarked in a large boat with five-and-twenty soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant. Next morning he was joined at Remondine by Coehorn, in a large vessel with sixty men; and they were moreover escorted by fifty troopers, who followed in the wake of the boat. Their large boat outsailed the other, and the horsemen mistook their way in the dark. A French partisan, with five-and-thirty men from Guelders, who lurked among the rushes in wait for prey, seized the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it home, and set fire to their small arms and baggage; but they then rushing into it secured the soldiers before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. The Earl of Marlborough was accompanied by General Opdam, and Mynteer Gueldermans, one of the deputies, who were provided with passports. The Earl had neglected this precaution; but recollecting he had an old passport for his father's time, and another that he had obtained from Lord Marlborough, wrote the information that the Earl was surprised by a party, and conveyed to Guelders, immediately marched out with his whole garrison to invest that place. The same imperfect workmen, the French, as usual, were at a loss to reverse the enemy, content with the information that the Earl who was surprised by a party, and conveyed to Guelders, immediately marched out with his whole garrison to invest that place. The same imperfect workmen, the French, as usual, were at a loss to reverse the enemy, content with the

§ XIV. The French arms were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria surprised the city of Ulm in Swabia, by a stratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this time compassed all the advantages the French general had desired. The attack on Ratisbon, were so incensed at his conduct in seizing the city of Ulm by perfidy, that they presented a memorial to his imperial majesty, requesting he would proceed against the elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. They resolved, by an edict of September, to change the name of the empire against the French king and the Duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbishop of Cologne, and the duke of Lorraine; and they forbade the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne to appear in the general diet. In vain did these powers protest against their proceedings. The emperor's declaration of war was published and notified, in the name of the apex of the general diet and the emperor's commissioner. Meanwhile the French made themselves masters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Swabia, while Louis Prince of Baden, being weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to retreat in his camp near Freddingeun. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the Marquis de Villars and the Count de Guiscard; and the prince thinking himself in danger of being enclosed by the enemy, resolved to decamp. Villars is said to have been very desirous of falling upon his retreat, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, the imperialists were overpowered by numbers. The prince, having lost two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, and the French army, after having looted and murdered, retired towards Stauften, without being pursued. The French army, even after they had gained the battle, were unaccountably seized with such a panic, that if the imperial general had faced them with two regiments, he would have snatched the victory from Villars, who was upon this occasion saluted Marschal of France by the soldiers; and next day the town of Freddingen surrendered. The prince being joined by some troops under General Zhugden, and other reinforcements, resolved to give battle to the enemy; but Villars declined an engagement, and repulsed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, Count Tallard, and the Marquis de Lorraine, the latter of whom possessed the bank of eighteen miles of Turin and Tannau; on the other hand, the Prince of Hess-Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinz, Lintz, Brussel, and Ansbach.

§ XV. In Italy, Prince Eugene laboured under a total neglect of the imperial court, where his enemies, on pretext of supporting the King of the Romans in his first campaign, had the effect of the army and money of the Emperor Philip of Spain, being inspired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, sailed in
person for Naples, where he was visited by the cardinal-legate, with a compliment from the Pope; yet he could not obtain the investiture of the kingdom from his holiness. The emperor, however, was so disgusted at the embassy which the Pope had sent to Philip, that he ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned. He proceeded from Naples to Finali, under convoy of the French fleet, which had brought him to Italy: here he had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of the French king's being master of the Milanese: and, in a letter to the Duke of Vendome, he forbad him to engage Prince Eugene until he himself should arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene, understanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guastalla, passed the Po, with an army of about half the number of the enemy, and posted himself behind the dyke of Zero, in such a manner that the French were ignorant of his situation. He concluded, that on their arrival at the ground they had chosen, the horse would march out to forage, while the rest of the army would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreshment. His design was to seize that opportunity of attacking them, not ambushed at Rome, which he obtained a complete victory, but he was disappointed by mere accident. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curiosity to ascend the dyke, in order to view the country, when he discovered the imperial infantry lying in the rear, and ordered a discharge of musketry, which the prince attacked with them great vivacity, in hopes of disordering their line, which gave way in several places; but night interposing, he was obliged to desist: and in a few days the French reduced Luzzara and Guastalla. The prince, however, maintained his post, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any considerable advantage.

The French king employed all his artifice and intrigues in raising up new enemies against the confederates. He is said to have bribed Count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, to withhold the supplies from Prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the vizir, who engaged to new the war with the emperor. But the success and all the other great officers were averse to this design, and the vizir fell a sacrifice to their resentment. Louis continued to employ the king of Spain, and the latter was of a very different disposition. The young King of Sweden advanced to Lusin, where he defeated Augustus. Then he took possession of Cracow, and raised contributions: nor could he be disheartened by the disastrous conclusion of the naval combat of Lissa, where the French and English, under Admiral Hovs and Lieutenant General Amoufour, had ravaged Livonia, and even made an irruption into Sweden.

The operations of the combined squadrions at sea did not fully answer the expectation of the public. On the twelfth day of May, Sir John Munden sailed with twelve ships to intercept a French squadron appointed as a convoy to a new victory of Mexico, from Corunna to the West Indies. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, he chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was strongly fortified, and that seventeen of the enemy's ships of war rode at anchor in the harbour, it would be too hazardous for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed to cruise in soundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly, and being distressed by want of provisions, anchored off the town of Galicia. For the satisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but as this miscarriage had rendered him very unpopular, Prince George dismissed him from the fleet. While they were bickering, that King William had projected a scheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterwards against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. This design Queen Anne resolved to put in execution. Sir George Cooke commanded the fleet, and the Duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land-forces destined for this expedition.

The combined squadrions amounted to fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fire-ships, and smaller vessels; and the number of soldiers embarked was not far short of fourteen thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helen's: on the twelfth of August they had arrived between the Ormond and the Horse. On this day the Duke of Ormond summoned the Duke of Brancaco, who was governor, to submit to the house of Austria; but that officer answered, he would acquiesce himself in the trust in posed in him by the king. On the fifteenth the Duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed a body of Spanish cavalry; then he summoned the governor of Fort St. Catherine's to surrender; and received an answer, importing, that the garrison was prepared for his reception. A declaration was published in the Spanish languages, intimating, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the house of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were more cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the excesses of the English troops. These having taken possession of Fort St. Catherine, and Port St. Mary's, instead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithstanding the strict orders issued by the Duke of Ormond to prevent such acts: even some general officers were concerned in the pilage. A battery was raised against Montaguport fort opposite to the Puntal: but the attempt miscarried, and the troops were re-enjoined.

§ XVIII. Captain Hardy having been sent to water in Laoro bay, received intelligence that the galleons from the West Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. He sailed immediately in quest of Sir George Cooke's squadron, who was now on his voyage back to England, falling in with him on the sixth day of October, communicated the substance of what he had learned. Cooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to allay their fears, and attack. He forthwith detached some small vessels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons, and the squadron commanded by Chateau Renaut, were actually in the harbour. They sailed thither, and appeared before the place on the eleventh day of October. The entrance into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breast-works on each side: by a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, topmasts, and cables, moored at each end to a several islands, and the earth at the bases of ships of the same strength lying athwart the channel, with their broad-sides to the olling. As the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the design was to force the English, and four-and-twenty English and Dutch ships of the line with their frigates, fire-ships, and ketches, were destined for the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the Duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. The British ensign was no sooner seen flying at the top of this fort, than the ships advanced to the attack. Vice-Admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowing all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock; then the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last, however, were soon stunned and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which in a little time they silenced; though Vice-Admiral Gage, on the Looe, was so much excited, which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French, finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not provide the hands and practices. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but ten ships of war were taken together with eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandise before the English fleet was in sight, the loss of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was de-
strayed in six galleons that perished; and about half that value was brought off by the conquerors; so that this was a dreadful blemish to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. Immediately after that exploit, Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and dispose of the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

§ XIX. The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of the allies. Immediately after that exploit, Sir George Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that Monsieur Du Casse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogane he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, bore away for Donna Maria bay, where he understood that Du Casse had sailed for the coast of Carthagena. Benbow resolved to follow the same course, and on the nineteenth of August discovered the enemy’s squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail, steering along shore. He found no engagements, and as it appeared, in which it was very ill seconded by some of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the same distance as for four or five hours. He was commanded by Captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the twenty-first these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the admiral was obliged to send her to the wind. He sailed away, having been commanded by Wad, was five leagues astern; and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather gage. On the twenty-third the admiral renewed the battle, which was single, and was sustained by the returning fires of his squadron. On the 24th his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French began to draw down upon the admiral with their whole force, shot away his main top-sail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and rest, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a counsel of his captains, and entered into consideration with them of the behaviour of the French. He observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having lost a leg, but having gained a large way in on his face, and another on his arm, while he in person attempted to board the French admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to Rear-Admiral Whetten, and other officers, to hold court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson of the Pendennis died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot: Constable, of the威尔士, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Ford, against the admiral’s own captain of the Breda, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow’s command; but, as they beheld gallantly the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy, while he was handled with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage in his place. The boisterous manner of Benbow had produced this base confession. He was a rough seaman; but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced. He took this miscarriage so much at heart that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same preoccupation had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour.

§ XX. During these transactions, the queen seemed to be happy in the affection of her subjects. Though the continuance of the parliament was limited to six months after the king’s departure, the House of Commons, in the formality of the term was expired: and issued writs for electing another, in which the tory interest predominated. In the summer the queen gave audience to the Count de Platins, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover; then she made a progress with her husband to Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, where she was received with all the marks of the most genuine affection. The new parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was chosen speaker. The queen in her speech declared, she had summoned them to assist her in carrying on the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. She desired the Commons would inspect the accounts of the public receipts and disbursements, and not allow the expenditure of the monies of the nation, without a proper account of the benefit they produced. Mr. Harley promised, that the funds assigned in the last parliament had not produced the sums granted; and that the receipts except the House of Commons, were commanded by Captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the twenty-first these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the admiral was obliged to send her to the wind. He sailed away, having been commanded by Wad, was five leagues astern; and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather gage. On the twenty-third the admiral renewed the battle, which was single, and was sustained by the returning fires of his squadron. On the 24th his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French began to draw down upon the admiral with their whole force, shot away his main top-sail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and rest, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a counsel of his captains, and entered into consideration with them of the behaviour of the French. He observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having lost a leg, but having gained a large way in on his face, and another on his arm, while he in person attempted to board the French admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to Rear-Admiral Whetten, and other officers, to hold court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson of the Pendennis died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot: Constable, of the威尔士, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Ford, against the admiral’s own captain of the Breda, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow’s command; but, as they beheld gallantly the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy, while he was handled with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage in his place. The boisterous manner of Benbow had produced this base confession. He was a rough seaman; but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced. He took this miscarriage so much at heart that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same preoccupation had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour.

§ XXI. The strength of the tories appeared in nothing more conspicuous than in their inquiry concerning controverted elections. The borough of Hindon, near Salisbury, was convicted of bribery, and a bill brought in for disfranchising the town; yet no vote proceeded from that borough, and none were taken there. The queen, on being informed that at the last elections the representa-
ber to move the father from the office of lord-almoner; and they ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the son, after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired. A counter address was immediately voted, and presented by the Lords, beseeching her majesty would not remove the Bishop of Worcester from the place of lord-almoner, which he had already found guilty of a due course of law; as it was the undoubted right of every lord of parliament, and of every subject of England, to have an opportunity to make his defence before he suffers any punishment or loss. These remonstrances were not yet received any complaint against the Bishop of Worcester: but she looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any servant attending upon her own person, when she thought fit. And the Peers had received this answer, unanimously resolved, That no lord of their House ought to suffer any sort of punishment by any proceedings of the House of Commons, otherwise than according to privilege, custom, and ancient rules and methods of parliament. When the Commons attended the queen with their address against the bishop, she said she was sorry there was any occasion for such a remonstrance, and that the Bishop of Worcester should no longer continue to supply the place of her almoner. This regard to their address was a flagrant proof of her partiality to the Tories, who seemed to justify her attachment by their compliance and liberality.

§ XXIII. In deliberating on the supplies, they agreed to all the demands of the ministry. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. For the maintenance of these last, they granted eight hundred and thirty thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds; besides three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for guards and garrisons; seventy thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds for ordnance; and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight pounds for provisions. The Lord Shannon arriving with the news of the success at Vigo, the queen appointed a day of thanksgiving for the signal success of her arms under the Earl of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke; and on that day, which was the twelfth of November, she went in state to St. Paul's church, attended by both Houses of parliament. Next day the Peers voted the thanks of their House to the Duke of Ormond for his services at Vigo, and, at the same time, drew up an address to the queen, desiring she would order the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings, what expenses they had incurred, and what matters comprised. Those two officers were likewise thanked by the House of Commons: Vice-Admiral Hopson was knighted, and granted with a considerable pension. The Duke of Ormond, on his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rooke's conduct, alleging that he had given the enemy to a public accusation; but that officer was such a favourite among the Commons, that the court was afraid to disoblige them by an impeachment, and took great pains to mitigate the duke's resentment. This nobleman was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Rooke was admitted into the privy council. A motion, however, being made in the House of Lords, that the admiral's instructions and journals relating to the last expedition might be examined, a committee was appointed for that purpose, and prepared an unfavourable report: but it was rejected by a majority of the House; and they voted, that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, and possessed the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation.

§ XXIV. On the twenty-first day of November, the queen sent a message to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hedges, recommending further provisions for the prince her husband, in case he should survive her. This message being considered, Mr. Howe moved, that the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled on the prince, in case he should survive her majesty. No opposition was made to this, nor was the house satisfied with the clause related only to those who should be naturalized to a future reign; and indeed was calculated as a restriction upon the house of Hanover. Many members argued against the clause of exemption, because it seemed to imply, from employments in the next reign, though already possessed of the right of natural-born subjects, a consequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others opposed it, because the Lords pressed it to be resolved by a vote. That they would not pass any bill sent up from the Commons, to which a clause foreign to the bill should be tacked; and this clause they affirmed to be a tack, as an insupportable, if not to hold employment, the clause of exemption was resolved upon. The queen expressed uncommon eagerness in behalf of this bill; and the court influence was managed so successfully, that it passed through both Houses, though it met with an obstinate opposition, and a formal protest by seven-and-twenty Peers.

§ XXV. The Earl of Marlborough, arriving in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the Commons for his great and signal services, which were so acceptable to the queen, that she created him a duke, gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds upon the revenue of the post-office, during his natural life; and, in a message to the Commons, expressed a desire that they would find some method to settle it on the heir-male of his body. This intimation was productive of warm debates, during which Sir Christopher Musgrave observed, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent services, nor should the Commons have it well paid for them, by the profitable employments which he and his duchess enjoyed. The duke, understanding that the Commons were hesitated by the subject, begged her majesty would not force her gracious message in her behalf, than create any uneasiness on his account, which might embarrass her affairs and be of ill consequence to the public. Then she went another message to the House, signifying, that the Duke of Marlborough had declined the duke's grants, and reduced the latter. The Commons in a body presented an address, acknowledging the eminent services of the Duke of Marlborough, yet expressing their apprehension of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the late reign, and so lately settled and secured by her majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness. The queen was satisfied with their apology, but she refused to listen to the protestations of those who desired to alienate the duke from the tories, with whom he had been hitherto connected.

§ XXV. In the beginning of January, the queen gave the House of Commons to understand, that the attorney-general had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffective the great and early preparations of the enemy. The Commons immediately resolved, that ten thousand men should be hired, as an immediate service in the event of the allies advancing against the kingdom; but on condition that an immediate stop should be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain on the part of the States-general. The Lords presented an address to the queen on the same subject, and to the same effect; and she owned that the condition was absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance. The Dutch, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffic with the French, and, at this very juncture, Louis found it impossible to make remittances of money to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except through the channel of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants. The States-general, though shocked at the impious manner in which the parliament of England prescribed their conduct, complied with the demand without hesitation, and published a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.
considered them as enroaching schematics that disgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and those of their own communion who recommended moderation, they branded with the epithets of lukewarm Christians, betrayers, and apostates. They now resolved to improve the themselves zealous sons of the church, by seizing the first opportunity that was in their power to distress the dissenters. In order to pave the way to this persecution, sermons were preached explicitly, most plain, to blacken the character of the sect, and inflame the popular resentment against them. On the fourth day of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the House to bring in a bill for preventing occasional congregation. In the preamble, all persecution for conscience-sake was condemned: nevertheless, it enacted, That all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magnificacy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disqualified from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments after having been at any such meeting: they were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's consecration; and, upon a relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled. The promoters of the bill, to make it more plausible and satisfying the church, were absolutely necessary, when so many impious men pretended to inspiration, and deluded such numbers of the people: that the most effectual way to preserve this superstition was to be the most absolute power in the hands of those who expressed their regard to the church in their principles and practice: that the parliament, by the corporation and test acts, thought they had raised a sufficient banner to the holy cause, never imagining that a set of men would rise up, whose conscience would be too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them: that, as the last reign began with an act in favour of dissenters, so the Commons were determined to carry the present House's ascent of the English government, an act should pass in favour of the church of England: that this bill did not intermingle on the act of toleration, or deprive the dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law, or add any thing to the legal rights of the church of England: that occasional consecration was an evasion of the law, by which the dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management of all corporations: that a separation from the church, to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: that the toleration was interfered with tender conscience, and not to give a licence for occasional conformity: that conforming and non-conforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of consecration required are sinful and unlawful could justify the one; and this plainly condemns the other. The members who opposed the bill argued, that the dissenters were generally well affected to the present constitution: that to bring any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the威力 of the church, and diminishing the number of dissenters: that the dissenters could not be termed schematics without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the laws imposed on papists, for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration had brought peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite discord, and extend superstition. Many attentions and mitigations were proposed, without effect. In the course

of the debates, the dissenters were mentioned and reviled with great animosity; and the bill passed the lower House by virtue of a considerable majority. 

§ XXVII. The Lords, apprehensive that the Commons would take it to some money bill, voted, That the annexing any clause to a money bill was contrary to the constitution of the English government, and the usage of parliament. The bill met with a very warm opposition in the upper House. It was a preparatory step towards a repeal of the toleration; and others concluded that the promoters of the bill designed to raise such disturbances at home as would discourage the allies abroad, and render the prosecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the bishops, and among those Barnet of Sarum, objected against it on the principles of moderation, and from motives of conscience. Nevertheless, as the court supported this measure with its own power and influence, the bill made its way through the House, though without alterations and amendments, which were rejected by the Commons. The lower House pretended, that the Lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties that the Commons had imposed. The Commons, however, on the supposition, that those were matters concerning money, the peculiar province of the lower House: the Lords ordered a three minute inquiry to be made into all the proceedings of the Commons, that a roll of parliamentary transactions might be made, and a great number of instances were found, in which the Lords had laid the clauses imposing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the Commons, and even that the fines to which they were applied. These precedents were entered in the books: but the Commons resolved to maintain their point without engaging in any dispute upon the subject. After warm debates, and a free conference between the two Houses, the Lords resolved, or, in the Commons's asuse of a phrase, an act should pass in favour of the church of England; that this bill did not intermingle on the act of toleration, or deprive the dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law, or add any thing to the legal rights of the church of England: that occasional consecration was an evasion of the law, by which the dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management of all corporations: that a separation from the church, to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: that the toleration was interfered with tender conscience, and not to give a licence for occasional conformity: that conforming and non-conforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of consecration required are sinful and unlawful could justify the one; and this plainly condemns the other. The members who opposed the bill argued, that the dissenters were generally well affected to the present constitution: that to bring any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the威力 of the church, and diminishing the number of dissenters: that the dissenters could not be termed schematics without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the laws imposed on papists, for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration had brought peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite discord, and extend superstition. Many attentions and mitigations were proposed, without effect. In the course

of the debates, the dissenters were mentioned and reviled with great animosity; and the bill passed the lower House by virtue of a considerable majority. 

§ XXVIII. No object engaged more time, or produced more violent debates, than did the inquiry into the public accounts. The commissioners appointed for this purpose pretended to have made great discoveries. They charged the Earl of Ranalegh, pay master-general of the army, with flagrant mismanagement. He acquitted himself in such a manner as screened him from all severity of punishment: notwithstanding, they expelled him from his office of paymaster, and his place was given to one who had been in the House a high council, and misdemeanor, in mislaying several sums of the public money; and he thought proper to resign his employment. A long address was prepared and presented to the queen, attributing the national debt to mismanagement of the funds; complaining that the old methods of the exchequer had been neglected; and that iniquitous frauds had been committed by the commissioners of the taxes. Previous to this remonstrance, the House, sitting in the character of a committee, had passed several severe resolutions, particularly against Charles Lord Halifax, auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, as having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach

of the common hangman, and the author to be prosecuted. He was accordingly committed to Newgate, tried, convicted to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and stand in the pillory.

While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foe published a pamphlet entitled, 'The Present State of the Dissenters,' in which he advanced the opinion, that the House of Commons was a faction, and that the members, particularly those of the two parties, were devoted to the interest of the party. The Commons ordered it to be burned by the
of trust. For these reasons they actually besought the queen, in an address, that she would give directions to the attorney-general, to prosecute him for the said offences; and she promised to comply with their request. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to examine all the observations which the commissioners of accounts had offered to both Houses. They ascribed the national debt to an unwise expenditure on the part of the former, and discovered that Lord Halifax, the lords of the treasury, and their officers, whom the Commons had accused; and represented these circumstances in an address to the queen, which was afterwards to depart from the archbishop's right of revising the whole conviction with consent of his suffragans. The lower House proposed to refer the controversy to the queen's decision. The bishops declined this expedient, as inconsistent with the episcopal authority, and the prejudice of the archbishop. The lower House having cured the imputation of favouring presbytery, by this opposition to the bishops, entered in their books a declaration, acknowledging the order of bishops as superior to presbyters, and to be a divine instituted office. Then they desired the bishops, in an address, to concur in settling the doctrine of the divine apostolical right of episcopacy, that it might be a standing rule of the church. They likewise proposed to ordain, that in the case of convocation, that in the convocation called in the year 1700, after interruption of ten years, several questions having arisen concerning the rights and liberties of the lower House, the bishops conferred a conference, and after the bishops had declined a proposal to submit the dispute to her majesty's determination: they, therefore, fled for protection to her majesty, begging she would call the question into her own royal audience. The queen promised to consider their request by the bill not having been ordered of an accommodation. The Lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the Commons followed their example. On the twenty-seventh day of February the queen, having passed the bills for an additional revenue, intimated to the lower House by the speaker that the business was then adjourned, and ordered the lord-keeper to prorogue the parliament, after having pronounced a speech, in the usual style. She thanked them for their zeal, affection, and dispatch; declared she would encourage and maintain the church as by law established; desired they would consider some further laws for restraining the great licence assumed for publishing scandalous pamphlets and libels; and assured them that all her share of the prizes which might be taken in the war should be applied to the public service. By this time the Earl of Rochester was entirely removed from the queen's councils. Finding himself out-weighted by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, he proposed to the Houses, to make a representation to his majesty, to have permission to repair to his government of Ireland, chose to resign the office, which, as we have already observed, was conferred upon the Duke of Ormond, a distinguished nobleman, who professed, revolution was the only way to prevent the attack of the neighbouring provinces; the queen declined to ac- cept him, and no answer was made to their address. The archbishop replied to their request presented to the upper House, concerning the divine right of presbytery, that the prejudice to the form of ordination contained a declaration of the titles of ministers from the times of the apostles; namely, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to which they had subscribed; but he and his brethren conceived, that, without a royal licence, they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or exercise any canon, which should concern either doctrine or discipline. The lower House answered this declaration in very petulant terms; and the dispute subsisted when the parliament was prorogued. But these contests proceeded in the present body, the members having changed themselves in different factions, distinguished by the names of high-church and low-church. The first consisted of ecclesiastical tories; the other included those who were principal in council, and maintained a violent conten- tion towards the dissenters. The high-church party re- pealed the other as time-servers, and presbyterians in disguise; and were, in their turn, stigmatized as the friends and adherents of tyranny and persecution. At present, however, the tories both in church and state triumphed in the favour of their sovereign. The right of parliaments, the memory of the late king, and even the act limiting the succession of the house of Hanover, became the subjects of ridicule. The queen was flattered as possessor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy; the history written by her grandfather, the Earl of Clarendon, was now for the first time published, to decorate the principles of obedience, and inspire the people with an adherence of opposition to an anomalous sovereignty. Her majesty's hereditary right was deduced from Edward the Confessor, and, as heir of his pretended sanctity and virtue, she was persuaded to touch the crown. The persons afflicted with the arbitrary evil, according to the office inserted in the liturgy for this occasion.

§ XXX. The change of the ministry in Scotland seemed favourable to the episcopalian and anti-revolutionists of that kingdom. The Earls of Malmouth, Melvil, Selkirk, (in the county of Kincardine, added Baron Granville of Potterside in the county of Devon, Hon. Mr. Earl, Baronet of Constable in the county of York, and 2d. of Lewes, created Earl of Selkirk, Baronet of St. Michael's, and Lord of the manors of Normandy in the county of Yorkshire, and Francis Seymour, youngest son of Sir Edward Seymour, made Baron Cowley of Ragley in the county of Warwick. At the same time, however, John Harvey of the opposite faction, was created Baron Newcomen of Newcomen in the county of Warwick, and Lord of the manors of Normandy. The title of Duke of Buckingham was bestowed on the Marquis of Queensberry, by the earl of Selkirk, and the earl of Malmouth, and the earl of Selkirk. These were John Granville, created Baron Granville of Potterside in the county of Devon, Hon. Mr. Earl, Baronet of Constable in the county of York, and 2d. of Lewes, created Earl of Selkirk, Baronet of St. Michael's, and Lord of the manors of Normandy in the county of Yorkshire, and Francis Seymour, youngest son of Sir Edward
Leven, and Hyndford, were laid aside: the Earl of Seafield was appointed chancellor: the Duke of Queensberry, and the Lord Viscount Tarbat, were declared secretaries of state: the Marquis of Annandale was made president of the council, and the Earl of Tullibardine lord privy-seal.

A new parliament having been summoned, the Earl of Seafield employed his influence so successfully, that a great number of anti-revolutioners were returned as members.

The Duke of Hamilton believed it necessary to write a letter to the privy council in Scotland, in which he expressed his desire that the presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and communion with such dissenting ministers as might be reformed and restored in possession of their old benefices, and lived with decency, and submission to the law. The episcopal clergy, encouraged by these expressions in their favour, drew up an address to the queen, imploring her protection; and humbly beseeching her to allow those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal freeholders, to bestow the benefice on ministers of their principles. This petition was presented by Dr. Sken and Dr. Scott, who were introduced by the Duke of Queensberry to her majesty. She assured them of her protection and endeavours to supply their necessities; and exhorted them to live in peace and Christian love with the clergy, who were by law invested with the church-governments of the kingdom. A strong declamation of indemnity having been published in March, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretended to have changed their sentiments; of such acts as might be qualified to sit in parliament. They formed an access to the strength of the anti-revolutioners and episcopalian, who now hoped to outnumber the presbyterians, and outweigh their interest. But this confidence was composed of distant parts, from which no harmony could be expected. The presbyterians and revolutioners were headed by the Duke of Argyll. The country party of malcontents, consisting of the Marquis of Annandale, the Earl of the Darien settlement, acted under the auspices of the Duke of Hamilton and Marquis of Tweedale; and the Earl of Hume appeared as chief of the anti-revolutioners.

The different parties, who now united, pursued the most opposite ends. The majority of the country party were friends to the revolution, and sought only redress of the grievances which the nation had sustained to the late reign. The anti-revolutioners considered the accession and government of King William as an extraordinary event, which they were willing to forget, believing the crown safe under the protection of her majesty's general indemnity. The Jacobites submitted to this new state as a tutrix or regent for the Prince of Wales, whom they firmly believed she intended to establish on the throne.

The whigs under Argyll, alarmed at the coalition of all the Presbyterian parties, resolved to procure a parliamentary sanction for the revolution.

A D 1705.

SECTION XXXI. The parliament being opened on the sixth day of May at Edinburgh, by the Duke of Queensberry as commissioner, the queen's letter was read, in which she demanded a supply for the maintenance of the forces, advised them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wisdom, prudence, and unanimity. The Duke of Hamilton immediately offered the draft of a bill for recognising her majesty's undoubted right and title to the imperial crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the estates of Scotland, containing the claim of right. It was immediately received; and, at the second reading, the queen's advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of treason against any person who should question her majesty's right and title to the crown, or her execution of the government, from her access to the throne. This, after a long and warm debate, was carried by the concurrence of the anti-revolutioners. Then the Earl of Hume produced the draft of a bill for the supply: immediately it was read, the parliament made an ouvert, that, before all other business, the parliament would proceed to make such conditions of government, and regulations in the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the decease of her majesty and the heirs of her body, as should be necessary for the preservation of their religion and liberty. This overture and the bill for the supply, being discussed, the king, in the meantime, the commissioner found himself involved in great perplexity. The Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Annandale, and the Earl of Marchmont, gave him to understand in private, that they were resolved to move for the supply of the kingdom, in order to secure the preservation of the Presbyterian government: that they would insist upon their being discussed before the bill of supply, and that they were certain of carrying the points at which they proposed to alter the constitution. There appeared to be a very disagreeable alternative. There was a necessity for relinquishing all hope of a supply, or abandoning the anti-revolutioners, to whom he was connected by promises of concurrence. The whigs were determined to oppose all schemes of supply that should come from the cavaliers; and these last resolved in exert their whole power in preventing the confirmation of the revolution and the Presbyterian discipline. He foresaw that on this occasion the whigs would be joined by the Duke of Hamilton and his party, so as to preponderate against the cavaliers. He endeavoured to cajole both parties: but found the task impracticable. He desired in parliament, that the act for the supply of the kingdom might be considered. A full time afterwards to deliberate on other subjects. The Marquis of Tweedale insisted upon his overture: and after warm debates, the House resolved to proceed with the bill for the supply, and that the revolution, the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and all acts of liberty, and trade of the nation, before any bill for supply or other business should be discussed. The Marquis of Atholl offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her majesty's decease; but, before it was read, the Duke of Argyll presented his draft of a bill for ratifying the revolution, and all the acts following thereupon. An act for limiting the succession after the death of her majesty, and the heirs of her body, was produced by Mr. St. Locket or the Duke of Hamilton. The Duke of Argyle, importing, that, after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the crown of Scotland, being at the same time King or Queen of England, should, as King or Queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of parliament. The Earl of Marchmont recited the draft of an act for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian government; one was also suggested by Sir Patrick Johnson, allowing the importation of wines, and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie on the table. Then the Earl of Strathmore produced an act for toleration to all prostandats in the exercise of their religion, or another, importing, that, after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the crown of Scotland, being at the same time King or Queen of England, should, as King or Queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of parliament. The Earl of Marchmont recited the draft of an act for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian government, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within the kingdom. The same party enjoyed a further triumph in the success of Argyll's act, for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of King William's parliament: for declaring it high treason to disown the authority of that parliament, or to alter or remove the claim of right, or the laws thereof. This last clause was strenuously opposed; but at last the bill passed, with the concurrence of all the ministry, except the Marquis of Atholl and the Viscount Tarbat, who began at this period to correspond with the opposite party.

SECTION XXXII. The cavaliers thinking themselves betrayed by the Duke of Queensberry, who had assented to these acts, first expostulated with him on his breach of promise, and then brought against him their action to the court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party. But of all the bills that were produced in the course of this revolution, the most remarkable was the bill of Tweeddale: the reason of the alteration was the act of security, calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands of the paramount authority.
lament. It was considered paragraph by paragraph; many additions and alterations were proposed, and some adopted; inflammatory speeches were uttered; bitter sarcastic remarks from party to party, diversified the scene. At length, in spite of the most obstinate opposition from the ministry and the cavaliers, it was passed by a majority of fifty-nine voices. The commissioner was importuned to give it the royal assent; but his answer was, "I am toogreat a man to associate with the very meanest." The ministry then adjourned, and the committee was raised. The earl offered the question of a vote, whether they should first give a reading to Fletcher's act or to the act of subsidy. The country party moved that the question might be, "Overtures for subsidies, or overtures for liberty." Fletcher disapproved of it, rather than people should pervert the meaning of laudable designs. The House responded with the cry of Liberty or Subsidy. Bitter invective was uttered against the short adjournment of die day. Should be made by the parliament themselves, as in England; and no officer in the army, customs, or excise, nor any gratuitous pensioner, should sit as an elective member. The commissioner being apprised of their proceedings, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and having given the royal assent to them, prorogued the parliament to the twelfth day of October. Such was the issue of this remarkable session of the Scottish parliament, in which the Duke of Ormond had been so long a member of the ministry; and such a spirit of ferocity and opposition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confusion. The queen conferred titles upon those who have indubitably brought about the throne, and attachment to her government, and revived the order of the thistle, which the late king had dropped.

XXXIV. Ireland was filled with discontent, by the behavioir and conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates. The Earl of Rochester had contributed to foment the troubles of the kingdom, by encouraging the faction which had been imported from England. The Duke of Ormond was received with open arms, as heir to the virtues of his ancestors, who had been the bulwarks of the protestant interest in Ireland. He opened the parliament on the twenty-first day of September, with a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, that his inclination, his interest, and his example of hard labor, had insuperable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of his native country. The Commons having chosen Allen Brodofek to be their speaker, proceeded to draw up very offensive ad

supplies, when they found themselves frustrated of all their labour and expense for these several months; and when the whole kingdom saw that supplies served for no other use but to gratify the avarice of some unsuitable ministers. Mr. Fletcher explained, and observed, that the most objectionable part of that which would arise from the act which he had proposed. The chancellor answered, that such an act was laying a scheme for a commonwealth, and tending to innovate the constitution of the monarchy. It destroyed the idea of a vote, whether they should first give a reading to Fletcher's act or the act of subsidy. The country party moved that the question might be, "Overtures for subsidies, or overtures for liberty." Fletcher disapproved of it, rather than people should pervert the meaning of laudable designs. The House responded with the cry of Liberty or Subsidy. Bitter invective was uttered against the short adjournment of the day. Should be made by the parliament themselves, as in England; and no officer in the army, customs, or excise, nor any gratuitous pensioner, should sit as an elective member. The commissioner being apprised of their proceedings, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and having given the royal assent to them, prorogued the parliament to the twelfth day of October. Such was the issue of this remarkable session of the Scottish parliament, in which the Duke of Ormond had been so long a member of the ministry; and such a spirit of ferocity and opposition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confusion. The queen conferred titles upon those who have indubitably brought about the throne, and attachment to her government, and revived the order of the thistle, which the late king had dropped.

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Dresses to the queen and the lord-lieutenant. In that to the queen they complained, that their enemies had misrepresented them, as desirous of being independent of the crown; and that, they, therefore, neither repudiate themselves from such false aspersions, declared and acknowledged, that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England. In order to express their hatred of the forfeited estates, they resolved, that all the Protestant freeholders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused, in a book entitled, "The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inspect the Forfeited Estates." 1 France, Annesley, member of the House, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they further resolved, That these persons had scandalized, and injured the Protestant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the Protestants of Ireland. Annesley was expelled the House, Hamilton was dealt, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had finished the inquiry before the meeting of this parliament; and sold, at an under-value, the best of the forfeited estates to the sword-blade company of England. Thus, in a petition to the sword-blade company of England, they brought in for enabling them to take conveyance of lands in Ireland; but the parliament was very little disposed to confirm the bargains of the trustees, and the petition lay neglect of the Table. The House of Commons, who, as agent to the sword-blade company, had offered to lend money to the public in Ireland, on condition that the parliament would pass an act to confirm the company's purchases of the forfeited estates. His constituents disapproved his proposal; and when he was summoned to appear before the House, and answer for his prosecution, he pleaded his privilege, as member of the English parliament, in respect of the grievances of the nation, gave her Majesty to understand, that the constitution of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken; and their lives, liberties, and estates called into question, and tried in a sentence unknown to their ancestors; that the expense to which they had been unnecessarily exposed by the late trustees for the forfeited estates, in defending their just rights and titles, had exceeded in value the current cash of the kingdom; that their trade was decayed, their money exhausted; and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures; that many Protestant families had been constrained to quit the kingdom, in order to earn a livelihood in foreign countries: that the army, now in the Highlands, was supported, from the expense of their arms and money; and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England. The House immediately resolved, that the patent of the crown should be conveyed, and all hopes of the accession of the person known by the name of the Prince of Wales in the life-time of the late King James, and now by the name of James III. In the midst of this zeal against popery and the pretender, they were suddenly adjourned by the command of the lord-lieutenant, and broke up in great animosity against that nobleman. 2

§ XXXVI. The attention of the English ministry had been for some time chiefly engrossed by the affairs of the continent. The emperor agreed with the allies, that his son the Archduke Charles should assume the title of King of Spain, demand the Infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake something of importance, with the assistance of the monarch of England. King William, of Ireland; had endeavored to force a man to oppress the subjects: that many civil officers had acquired great fortunes in that impoverished country, by the exercise of corruption and oppression. The minister, in his employments, resolved in another kingdom, neglecting personal attendance on their duty, while their offices were ill-executed, to the detriment of the public, and the failure of justice. They declared, that it was from her Majesty's gracious interposition alone they proposed to themselves relief from those many manifold grievances and misfortunes. The Commons afterwards voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment.

§ XXXV. They appointed a committee to inspect the public accounts, by which they discovered, that above one hundred thousand pounds had been falsly charged and debited upon the nation. The committee was thanked by the House for having saved this sum, and ordered to examine what persons were concerned in such a misrepresentation, which was generally imputed to those who acted under the Duke of Ormond. He himself was a nobleman of honour and generosity, addicted to pleasure, and fond of popular applause; but he was surrounded by people of more social principles, who had ingratiated themselves into his confidence by the arts of adulation. The Commons voted a provision for the half-pay officers; and aboli- 1 They had besides the bills already mentioned passed an act for an additional excise on beer, ale, and other liquors; another encouraging the importation of iron and slaves a third for preventing popish priests from
battle; then he marched against the Saxen troops which guarded the artillery; and attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were entirely defeated. In a few days after these actions he took Newburgh on the Inn by capitulation. He obtained another advantage over an advanced post of the imperialists near Burglenfent, commanded by the young Prince of Brandenburg Anspach, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. He advanced to Hatzabon, where the diet of the empire was held, and demanded the unconditional surrender of the bridge and gate of the city. The burghers immediately took to their arms, and planted cannon on the ramparts; but when they saw a battery erected against their city walls, they suspended the attack, which they thought proper to capitulate, and comply with his demands. He took possession of the town on the eighth day of April, and signed an instrument obliging himself to withdraw his troops, as soon as the emperor should ratify the diet’s resolution for the neutrality of Hatzabon. Marce- schal Villars having received orders to join the elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under Count Tylland, resolved to break through the lines which the Prince of Baden had made at Stolboffen. This general had been luckily joined by eight Dutch battalions, and received the French army, though double his number, with but little advantage; for they retired in perfect retreat with great loss, and directed his rout towards Offingen. Nevertheless, he penetrated through the Black Forest, and effected a junction with the elector. Count Strurim endeavoured to join Prince Louis of Baden; but being attacked near Schwemmingen, retired under the cannon of Nortingen.

§ XXXVII. The confederates were more successful on the lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. The Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Trarim, Count de Ramecourt, and assembling the allied army, resolved that the campaign should be begun with the siege of Bonne, which was accordingly invested on the twenty-fourth day of April. The siege was to be conducted under the command of one by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by Lieutenant-general Fagel. The garrison defended themselves vigorously till the fourteenth day of May, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches rendered practicâble, the Marquis d’Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hostages were immediately exchanged; on the six¬teenth the capitulation was signed; and in three days the garrison was completely reduced. The Duke of Marlborough, to annoy the army of the Dutch, having formed a plan of laying siege to Antwerp, the Dutch being informed of it, drew off to Louvain, and then proceeded to Namur, where they were invested by the Duke of Marlborough. Villars, who had been present at the siege, returned to the confederate army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty squadrons, and fifty-nine bat¬talions. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the Duke having passed the River Jeker, in order to be conducted to the enemy, they marched with precipitation to Boeckern, and abandoned Tongeren, after having blown up the walls of the place with gunpowder. The duke continued to follow them to Tysis, where he encamped; while they retreated to Hannev, retiring as he advanced. Then he resolved to force their lines; this service was effectually performed by Coehorn, at the point of Callo, and by Baron Spaar, in the night, such obstructions, near Tongeren, that Villars was obliged to the design of reducing Antwerp, which was garrisoned by Spanish troops under the command of the Marquis de Bedmar. He intended with the grand army to attack the enemy on the left, to obtain another advantage over an ad¬vance post of the imperialists near Burselen, commanded by the young Prince of Brandenburg Anspach, which was guarded by the Spanish forces.

§ XXXVIII. The French generals, in order to frustrate the scheme of Marlborough, resolved to cut off the retreat of Opdam. Bouillours, with a detachment of twenty thousand men from Villersoy’s army, surprised him at Eckeren, where the Dutch garrison of Opdam and Marlborough, believing all was lost, fled to Breda. Nevertheless, Marlborough, rallying under General Schlangenhouthe, maintained their ground with the most obstinate valor, till night, when the enemy was obliged to retire, and left the communica¬tion free with Friesland, to which place he marched without further molestation, having lost about fifteen hundred men in the engagement. The damage sus¬tained by the French was more considerable. They were frustrated in their design, and had actually abandoned the field of battle: yet Louis ordered Te Deum to be sung for the victory; nevertheless, Bouillours was censured for his conduct on this occasion, and in a little time, totally dis¬graced. Opdam presented a justification of his conduct to the States-general; but by this oversight he forfeited the fruits of a long service, during which he had exhibited repeated proofs of courage, zeal, and capacity. The States-bourghed Schlangenhouthe with a letter of that valor and skill he had manifested in this engagement: but in a little time they dismissed him from his employment, on account of his having given umbrage to the Duke of Marlborough, by censuring his Grace for exposing such a small number of men to the disaster. The States-general would have Villers, who lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith advanced to Hoogstraten, with a view to give him battle; but, at his approach, the French generals, the Elector, and Marlborough, having taken possession of the Bissendorf, expected his camp, retired within his lines with great precipitation. Then the Duke invested Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the twenty-fourth of July. The whole of the army, which was held in the camp of the confederates, the duke pro¬posed to attack the enemy’s lines between the Meaigne and Louwe, and was seconded by the Danish, Hanoe¬rian, and Hessian generals: but the scheme was opposed by the Dutch officers, and the deputies of the States, who alleged that the success was dubious, and the consequences of forcing the lines would be inconsiderable: they there¬fore recommended the siege of Limburg, by the reduction of which they would acquire a whole province, and establish their own country, as well as Juliers and Guelders, from the designs of the enemy. The siege of Limburg was ac¬cordingly undertaken. The trenches were opened on the five-and-twenty of September, and the town surrendered, which was the place surrendered; the garrison remaining prisoners of war. By this conquest the allies secured the country of Li¬ege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the incursions of the enemy; before the end of the year, they remained the masters of the whole Spanish Gueldeland, by the reduc¬tion of Guelders, which surrendered on the seventeenth day of September, after having been long blockaded, bom¬barded, and reduced to a heap of ashes by the Prussian general, Letum. Such was the campaign in the Nether¬lands, which in all probability would have produced events of greater importance, had not the Duke of Marlborough been restricted by the deputies of the States-general, who began to be influenced by the views of the Louvain faction, ever averse to a single dictator.

§ XXXIX. The French king redoubled his efforts in Germany. The Duke of Vendome was ordered to march from the Milaneese to Tyrol, and join the Elector of Bavaria, who had already made himself master of Innspruck. But the boors rising in arms, drove him out of the country before he could be joined by the French general, who was, therefore, obliged to retire. The Dutch, Emperor, and Genoese - realists in Italy were so ill supplied by the court of Vienna, that they could not pretend to act offensively. The French invested Ostiglia, which, however, they could not reduce: but the fortress of Bariallo, in the duchy of the Elector of Bavaria, was taken; the duchy of Modena was occupied; and the Elector of Bavaria remaining, Villars, resolved to attack Count Strurin, whom
Prince Louis of Baden had detached from his army. With this view, they passed the Danube at Donaustadt, and disengaged six guards as a signal for the Marquis D'Usson, whom they had left in the camp at Lavrug, to fall upon the rear of the imperialists, while they should charge them in front. Strum no sooner perceived the signal, than he guessed the intention of the enemy, and instantly resolved to attack them, before the messenger and the maintainers should advance. He accordingly charged him at the head of some select squadrons with such impetuosity, that the French cavalry were totally defeated; and all his infantry were either killed and taken by the elector, his brother Villars, who came up in time to turn the fate of the day. The action continued from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, when Strum being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retire to Norlingen, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and all his baggage and artillery. In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Tillyard, undertook the siege of Old Brissac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The place was very strongly fortified, though the garrison was small, and ill provided with necessaries. In fourteen days, the governor surrendered the place, and was condemned to lose his head, for having made such a slender defence. The Duke of Burgundy returned in triumph, and the French forces were in readiness ordered to march upon Landau. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel being detached from the Netherlands, for the relief of the place, joined the Count of Nassau-Weilburg, general of the palatine forces, and the emperor's troops, where they intended to attack the French in their lines. But by this time Mons. Pracoental, with ten thousand men, had joined Tillyard, and enabled him to strike a stroke which proved decisive. He suddenly commenced his lines, and surprised the prince at Spirebach, where he obtained a complete victory, after furious, obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the Prince of Hesse distinguished himself by uncommon marks of courage and presence of mind. Three horses were successively killed under him, and he slew one with his own hand. After incredible efforts, he was fain to retreat with the loss of some thousands. The French paid dear for their victory, Pracoental having been slain in the action. Nevertheless, they resumed the siege, and the place was surrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsburg by the Elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being secured by a French garrison.

§ X.L. The emperor's affairs at this juncture were a very unpromising aspect. The Hungarians were fleeced, and barbarously oppressed, by those to whom he intrusted the governorship of his country. They yielded to despair. They seized this opportunity, when the emperor's forces were divided, and his counsels distracted, to exert themselves in defence of their liberties. They ran to arms, under the insufficiency of Prince Eugenio. They despaired of the guarantees which their grievances should be redressed, and their privileges restored. Their resentment was kept up by the massacres of France and Bavaria, who likewise encouraged them to persevere in their revolt, by repeated promises of protection and assistance. The emperor's prospect, however, was soon mended, by two incidents of very great consequence to his interest. The Duke of Savoy, foreseeing how much he should be exposed to the mercy of the French king, should that monarch become master of Milan, engaged in a secret negotiation with the emperor, which, notwithstanding all his caution, was discovered by the court of Versailles. Louis immediately reformed the Duke of Vendôme to disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, to the number of two and twenty thousand men: to insist upon the duke's putting him in possession of four considerable fortresses; and demand that the number of his troops should be reduced to the establishment stipulated in the treaty of 1696. The duke, exasperated at these insults, ordered the French ambassador, and several officers of the same nation, to be arrested, and endeavored to intimidate him by a menacing letter, in which he gave him to understand, that, since neither religion, honour, interest, nor alliances, had been able to influence his conduct, the Duke de Vendome should make known the intentions of the French monarch, and allow him four-and-twenty hours to deliberate on the measures he should pursue. This letter was answered by a manifesto: in the meantime, the duke was concluded. The Marquis D'Usson, engaged by the Archbishop of Seville as King of Spain, and sent envoys to England and Holland. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her friendship and assistance. But when he applied to Turin, he was received with the utmost friendliness, and the court of Savoy was supplied with the most respectable men, which maintained the empire of the sea; and they were allured by the splendour of a match between their infanta and the Archduke Charles, to whom the French were so kind as to surrender their pretensions to the Spanish crown. By this treaty, concluded at Lysben, between the emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Portugal, and the States-general, it was stipulated, that King Charles should be confirmed in his sovereignty, as head of the board twenty thousand soldiers, with a great supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should be joined immediately upon his landing by an army of eight-and-twenty thousand Portuguese. The duke received a very little advantage from the naval operations of this summer. Sir George Rooke cruised in the channel, in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. On the first day of July, Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland; he directed his course to the Mediterranean, and being opposed by a great fleet, by want of water, proceeded to Altea, on the coast of Valencia, where Brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with five-and-twenty hundred men. The admiral published a short manifesto, signifying that he was not come to disturb, but to protect, the provincials. Lord Sandwich, who had observed the course of the English ships, desired them to hover near the coast, and to endeavour to intercept the trade. The duke was assisted by the Cevennians, who had in the course of the preceding year been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, and implored the assistance of England and the States-general. The admiral detached two ships, into the gulf of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennians; but the Mareschal de Montmorency having received intimation of their design, took such measures as prevented all communication with the English; not having proper signals to no purpose, rejoined Sir Cloudesley at Léghorn. This admiral, having renewed the peace with the prudential states of Barbary, returned to England, without having taken one effectual step for annoying the enemy, or attempted any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme for that purpose. The nation naturally murmured at the fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such an expensive expense. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with conveyes. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provision; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as council to the lord high admiral.

§ X.LII. Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean
Captain Hovenden Walker, with six ships of the line and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward Islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under Colonel Codrington, they made a descent
upon the island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and reembarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landings in front of an attack of the island.
They returned to Naples, where they must have
perished by famine, had not they been providentially
relieved by Vice-Admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica.
This officer had been sent out with three ships to succeed
Belcher in India, on the fourth of January, and it is probable
he was met by Prince George of Denmark. The queen's
departure towards him was equally noble and obliging;
and he expressed the most profound respect and venera-
tion for this illustrious princess. He spoke little; yet
what he said was judicious; and he behaved with
politeness and affability as connected the affection of
the English nobility. After having been magnanimously entar-
tained for three days, he returned to Portsmouth, from
which to London, he sailed for Portugal, with a great fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, having
on board a body of land-forces, under the Duke of Schom-
berg. When the admiral had almost reached Cape Finis-
terres, he was detected by the men of war to Newhead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February.
Then being favored with a fair wind, he happily performed the
voyage to Lisbon, where King Charles was received with
great splendor, though the course of Portugal was over-
spread with sorrow, excited by the death of the infants,
whom the King of Spain intended to expel. In Portugal,
all hope of peace seemed to vanish. The cardinal-primate,
the instigation of the Swedish king, whose army lay
encamped in the neighborhood of Lisbon assembled a diet at
Waraw, which solemnly deposèd Augustus, and
declared the throne vacant. Their intention was to elect
young Sobeski, son of their late monarch, who resided at
Preslai, in Silesia; but a scheme for the restoration of
Augustus, who retired hastily into his Saxons dominions,
and seizing Sobeski, with his brother, secured them as
prisoners at Dresden.

CHAP. VIII.
§ 1. The Commons revive the bill against excessive conformity. § 2. Conspicuous triumph up by Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. § 3. The Commons pass a vote in favor of the Earl of Nottingham. § 4. After debates between the two Houses. § XII. Inquiry into naval affairs. § XVII. Trial of Ludlow. § XVIII. The Duke of Marlborough arrives in England, to reinforce the military establishment. § XIII. The Earl of Dorset is dismissed from the kingdom of Sweden. § XIV. The Duke of Marlborough marries the heir of the Prince of Orange, in Germany. § XV. He defeats the Bavarians at Schellenberg, near Frascati. § XVI. Continuation of the war with the French. § XVII. The English armies are divided into three sections. § XVIII. The Duke of Marlborough and his gentlemen return to England. § XX. The Duke of Marlborough arrives in England. § XXI. The Duke of Marlborough is in the house of parliament. § XXII. The Duke of Marlborough arrives in London. § XXIII. The Duke of Marlborough falls sick. § XXIV. The Duke of Marlborough returns to France. § XXV. He puts an end to the French fleet, and returns to Paris. § XXVI. The Duke of Marlborough returns to Portugal. § XXVII. The Duke of Marlborough returns to England. § XXVIII. The Duke of Marlborough and his gentleman are reinstated in the House of Commons. § XXIX. The Duke of Marlborough returns to France. § XXX. The Duke of Marlborough returns to England. § XXXI. The Duke of Marlborough returns to the House of Commons. § XXXII. The Duke of Marlborough returns to France. § XXXIII. The Duke of Marlborough returns to England. § XXXIV. The Duke of Marlborough returns to the House of Commons. § XXXV. The Duke of Marlborough returns to France. § XXXVI. The Duke of Marlborough returns to England. § XXXVII. The Duke of Marlborough returns to the House of Commons. § XXXVIII. The Duke of Marlborough returns to France. § XXXIX. The Duke of Marlborough returns to England. § XL. New parliament in England. § XLI. Fall for a rupture in the
lank of the queen's cases. § XLII. Debates in the House of Lords upon the
suppressed danger to which the church was exposed. § XLI. A parliament proceeding. § XLII. Debates in the parliament. § XLIII. Conferences to settle a treaty of union with Scotland. § XLIV. Substance of the treaty.

§ 1. When the parliament met in Octo-
ber, the queen in her speech took notice of
the declaration by the Duke of Savor, and the treaty with
Portugal, as circumstances advantageous to the alliance.
She told them, that for the sake of peace, she prayed
the expedition to Lisbon, and the augmentation of the
land-forces, the funds had answered so well, and the pro-
duction of prices been so considerable, that the public
had not run in debt by those additional services: that she had contributed out of her own revenue to the support of the
circle of Stahna, whose firm adherence to the interest of
the allies deserved her reasonable assistance. She said,
she would not engage in any unnecessary expense of her
own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects. She recommended despatch and union, and earnestly exhorted them to avoid any hints or divisions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state. Notwithstanding this admonition, and the addresses of both Houses, in which the proposed to avoid all division, a motion was made in the House of Commons for renewing the bill against occasional conformity, and carried by a great majority.

In the new draft, however, the penalties were lowered, and a clause inserted to this purpose, that the court of the crown might be equal to the king's honor, which the court of the crown was, and is, so consequently interested in the success of this measure, the House was pretty equally divided with respect to the speakers, and the debates on each side were maintained with equal spirit and ability; at length it passed and was sent up to the Lords, who handled it still more severely.

It was opposed by a small majority of the bishops, and particularly by Bunet of Sarum, who declared against it, as a scheme of the popish to set the church and prelates at variance. It was successively attacked by the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Haveraham, Mohun, Ferrers, and Wharton. Prince George of Denmark absented himself from the House; and the question being put for a second reading, it was carried in the negative; yet the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin entered their dissent against its being rejected, though the former had positively declared, that he thought the bill a good one to take the question. The Commons then had a copy of the treaty with Portugal, voted forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, for the sea service of the ensuing year; and a like number of land-forces, to act with the allies. The bill was then carried by ten thousand; they likewise resolved, that the proportion to be employed in Portugal should amount to eight thousand. Sums were granted for the maintenance of these great armaments, as well as for the subsidies payable to her majesty's allies; and funds required equal to the occasion. Then they assured the queen, in an address, that they would provide for the support of such alliances as she had made, or should make, with the Duke of Soubise.

§ 11. At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conspiracy said to be hatched by the Jacobites of Scotland. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, a man of desperate enterprises and profound dissimulation, abandoned morals, and ruined fortune, who had been outlawed for having ravished a sister of the Marquis of Athol, was the person to whom the plot seems to have owed its origin. He repaired to the court of France, accompanied with the address of the Jacobins, wherein he undertook to assemble a body of twelve thousand highlanders to act in favour of the pretender, if the court of France would assist them with a small reinforcement of troops, with officers of commission, and money. The French king seemed to listen to his proposal; but, as Fraser's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, sent back to Scotland with two other persons, who were instructed to bore the strength and sentiments of the class, and endeavour to engage some of the nobility in the design of an insurrection. Fraser no sooner returned, than he privately discovered the whole transaction to the Duke of Queenberry, and undertook to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the pretender and the Jacobins. In consequence of this service he was provided with a pass, to secure him from all prosecution; and he was ordered to acquaint his master, when he had made overtures that in a different character; so that, in all probability, Fraser had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the marquis, who had prosecuted him for the injury done to his sister. He repaired to the court of France, where he stood himself to be able to discover other more important circumstances: and the Duke of Queenberry procured a pass for him to go to Holland from the Earl of Nottingham, though it was a question under a borrowed name. The duke had communicated his discovery to the king, for the sake of closing his name, which he desired might be concealed:

her majesty believed the particulars, which were confirmed by her spies at Paris, as well as by the evidence of Sir John Maclean, who had lately been conveyed from France to England in an open boat, and apprehended at Folkstone. This gentleman pretended at first, that his intention was to go through England to his own country, but it appears that he was about to take his pardon; and this, in all probability, was his real design; but being given to understand that he would be treated in England as a traitor, unless he should merit forgiveness, he immediately made his escape. As the court of France was by no means interested in the success of the proposed insurrection. From his informations the ministry gave directions for apprehending one Keith, whose uncle had accompanied Fraser from France, and knew all the intrigues of the court of St. Germain's. He declared, that there was no other design on foot, except that of paving the way for the pretender's ascending the throne after the queen's decease. Ferguson, that veteran conspirator, affirmed that Fraser had been employed by the Duke of Queenberry to decoy some persons whom he hated into a conspiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin; and by the discovery establish his own credit, which began to totter. Perhaps there was too much reason for this impeachment. Among those who were seized at this time was a gentleman of the name of Lord-say, who had been under-secretary to the Earl of Middle-

tou. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the oath of allegiance, and to appear for the safety of which he came to England, thinking himself secure from prosecution. He protested he knew of no designs against the queen or her government; and that he did not believe she had any mind to suffer the execution of a treaty from the court of St. Germain's. The House of Lords having received intimation of this conspiracy, re-
solved, That a committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars; and ordered, that Sir John Maclean should be next day brought before their committee, to whom it was shown, that he was far from being pleased with this instance of their officious interposition, gave them to understand by mes-
sage, that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun; and that she would in a short time inform the House of the whole affair. On the seventeenth day of December the queen went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill for the land-tax, made a speech to both Houses in which she declared, that she had unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. The Lords persisting in their resolu-
tion to bring on another day their own of the motion, chose their select committee by ballot; and, in an address, thanked her majesty for the information she had been pleased to communicate.

§ 111. The Commons, taking it for granted that the queen was informed of these proceedings of the upper house, which, indeed, implied an insult upon her majesty, if not upon herself, presented an address, declaring them-
selves surprised to find, that when persons suspected of treasonable practices were taken into custody by her majesty's messengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of their hands, and arrogated the examination solely to themselves; so that a due inquiry into the evil practices and designs against her majesty's person and government might, in a great measure, be obstructed. They earnestly desired, that she would suffer no diminu-
tion of their powers to sound the strength or energy of the address, though the charge against the peers was not strictly true; for there were many instances of their having assumed such a right of inquiry. The upper House deeply resented the accusation. They declared, that by the known laws and customs of the land, an undoubted right to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether those persons were or were not in custody. They resolved, that the address of the Commons, which was presented, without due consideration, highly injurious to the House of Peers, tending to
interrupt the good correspondence between the two Houses, to create an all opinion in her majesty of the House of Peers, of dangerous consequence to the liberties of the people, the constitution of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament. They presented a long remonstrance to the queen, justifying their own conduct, explaining the steps they had taken, reiterating upon the Commons, and expressing the most fervent zeal, duty, and affection to her majesty; the whole situation, which was drawn up with elegance, propriety, and precision, she pressed her sorrow for the misunderstanding which had happened between the two Houses of parliament, and the threat of consequences to the crown and the prerogative; which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects, and the protection of their liberties.

§ IV. Among other persons seized on the coast of Sussex, on their landing from France, was one Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Berwick. This man, when examined, denied all knowledge of any conspiracy; he said, that being weary of living so long abroad, and having made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain a pass, he had chosen rather to cast himself on the queen's mercy, than to remain longer in exile from his native country. He had, however, continued to declare himself ignorant of the plot. He proved, that in the war of Ireland, as well as in Flanders, he had treated the English prisoners with great humanity. The Lords denounced from the prosecution; he obtained a respite, and was ordered by the seventh of January the Earl of Nottingham told the House, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; on which subject his majesty's council and the House of Commons unanimously declared, that communication which could not yet be properly communicated, without running the risk of preventing a discovery of greater importance. They forthwith drew up and presented an address, desiring that all the papers might be immediately submitted to their inspection. The queen said she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made: but in a few days, she would send for the papers, and her council would then be enabled to act in the proper manner.

Nottingham was suspected of a design to strike the conspiracy. Conspiracy was made in the House of Commons, that he had discharged an officer belonging to the late King James, who had been seized by the governor of Berwick. A warm debate ensued, and at length ended in a resolve, that the Earl of Nottingham, one of the judges in the House of Lords, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the queen and her government, and for his steady adherence to the church of England, should be placed on the bench of the same nature, with the same salary and the same privileges that the office of the queen's bench should be set aside, and judgment pronounced according to the verdict given at the assizes. The Commons considered these proceedings as encroachment on their private right, and passed five different resolutions, importing that the Commons of England in parliament assembled had the sole right to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members: that the practice of determining the qualifications of electors in any court of law would expose all mayors, bailiffs, and returning officers, to a multiplication of vexatious suits, and inapplicable expenses, and subject them to different and independent jurisdictions, as well as to the exercise of a power in the hands of private individuals, and without any general relaxation of relief: that Matthew Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege, as were all attorneys, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants-at-law, soliciting prosecuting, or pleading in any of the cases of the commons, because the money paid to them, was not the balance of the clerk, were fixed upon the gate of Westminster-hall. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case: and, upon their report, resolved, that every person being wilfully hindered to exercise his right of voting, might maintain an action in the queen's courts against the officer by whom his vote should be refused, to assert his right, and recover damages for the injury: that an assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subjects, against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tended to the encouragement of partiality and corruption: that the declaration of Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the House of Commons, was an unpremeditated attempt upon the constitution of parliament, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the votes of the House of Commons. Copies of the case, and these resolutions, were sent by the lords to the House of Commons.

§ V. The select committee of the Lords prosecuted thekeeper to all the papers from the confession of Sir John Maclean, who owned that the court of St. Germain's had listened to Lovat's proposal; that several councils had been held at the pretender's court on the subject of an invasion into England, but which, however, had not been carried into execution. The resolutions passed by the House of Lords, showing some of the nobility in Scotland. But the nature of their private correspondence and negociation could not be discovered. Keith had tampered with his uncle to disclose the whole secret; and this was the circumstance which the queen declined imparting to the Lords, until she should know the success of its endeavours, which proved ineffectual. The uncle stood aloof; and the ministry did not heartily engage in the inquiry. The House of Lords, having finished these examinations, and being warned with violent debates, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germain's; and, That the encouragement given for this plotting and designing, which was drawn up with elegance, propriety, and precision, she pressed her sorrow for the misunderstanding which had happened between the two Houses of parliament, and the threat of consequences to the crown and the prerogative: which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects, and the protection of their liberties.
method by which her intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be an advantage to the public, and acceptable to her majesty. The Commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to dispose of this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to direct the application of it to the uses proposed: they likewise repealed the statute of mortmain, so far as to allow the richer sort of persons to dispose of their estates by deed, but such as they should think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgment from all the clergy of England were presented to the queen. The clergy was bountyed in a little more than a little regard was paid to Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, although the queen declared that private author of the project. He was generally hated, either as a Sect, a low-churchman, or a mediating partisan.

§ VIII. In March an inquiry into the condition of the navy was begun in the House of Lords. They desired the queen, in an address, to give speedy and effectual orders, that a number of ships sufficient for the home service should be equipped and manned with all possible expedition. They resolved, That Admiral Greydon's not attacking the four French ships in the channel had been a prejudice to the queen's service, and a disgrace to the nation. That his passing men in Jamaica, and his sending men towards masters of merchant vessels and transports, had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, as well as prejudicial to her majesty's service; and that in their address they would mention the occasion on which he was dismissed. They examined the accounts of the Earl of Orford, against which great clamour had been raised; and taking cognizance of the remarks made by the commissioners of the public accounts, found them false in fact, ill-grounded, and of no importance. The Commons besought the queen to order a prosecution on account of ill practices in the Earl of Harleigh's office: and they sent up to the Lords a bill for continuing the commission on the same. Some alterations were made in the upper House, especially in the nomination of commissioners; but these were rejected by the Commons. The Peers adhering to their amendments, the bill dropped, and the commission expired. No other bill of any consequence passed in this session, except an act for raising recruits, which empowered justices of the peace to impress able-bodied persons for soldiers and marines. On the third day of April the queen went to the House of Peers, and having made a short speech on the usual topics of acknowledgment, unity, and moderation, prolonged the parliament to the fourth day of July. The division still continued between the bills of confinements and the moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the queen upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices. At the summons of the House of Commons the queen sent her deposition to wait upon the speaker of the House of Commons, to return their thanks to that honourable House for having exposed the interest of the clergy; and to assure them that the confession would pursue such methods as might best conduce in the support, honour, interest, and security of the church as now by law established. They sent up to the archbishop and prelates divers representations, containing complaints, and proposing canons and articles of reformation: but very little regard was paid to their remonstrances.

§ IX. About this period the Earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually pressed the queen to discard the Duke of Somerset and Devonshire, resigned the seals. The Earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour were dismissed; the Earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, Harley secretary of state, and Henry St. John secretary of war. But they were not attended by the much sooner known in France, than Louis ordered Fraser to be imprisoned in the Bastille. In England, Lindsay being sentenced to die, for having corresponded with France, was allowed, that he had no sincerity to betake, unless he would discover the conspiracy. He persisted in denying all knowledge of any such conspiracy; and seemed to save his life by giving false information. In order to intimidate him into a confession, the ministry ordered him to be conveyed to Tyburn, where he still rejected life upon the terms proposed: then he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained some years: at length he was hanged, and died of hunger in Holland. The ministers had been so lukewarm and languid in the prosecution of the Scottish conspiracy, that the whigs loudly exclaimed against them as disguised Jacobites, and even whispered insinuations, implying, that the queen herself was to be the instrument by deed, that they the sum they should think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgment from all the clergy of England were presented to the queen. The clergy was bountyed in a little more than a little regard was paid to Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, although the queen declared that private author of the project. He was generally hated, either as a Sect, a low-churchman, or a mediating partisan.

§ X. The design of the court was to procure in the Scotch parliament the nomination of a successor to the crown, and a supply for the forces, which could not be obtained in the preceding session. Secretary Johnston, in concert with the Marquis of Tweedale, undertook to carry these points, in return for certain limitations on the successor, to which her majesty agreed. The marquis was appointed commissioner. The office of lord-registry was bestowed upon Johnston; and the parliament met on the sixth day of July. The ministers, stamps in hand, expressed their satisfaction that these divisions should have risen to such a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their emissaries for deauthorizing her good subjects and luring them away from their allegiance. They added, that whatever could in reason be demanded for quieting the minds of the people. She told them, she had empowered the Marquis of Tweedale to give unquestionable proofs of her determination to maintain the government in the same hands, and state as by law established in that kingdom; to consent to such laws as should be found wanting for the further security of both, and for preventing all encroachments for the future. She earnestly exhorted the lords in that important station, A. D. 1704, as a step absolutely necessary for their own peace and happiness, the quiet and security of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the protestant interest through all Europe. She declared, that she had authorized the commissioners to give the royal assent to whatever could be reasonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of her ancient kingdom. The concluding part of the letter turned upon the necessity of their granting a supply, the discouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the usual recommendation of moderation and peace. A bill that authorized the queen to acquire the power of confinements and the moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the queen upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices. At the summons of the House of Commons the queen sent her deposition to wait upon the speaker of the House of Commons, to return their thanks to that honourable House for having exposed the interest of the clergy; and to assure them that the confession would pursue such methods as might best conduce in the support, honour, interest, and security of the church as now by law established. They sent up to the archbishop and prelates divers representations, containing complaints, and proposing canons and articles of reformation: but very little regard was paid to their remonstrances.

§ XI. The Duke of Hamilton presented a resolve, that the parliament would not name a successor to the crown, until the Scots should have concluded a previous treaty with England. The Scots were an adherent party. This motion produced a warm debate, in the course of which Fletcher of Saltoun expatiated upon the hardships and miseries which the Scots had sustained since the union of the two crowns under one sovereign, and the impossibility of bettering their condition, unless they take care to anticipate any design that tended to a continuation of the same extremities. Another resolve was produced by the Earl of Rothes, importing, That the parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of the government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution; and vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independency of the nation; and that parliament should have the right of nominating the successor of her majesty. This was a step absolutely necessary for their own peace and happiness, the quiet and security of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the protestant interest through all Europe. She declared, that she had authorized the commissioners to give the royal assent to whatever could be reasonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of her ancient kingdom. The concluding part of the letter turned upon the necessity of their granting a supply, the discouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the usual recommendation of moderation and peace.
The Duke of Athol, having, that her majesty should be desired to send down the witnesses and all the papers relating to the conspiracy, that after due examination, those who were unjustly accused might be vindicated, and the guilty punished according to their demerits. The commissioner declared, that he had already written, and would write again, to the queen on that subject. The intention of the cavaliers was to convict the Duke of Queensberry of making him a false and baseless imputation to the good name of his affairs. If they might wreak their vengeance upon him for that instance of his unfitness, as well as for his having deserted them in the former session. He found means, however, to persuade the queen, that they were no material against his honor. If not conducted to the settlement of the succession, and raise such a ferment as might be productive of tragic consequences. Alarmed at these suggestions, she resolved to prevent the examination; and gave no answer to the repeated applications made by her parliament and ministers. Meanwhile the Duke of Queensberry appealed his enemies in Scotland, by directing all his friends to join in the opposition.

§ XII. The Duke of Hamilton again moved, that the parliament should proceed to the limitations, and name commissioners to treat with England, previous to all other business, except an act for a land-tax of two months, necessary for the defense with the forces. The Earl of Marchmont proposed an act to exclude all popish successors; but this was warmly opposed, as unsearchable, by Hamilton and his party. A bill of supply being offered by the Lord Justice Clerk, the advocate general concurred, to give in part of the act of security, to which the royal assent had been refused in the former session. Violent debates arose; so that the House was filled with rage and tumult. The national spirit of independence had been brought up to a dangerous height from internal disorders and internal parties, with people of all ranks, excluding against English influence; and threatening to sacrifice as traitors to their country, all who should embrace measures that seemed to favor the designs of the royal house and its friends were confounded and appalled. Finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he, with the concurrence of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the queen, representing the unanswerable situation of affairs, and advising her majesty to pass the bill, enumerated as it was with the act of security, Lord Godolphin, on whose counsel she chiefly relied, found himself involved in great perplexity. The taxes had devolved him to destruction. He fore-saw that the people of Scotland, the Scots in an affair of such consequence, would furnish his enemies with a plausible pretext to arraign the conduct of her minister; but he chose to run that risk, rather than see the army disbanded for want of pay. The Mosse of Nith, being the last municipal body to pass the act of security, he, therefore, seconded the advice of the Scottish ministers; and the queen authorized the commissioner to pass the bill that was depending. The act provided, That in case of the queen's dying without issue, a parliament should immediately meet, and declare the successor to the crown, different from the person possessing the throne of England, unless before that period a settlement should be made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English counsels: by another clause, they were empowered to arm and train the subjects, so as to put them in a posture of defence. The Scottish parliament made a general exaction of corn, obviating this act of security, granted the supply without further hesitation; but not yet satisfied with this sacrifice, they engaged in debates about the conspiracy, and the proceedings of the House of Lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independency of the nation. They drew up an address to the queen, desiring that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be subjected to the immediate scrutiny in the next parliament. Meanwhile, the commissioner, dreading the further process of such an ungovernable ferocity, prorogued the parliament to the seventh day of October. The act of security being thus triumphantly nullified, Lord Godolphin, who represented it as a measure of that minister; and the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. People openly declared, that the two kingdoms were now separated by law, so as never to be rejoined. Reports were spread, that great quantities of arms had been conveyed to Scotland, and that the natives were employed in preparations to invade England. All the blame of these transactions was imputed to Lord Godolphin, whom the tones determined to attack, while the other party resolved to exert their whole influence for his preservation: yet, in all probability, he owed his impeachment and the immediate support to the success of his friend the Duke of Marlborough.

§ XIII. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation to which the emperor was reduced in the beginning of the session. The king of Hungary had rendered themselves formidable by their success: the Elector of Bavaria possessed all the places on the Danube, as far as Passau, and even threatened the city of Vienna, which must have been infallibly lost, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert. By the advice of Prince Eugene, the emperor implored the assistance of her Habsburg majesty; and the Duke of Marlborough explained to her the necessity of undertaking his relief. This orderman in the month of January had crossed the sea to Holland, and concerted a scheme with the deputies of the States-general for the operations of the ensuing campaign. They agreed, that General Auverquerque should he upon the Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough. Such was the pretext under which this consummation of the expedition, was communicated to a few only, in whose discretion he could confide. It was approved by the pensionary and some leading men, who secured its favourable reception with the States-general, when it became necessary to import the secret to that numerous assembly the expedition could not otherwise have been made, on pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moselle.

§ XIV. In the month of April, the duke, accompanied by his brother, Colonel Churchill, Lieutenant-General Lenox, the Earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction, embarked for Holland, where he had a long conference with a deputation of the States, concerning a proposal of sending a large army towards the Moselle. The deputies of Zeoland opposed this measure of sending their troops to such a distance so strenuously, that the duke was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, he had received orders to match thither with the British forces; and accordingly assembled his army at Maestricht; and on the eighth day of May began his march into Germany. The French imagined his intention was to begin the campaign with the siege of Trarbach, and penetrate into Franche Comté, as a preparation to the most pressing undertaking of the Moselle were the French army to be detached to that river; and gave out that they intended to invest Huy, a pretense to which the duke paid no regard. He continued his route by Bedburgh, Kempenhof, Kaldeken; he visited the fortifications of Bone, where he received certain advice, that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the elector, at Villegen. He redoubled his diligence, passed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Ladenburgh; from thence he wrote a letter to the States-general, giving them to understand, that he had the queen's orders to march to the relief of the empire; and expressing his assurance that they would approve the design, and allow the troops to share the honour of the expedition. By the return of a courier he received their approbation, and full power to command their forces. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where he was visited by Prince Eugene; and these two great minds, whose talents were combined, immediately contracted an intimacy of friendship. Next day Prince Louis of Baden arrived in the camp at Great Hoppach. He told the duke, his Grace was come to save the empire, and to avenge the death of his father: Merkur, his honor, which he knew was at the last stake in the opinion of some people. The duke replied, he was come to learn of him how to serve the empire: that they must jointly think on it, and learn to know the situation of Baden, when his health permitted him, had preserved the empire, and extended its conquests.

§ XV. Those three celebrated generals agreed that the
two armies should join: that the command should be alternately vested in the Duke and Prince Louis from day to day, that Prince Eugene should command a general armistice army on the Rhine. Prince Louis returned to his army on the Danube: Prince Eugene set out for Philippsburg; the Duke of Marlborough being joined by the imperial armies of the Duke of Bavaria, at Wartenberg, proceeded his march by Ellingen, Gingen, and Landthaussen. On the first day of July he was in sight of the enemy's entrenchments at Dillingen, and encamped with his right at Amerlenau, and his left at Odenlenau. Understood that the Elector of Bavaria, taking part of his infantry to reinforce the Count d'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenberg near Donawert, he resolved to attack their entrenchments without delay. On the second day of July he advanced towards the enemy, and passed the river Wermont: about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. They were very severely handled, and were obliged to give way, when Prince Louis of Baden marching up, at the head of the imperialists, to another part of the line, made a diversion in their favour. After an obstinate resistance they forced his entrenchments, and the losing some of the infantry, before the enemy, already dispersed, that they were rorted with great slaughter. They fled with the utmost trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field of battle. The enemy lost some pieces of cannon, thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. Yet the victory was dearly purchased: some thousands of the allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the Generals Coor and Beinheim, and Count Siurn, mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garrison abandoned Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate possession, while the elector passed the Danube in his retreat to the river Leche, lest the victors should follow his retreat to his own country. The confederates having crossed the Danube on several bridges of pontoons, a detachment was sent to pass the Leche, and take post in the country of the elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augsburg. The garrison of Neuburg retiring to Ingoldstadt, the place was secured by the confederates; and the Count de Frua was detached with nine battalions and fifteen squadrons to invest the town of Rau. Advice arriving from Prince Eugene, that the Mareschal Villeroi and Taldoll had passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five-and-forty thousand men, to succour the Elector of Bavaria, the generals of the allies immediately detached a maximilian of horse, and three squadrons of horse, as a reinforcement to the prince. In a few days Rau surrendered, and Aicha was taken by assault. The emperor no sooner received a confirmation of this good news, sent Count Winzek, in acknowledgment to the Duke of Marlborough, and ordered Count Wratishku to intimate his intention of investing him with the title of prince of the empire, which the duke declined accepting, until the queen interposed her authority at the desire of Leopold.

§ XVI. The allies advanced within a league of Augsburg, and though they found the Elector of Bavaria too securely posted under the cannon of that city to be dislodged or attacked with any prospect of success, they encamped with Friedburg in their centre, so as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. The Duke of Marlborough having reduced him to this situation, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the imperialists in Italy. His subjects, seeing themselves at the mercy of the allies, pressed him to comply with these offers rather than expose his country and his desolation. A negotiation was begun, and he seemed ready to sign the articles, when hearing that Mareschal Tallard had passed the Black Forest, to join him with a great body of forces, he declared that since the King of France had made such profuse efforts to support him, he would continue in honour to continue firm in the alliance. The generals of the allies were so exasperated at this disappointment, that they sent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria, as far as Munich: upwards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles, were inhumanly destroyed, to the indecency of the Prince Eugene should command a pacific and diminutive army on the Rhine. Prince Louis returned to his army on the Danube: Prince Eugene set out for Philippsburg; the Duke of Marlborough being joined by the imperial armies of the Duke of Bavaria, at Wartenberg, proceeded his march by Ellingen, Gingen, and Landthaussen. On the first day of July he was in sight of the enemy's entrenchments at Dillingen, and encamped with his right at Amerlenau, and his left at Odenlenau. Understood that the Elector of Bavaria, taking part of his infantry to reinforce the Count d'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenberg near Donawert, he resolved to attack their entrenchments without delay. On the second day of July he advanced towards the enemy, and passed the river Wermont: about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. They were very severely handled, and were obliged to give way, when Prince Louis of Baden marching up, at the head of the imperialists, to another part of the line, made a diversion in their favour. After an obstinate resistance they forced his entrenchments, and the losing some of the infantry, before the enemy, already dispersed, that they were rorted with great slaughter. They fled with the utmost trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field of battle. The enemy lost some pieces of cannon, thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. Yet the victory was dearly purchased: some thousands of the allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the Generals Coor and Beinheim, and Count Siurn, mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garrison abandoned Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate possession, while the elector passed the Danube in his retreat to the river Leche, lest the victors should follow his retreat to his own country. The confederates having crossed the Danube on several bridges of pontoons, a detachment was sent to pass the Leche, and take post in the country of the elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augsburg. The garrison of Neuburg retiring to Ingoldstadt, the place was secured by the confederates; and the Count de Frua was detached with nine battalions and fifteen squadrons to invest the town of Rau. Advice arriving from Prince Eugene, that the Mareschal Villeroi and Taldoll had passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five-and-forty thousand men, to succour the Elector of Bavaria, the generals of the allies immediately detached a maximilian of horse, and three squadrons of horse, as a reinforcement to the prince. In a few days Rau surrendered, and Aicha was taken by assault. The emperor no sooner received a confirmation of this good news, sent Count Winzek, in acknowledgment to the Duke of Marlborough, and ordered Count Wratishku to intimate his intention of investing him with the title of prince of the empire, which the duke declined accepting, until the queen interposed her authority at the desire of Leopold.

§ XVII. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than be inactive until their forage and provision should be consumed. They were moreover stimulated to this hazardous enterprise, by an intercepted letter to the Elector of Bavaria from Marschal Villeroi, giving him to understand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirttemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the thirteenth day of August, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began with sixty large pieces, and was kept up by both sides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about sixty thousand men. Mareschal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven-and-twenty thousand infantry, with a detachment of the village of Blenheim, supposed that there the allies would make their chief effort; their left was conducted by the Elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marsin, a French general of experience and capacity. The number of the confederates did not exceed five-and-fifty; their right was under the direction of Prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of English and Hessians under Major-General Wilkes, who having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and siled off to the left to the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but were repulsed after three successive attempts. Meanwhile the troops in the centre, and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other side without any molestation from the enemy. At length, however, they were charged by the French horsemen with such activity, and so equally gallantly in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet: but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very verge of the town. The Elector of Bavaria, the Bavarian army, supported by the French horsemen, were so completely formed, ascended the bill to a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground, but rallied
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let, and form un molested. Certain it is, these circumstances contributed to the success of the Duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest of the fire with the calmest Intrepidity, giving his orders with that presence of mud and deliberation which were so peculiar to his character. When he next day visited Tallard, he told that general to make an attack personally to one for whom he had a profound esteem.
The maréchal congratulated him on having vanquished the best troops in the world; a compliment to which the Duke of Marlborough answered, that he had won the world, seeing they had conquered those upon whom the maréchal had bestowed such an encomium.

§ XVIII. The victorious generals having by this decisive stroke saved their house of France from entire ruin, and entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, they summoned their officers to a council and informed them of their proposal to Prince Louis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cause to join all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than lose time at the siege of Ingolstadt, which would surrender of course. This opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garrison at Augsburg, who quitted that place on the sixteenth day of August. The magistrates sent a deputation craving the protection of the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take possession of that important city. The duke having sent Mareschal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Frankfort, and disposed of the troops, was posted to the adventurers, and in the adjacent places, encamped at Seilingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the Princes Eugene and Louis of Baden, in which they agreed that, as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine, the confederate army should take the route to Munich, and at the expense of twenty battalions and some squadrons, to be left for the siege of Ulm, under General Thunen. They began their march on the twenty-sixth day of August, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Brunschied near Philippsburgh. Then they resolved, that Prince Louis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the circle of Swabia from the incursions of that garrison. Considering the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more inopportune than this measure, which gave the enemy time for reconcentration, and recruiting their forces. It was a proposal on which the princes of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy. He was even suspected of corruption. He was joined in the glory which the Duke of Marlborough had acquired, and such a bigoted priest, that he returned at the success of an heretical general. On the twelfth day of September he marched towards Munich with the troops under the siege, and the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, encamped at Cron Wrensbach, to cover the enterprise. By this time Ulm had surrendered to Thunen even before the arrival of Villeneuve about thirty thousand French army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the confederates; but returned without having made any attempt for the relief of the place, which was defended with the most obstinate valour till the twenty-third day of November, when the besiegers having lodged themselves on the counterscarp, the breaches being practicable, and the dispositions made for a general assault, the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The King of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he bestowed on the Count de Fize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

§ XIX. The next event which the confederates undertook, was the siege of Trarbach. The hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, being intrusted with the direction of the attacks, invested the castle in the beginning of November. Though it was strongly and laboriously defended, he carried on his operations with such spirit and assiduity, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered the place on honourable terms. In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough reached Land Berlie, where he negociated for a reinforcement of eight thousand troops to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of distinction. He then arrived at the Hague,
he was congratulated by the States-general on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much considered in Holland as if he had been actually steddholder. He had received a second letter from the emperor, couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and was declared prince of the empire. In December he embarked for England; the peace of the kingdom was a truant of copper, and was welcomed as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation.

§ XX. In Flanders, nothing of moment was executed, except the repulse of a French squadron off Spaar, with nine thousand Dutch troops; and two attempts upon the French lines, which were actually protracted by Auverquerque, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The Elector of Bavaria, who had returned to Brussels after his defeat, formed a scheme for surprising the Dutch general at the end of the campaign, and assembled all his troops at Tielmont: but the French court, apprehensive of his temerity, sent Ville-\n\n\n\n\n\n\ny to watch his conduct, and prevent his hazarding an engagement, except with a fair prospect of advantage. The maréchal, finding him determined to give battle at all events, represented the impropriety of succeeding against an enemy so advantageously posted, and the ill consequences of a repulse: but, finding the elector deaf to all his remonstrances, he flatly refused to march, and produced the king's order to avoid an engagement. In Italy the count of Cavour, with an opposition. The Duke of Savoy was being unable to face the enemy in the field, was obliged to be inactive. He saw the Duke de Vendôme reduce Verselli and Ivrea, and undertake the siege of Verne: while he had little army was at the foot of the Alps, at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he supplied the place occasionally with fresh troops and provisions. The place held out five months, against an army of Maréchal General: at length, by a communication being cut off, the Duke of Savoy retired to Cheras. He bore his misfortunes with great equanimity: and told the English minister, that though he was abandoned by the allies, he would never abandon himself. The emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with vigour against Ragotski and the Hungarian malcontents, over whom he obtained several advantages; notwithstanding which they continued formidable, from their number, bravery, and determination. The minister of his allies pressed Leopold to enter into a negotiation for a peace with those rebels; and conferences were opened: but he was not sincerely disposed to an accommodation, and Ragotski aimed at the province of Transylvania, which the emperor of Vienna would not easily relinquish. The emperor was not a little alarmed by a revolution at the Ottoman Porte, until the new sultan dispatched a chasms to Vienna, with an assurance that he would give the emperor the contents of Hungary. In Poland, the diet being assembled by the cardinal-primate, Stanislaus Leszinski, Palatine of Posenania, was elected and proclaimed king, and recognized by Charles of Sweden, who still maintained his army by contributions in that country, more intent upon the mind of Augustus than upon the preservation of his own dominions; for he paid no regard to the progress of the Moscovites, who had ravaged Livoun, reduced Narva, and made incursions into Sweden. Augustus retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impounded, in order to raise a great army, with which he might return to Poland; the Pope espoused the interest of this new convert, so well as to bestow on him the title of Louis, and give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The protests of the Conventoons, deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the government of France, that Louis was obliged to treat with leniency: he sent Mareschal Villars against them with a fresh reinforcement; but at the same time furnished him with instructions to treat for an accommodation. This officer immediately commenced a negotiation with Colberg, the chief of the revolters; and a formal treaty was concluded, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience; but these articles were very ill observed by the French and Spanish troops in the north of Germany.

§ XXI. In Portugal, the interest of King Charles were a very melancholy aspect. When he arrived at Lisbon, he found no preparations made for opening the campaign. The Portuguese ministry favoured the French in secret; the people were actually to revolt; the Duke of Schonen-\n\n\n\n\n\n\nberg was on all terms with Fagel, the Dutch general; the Portuguese forces consisted of raw undisconiplined peasants: and the French ambassador had bought the best horses for the army. The king, in consequence, decided on a premature march, and was mounted. The King of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May: but he was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached the village of Quien, the entrance of the province of Sevilla. The French were well engaged in the mountains, and the inhabitants of the province of Sevilla were well disposed to the interests of the French; and the king's troops were instantly reinforced by the power of France, as well as to ascertain the right of Charles to that monarchy. The present possessors, whom they mentioned by the name of the Duke of Anjou, had already anticipated their invasion. His general, the Duke of Berwick, entering Portugal, took the town of Segura by streangm. The governor of Salva-terra surrendered at discretion: Céheros was reduced without much opposition; Zafra was abandoned by the inhabitants, and the town of Zanna la Vella was taken by assault. Portugal was at the same time invaded in different parts by the Marquis de Jofeve, Prince Teurces de Jilly, and the Duke of Taxis, with the Spaniards: the latter side of the field was won, and the repulse recouped and taken by the Duke of Berwick at Sodre de Formosa. Then he passed the Tagus, and joined Prince Trevilles. King Philip arriving in the army, invested Lourengo, where the Duke of Anjou, entering Spain with fifteen thousand men, took Feuerse Gimaldo, in Castile, by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Mansento. The weather growing excessively bad, the Duke of Berwick, in his retreat from Lourengo, would not lose the benefit of the English refreshment: and the allies followed his example. Duke Schomburg finding his advice very little regarded by the Portuguese ministry, and seeing very little prospect of success, desired leave to resign his command, which the queen bestowed upon the Earl of Galway, who, with a re-inforcement of English and Dutch troops, arrived at Lisbon on the thirteenth day of July. About the latter end of Sept-\n\n\n\n\n\n\nember, the two kings repaired to the coast of Alme, and resolving to invade Castile; but they found the river Agueda so well guarded by the Duke of Berwick, that they would not attempt a passage. They, therefore, retired into the mountainous parts of Portugal, and conducted their winter-quarters. The Spaniards were now so weakened, by detachments sent with the Marquis de Villadamaa towards Gibraltar, that the Duke of Berwick could not execute any scheme of importance during the remaining part of the campaign.

§ XXII. The arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. Sir George Cooke, having landed King Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off Cape Sanetti, under the command of Rear-Admiral Dikkes, who, on the twelfth of March, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz. Cooke received orders from the queen to appear at Seville, and give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The protests of the Convenoons, deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the government of France, that Louis was obliged to treat with leniency: he sent Mareschal Villars against them with a fresh reinforcement; but at the same time furnished him with instructions to treat for an accommodation. This officer immediately commenced a negotiation with Colberg, the chief of the revolters; and a formal treaty was concluded, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience; but these articles were very ill observed by the French and Spanish troops in the north of Germany.

§ XXI. In Portugal, the interest of King Charles were a very melancholy aspect. When he arrived at Lisbon, he
entreaties of King Charles, sailed with the transports under his convoy to Barcelona, and on the eighteenth of May appeared before the city. Next day, the troops were embarked, and the French principal and general staff of two thousand, and the Dutch ketches bombarded the place: but by this time the governor had secured the chief of the Austrian party: and the people exhibiting no marks of attachment to King Charles, the prince re-embarked his soldiers, from an apprehension of their being attacked and overpowered by superior numbers. On the sixteenth day of June Sir George Rooke, being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of the Manor of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the seventeenth day of July the admiral called a council of war in the Road of Détain, where they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slowly provided with a garrison. Thither they sailed, and on the twenty-first day of the month the Prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he summoned the governor to surrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were defending it from the south main-head, commanded Captain Whittaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The Captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their boats, and retaken the mole. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by Cap- tain Whittaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated: and the Prince of Hesse en- tered the place, amid at the success of this attempt, con- sidered the strength of the fort's pretensions, and had been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

§ XXIII. A sufficient garrison being left with his high- ness, the admiral returned to Toulon, to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the ninth day of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the thirteenth he came up with it, as it lay in a line off M良ag ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-thirty great ships and four- and-twenty galleys, under the command of the Comte de Tholouse, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet con- sisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates and privateers, to which was added the guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and alto- gether unprovided of galleys, from which the enemy reap ed great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning the battle began, with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way; nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no use of this advantage: for two successive days the English admiral endeavored to renew the engage- ment, which the Comte de Tholouse declined, and at last he broke off his attack, on account of a heavy gale on both sides. This action was fought as though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English. Over and above the disadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the British fleet were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased: yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the war. Sir George Rooke was in the utmost ex- citing spirits of his people, alarmed the victory, and pub- lished an account of the action, which, at this distance of time, plainly proves that he was reduced to the mean shift of imposing upon his subjects, by false and partial repre- sentations. On the thirtieth of August was made a con- tinued mention of mischief done to French ships by English bombs: though nothing is more certain than that there was not one bomb vessel in the combined fleet. The French academy, actuated by a servile spirit of adula- tion, caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, which instead of perpetuating the memory of the French, never only to transmit their own shame to posterity. After the battle, Sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for Eng- land on the twenty-fourth day of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and vene- ration which were due to his long services and signal suc- cess: but he was there persuaded by the prime minister to the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the Marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months, during which the Prince of Hesse exhibited many shaming proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until Monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron, but he was obliged to re- tire at the approach of Sir John Leake and Admiral Van- derduassen: and the Marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progress on land, thought proper to abandon the enterprise.

§ XXV. The parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, the queen, in her speech, observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement in the present affairs of the nation was necessary to enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Eu- rope. She declared her intention to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this oppor- tunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. Congratulatory addresses were voted and presented by both Houses. The speech was received with the strongest marks of duty and affection to the queen; but the addresses inclu- ded a very different colour from the different sanctions by which the two Houses were influenced. The Lords congratulated her on the great and glorious success of her arms under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, without designating to mention Sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French navy at sea, and added the important fortress of Gibraltar to the British conquests. On the other hand, the Commons affected to mention the battle of Blen- heim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However they might be warped by prejudice against individuals, they did not suffer the war to languish for want of the having a number of seamen to furnish the service of the army and navy, they voted that the queen should be desired to bestow her bounty on the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly. They then deliberated upon the different articles of national expense, and granted four millions six hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds for the occasions of the ensuing year, to be raised by a land-tax, by the sale of annuities, and other ex- penses. These measures were taken with such expedition, that the land-tax received the royal assent on the ninth day of December: when the queen, in a short speech, thanked the Commons for their despatch, which she con- sidered a sure pledge of their exertions in the performance of their professions. The next day the bill was passed, and sent to the Lords for their concur- rence. The court no longer espoused this measure, and the violent party was weakened by defection. After a warm and tedious debate, the Lords was by a large majority. The bill, however, passed the House of Com- mmons, and was sent up to the Lords on the fourteenth day of December, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the queen been present, and destitute of hearing what could be said in defence of the measure. The obverse side of the information and satisfaction of her majesty the sub- ject was again discussed, and all the arguments being re-
peated, the bill was rejected by a majority of one-and-twenty voices. The next subject on which the House of Lords employed their attention, was the late conduct of the Scotch parliament. The Lord Hailes, in his speech observed, that the settlement of the succession in Scotland had been postponed, partly because the ministry for that kingdom were weak and divided; partly from a remark that the Scotsmen had never submitted and cordially intended by those who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet council. He expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he styled a bill of exclusion; and particularly mentioned that clause, by which the heiress-presumptive was to be deprived of her succession, and to be regarded as her father's fickle men every month. He said the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and generally discontented; that the common people were very numerous, very stout, and very poor; and he asked who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed, and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, could opportunities suit their intention. He recommended these circumstances to the consideration of the House, and concluded with these words of Lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter of troubles to be prepared; for no man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire." The Lords, then, determined to consider this question. On the ninth day of November, when the queen repaired to the House of Peers to hear the debates, and by her presence moderate the heat of both parties. The Earl of Nottingham moved on the memorials of King William, that he would have been sent to the Tower, had not the Lords declined any such motion out of respect to her majesty. After much declaration on the Scottish act of security, the grand committee of the Peers, by the advice of Lord Warton, resolved, That the queen should be enabled by act of parliament on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about a union with Scotland, provided that the parliament of Scotland should first appoint commissioners to the same purpose. That no Scotsmen should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, except such as were settled in England, Ireland, and the plantations, and such as were or might be in the sea or land-service, until a union could be effected, or the succession settled as in England: That the traffic by cattle from Scotland to England should be prevented: That the lord admiral should issue orders for taking such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her majesty's enemies; and that vessels should be taken to prevent the exportation of English wooll into Scotland. On these resolutions a bill was formed for an entire union, and passed the House on the twenty-second of December. The queen was present to address the queen, representing that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of parliament lately passed in Scotland: That they were of opinion the safety of the kingdom required that speedy and effectual orders should be given to put Newcastle in a posture of defence, to secure the port of Tynemouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. They likewise advised her majesty to give directions for disciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition; and for preventing the exportation of arms to the Dutch. The queen promised that a survey should be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the parliament; and that she would give the necessary directions upon the other articles of the address. The Commons were generally pleased with the sentiments of the Scottish act of security. They resolved, That a bill should be brought in for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that might arise from the evil act of parliament in the kingdom of Scotland: and this was formed on nearly the same resolutions which had been taken in the upper House. The bill sent down by the Lords was three read, and ordered to be printed. On the table, but they pressed their own, to take effect at Christmas, prevented before that time. The Scots should not settle the succession. When it was offered to the Lords, they passed it without any amendment, contrary to the expectation and even to the hope of some members who were no friends to the house of Hanover, and firmly believed that it was entirely inadmissible, with the same contempt which had been manifested for that which they had sent down to the Commons.

§ XXVI. The Duke of Marlborough, at his first appearance recommended the queen to congratulate the lady honoured with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the lord keeper, in the name of the peers of England; and a compliment of the same nature was presented to her by a committee of the House of Commons. Marlborough, accompanied by the principal members of the university, attended the queen with an address of congratulation upon the success of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and in vincible courage of the Duke of Marlborough; and at sea, under the most brave and faithful admiral Sir George Rooke. He received a civil answer from her majesty, though now she took umbrage at Rooke's being raised upon a level with the Duke of Marlborough; those great victories had captivated her administration, and whose wife had alienated her affection from the Tories. The Commons perceiving how high he stood in her majesty's esteem, and having been properly tutored for the purpose, took into their consideration the petitions on the twenty-first of December, in an address, besought her majesty to consider some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. In a few days she gave them to understand by a message, that she had been pleased that the admiral, whose government of the whole in the honour and majesty of Woodstock and hundred of Wootton to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenant and ranger of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were granted for two lives, she wished that encumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the queen to bestow these honours and manors on the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the queen was desirous of an act of the same nature as that for Scotland. She not only complied with this address, but likewise ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock park a magnificent palace for the duke, upon a plan much more solid than beautiful. By this time Sir George Rooke was laid aside, and the command of the fleet bestowed upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, now declared rear-admiral of England. Mareschal de Tallard, with the other French generals taken at Hochstadt, arrived on the sixteenth of December in the river Thames, and were immediately conveyed in Notting-ham and Litchfield, attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of foot-guards. They were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles to London, and was presented to the queen in the house to the queen, representing that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of parliament lately passed in Scotland: That they were of opinion the safety of the kingdom required that speedy and effectual orders should be given to put Newcastle in a posture of defence, to secure the port of Tynemouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. They likewise advised her majesty to give directions for disciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for prohibiting the exportation of arms to the Dutch. The queen promised that a survey should be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the parliament; and that she would give the necessary directions upon the other articles of the address. The Commons, in an address, besought the queen to refuse granting a writ of error in this case, which would tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons of England. She decided against the Commons, she would not do any thing to give them just cause of complaint; but this matter relating to the course of judicial
proceedings, being of the highest importance, she thought it necessary to weigh and consider very carefully what might be proper for her to do in a thing of so great concern. They voted all the lawyers who had pleaded on the return, to set on foot a treaty in behalf of the prisoners of guilt of a breach of privilege, and ordered them to be taken into custody. They likewise ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their sergeant-major, till the transaction should be adjudged by the queen's granting writs of error. The prisoners, finding themselves at the mercy of the exasperated Commons, petitioned the Lords for relief. The upper House passed six different resolutions against the conduct of the Commons in being petitioners for redress of their grievances; but all of them were rejected. The Marquis of Montrose, however, was in such a state of mind that he was determined to break through the bounds of Magna Charta. The lower House demanded a conference, in which they insisted upon the sole right of determining elections; they affirmed, that they only could judge: who had a right of voting; and that they were judges of their own privileges, in which the Lords could not intermeddle.

§ XXVIII. The upper House demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. New resolutions were taken by the Commons, diametrically opposite to those of the Peers, who, on the other hand, attended the queen with a long representation of all the particulars relating to this affair. They affirmed, that the proceedings of the House of Commons against the Aylesbury men were wholly new and unconnected, and for this reason: That any thing of an Englishman, who apprehended himself injured, to seek for redress in her majesty's courts of justice: that if any power could control this right, and prescribe when he should or should not proceed, and when he should proceed before the laws, he ceased to be a freem, and his liberty and property were precarious. They requested, therefore, that no consideration whatever should prevail with her majesty to suffer an obstruction to the known course of justice; but that she should be pleased to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of the writs of error. The queen assured them that she would have complied with their request; but, finding an absolute necessity for putting an immediate end to these matters, she could not proceed further on that matter. On the very day, which was the fourteenth of March, she went to the house of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then she thanked the parliament for having dispatched the public business: she warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension; and ordered the lord keeper to prorogue them to Thursday the 1st of May; but on the fifth of April they were prorogued, for proclamation, and another council was published for calling a new parliament. The queen, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, made an excursion to Newmarket, which was a journey she had determined to make to the University of Cambridge, where she conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis the vice-chancellor, upon James Montague counsel for the university, and upon the celebrated Isaac Newton mathematical professor. The two Houses of conviction still continued at variance. The lower House penned petitun representations; and the archbishop answered them by verbal reproach and admonition. The Tory interest was now in the wane. The Duke of Buckinghamshire was deprived of the privy seal, and that office conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of powerful influence with the whig party. The Earl of Montague was created Marquis of Montmorenci, and Duke of Montague; the Earl of Petersborough and Lord Cholmondeley were chosen of the privy council; and Lord Curts was sent to command the troops in Ireland, under the Duke of Overy.

§ XXIX. The ministry of Scotland was now entirely changed. The Marquis of Tweedale and Johnston, having been found unequal to the undertaking, were dismissed. The Duke of Queensberry resumed the management of affairs in Scotland; the Duke of Montrose, the privy seal; and the office of commissioner was conferred upon the young Duke of Argyle, who succeeded to his father's influence among the presbeterians. He was a nobleman possessed of talents, which had not been neglected; candid, open, and sincere; brave, passionate, and aspiring; bad he been endowed with a greater share of liberality, his character would have been truly heroic. At this juncture he was instructed to procure an act of the Scottish parliament, settling the protestant succession: for the union of the two kingdoms. At the opening of the session in June, the members were divided into three parties, namely, the Cavaliers or Jacobites, the Revolutionists, the Squadron Volante, or Flying Squadron, and the Tweedaleists. The Tweedaleists, who disclaimed the other two factions, and pretended to act from the dictates of conscience alone. The parliament was adjourned to the third day of July, when her majesty's letter was read, earnestly recommending the settlement of the succession and the union of the two kingdoms. The Tweedaleists, and the Marquis of Annandale proposed that the parliament should proceed on the limitations and conditions of government; that a committee should be appointed to consider the condition of the coin and the commerce of the nation. The Earl of Mar moved, that the House would, preferrable to all other business, consider the means for engaging in a treaty with England. After a long debate they resolved to proceed on the coin and the commerce. Schemes for supplying the nation with money by a paper credit were presented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne and John Law; but rejected. The House of Commons, by the issue of bills, was an improper expedient; and appointed a council to put the laws relating to trade in execution. The Duke of Hamilton proposed that the parliament should proceed to the settlement of the succession and the union of the two kingdoms. The House resolved, to proceed with the bill for a treaty with England, which was granted. The Marquis of Tweedale and the Marquis of Lothian: others were produced concerning the elections of officers of state, and the regulation of commerce.

§ XXX. The chief aim of the cavaliers was to obstruct the settlement of the succession; and with that view they pressed the project of limitations, to which they knew the court would never assent. A motion being made, to grant the first reading to an act of commission for a treaty with England, the Duke of Hamilton insisted on the limitations, and a vote being stated in these terms, "Proceed to consider the act for a treaty of limitation," the letter was carried in favour of the cavaliers. On the twenty-second day of August, for this purpose, a motion was made, and next day an act for a triennial parliament, which the courtiers were enabled to defeat. They likewise passed an act, ordaining, that the Scottish ambassadors representing Scotland, should be recommended to the king; which, they might have occasion to treat with foreign princes and states, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland. Fletcher, of Saltoun, presented a scheme of limitations that savoured strongly of republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, endeavouring to prove that they were absolutely necessary to prevent the consequences of English influence; to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties; to deter ministers of state from giving bad advice to their sovereign; to preserve the courts of judicature from corruption, and screen the people from tyranny and oppression. The Earl of Stair having argued against these limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he opposed the scheme; for, had such an act subsisted, his lordship would have been hanged for the bad counsel he had given to King James; for the concern he had in the massacre of Glencoe; and for his conduct since the revolution." The next subject on which the parliament deliberated was the conspiracy. A motion being made that the House might know what answer the queen had returned to their address in the last session, the chancellor delivered to the lord privy seal the plot, that they might be persuaded by the members: but these being copies, and the evidences remaining at London, no further progress was made in the affair. Yet the Duke of Atholl, in a distinct narrative of the pretended conspiracy, boldly accused the Duke of
Queenberry having endeavoured to mislead the queen by false accusations against her good subjects. When the act for the union fell under discussion, a debate was entered upon for that purpose, presented by the Earl of Mar, was compared with the English act, importing, That the queen should name and appoint not only the commissioners for England, but likewise those for Scotland; Fletcher did not, the House refusing一切 to the unions could not be added to the act, importing, That the union should no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottish nation. This occasioned a long debate; and the question being put, was carried in the negative. Another clause was proposed, that the Scottish commissioners should not begin to treat until the English parliament should have rescinded their clause, enacting, That the subjects of Scotland should be adjudged and taken as slaves after the twenty-fifth day of December. The courtiers, considering the temper of the House, would not venture to oppose this motion directly, but proposed that the clause should be formed into a separate act; and the expedient was approved. Though the Duke of Athol entered a vigorous protest, to which the greater part of the commoners and all the squadrone adhered, comprehending four-and-twenty peers, and thirty-three of the lords of manor, the act for the treaty of union was, after much altercation, finished, empowering commissioners to meet and treat of a union; but restraining them from treating of any alterations of the church government as by law established. Whilst this important subject was under consideration, the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left to the queen. Fourteen or fifteen of the commoners ran out of the House in a transport of indignation, explaining that they were deserted and basely betrayed by the Duke of Hamilton. A very hot debate ensued, in which the Duke was supported by those whose he had hitherto conducted; but, at length, the question being put, whether the nomination should be left to the queen or to the parliament, the duke’s motion was approved by a very small majority. He afterwards excused himself for his defection, by saying, he saw it was vain to contend; and that since the court had acquired a great majority, he thought he might be allowed to pay that compliment to his sovereign. He was desirous of holding a commission, and was pleased to have been nominated. The queen refusing in honour him with that mark of distinction, Argyle would not suffer himself to be named, and threatened to oppose the nomination. The commons were, however, in their resolution. Two drafts of an address were presented by the Earl of Sutherland and Fletcher of Saltoun, beseeching her majesty to use her endeavours with the parliament of England to rescind that part of their act which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens; and an overture of a bill being offered, ordaining that the Scottish commissioners should not enter upon the treaty of union until that clause should be repealed; the courtiers moved that the parliament should proceed by way of order to their commissioners, and by address to her majesty. After some debate, the House assenting to this proposal, the order and address were drawn up and approved. The great and weighty affair of the treaty being at length happily transacted, though not without a protest by Athol and his adherents, the parliament granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds, and the House was adjourned to the twentieth day of December, in order to the doing over of the establishment of the house of James, which was appointed lord president of the council. § XXXI. In Ireland the parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, and voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the support of the government, a third of the establishment. A dispute arose between the Commons and the lower house of convocation, relating to the tubes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom. The lower house of convocation presented a memorial against this clause as being too prejudicial to the interest of the kingdom. Commons voted the person who brought it in guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered him to be taken into custody. They then resolved, That the convocation were guilty of intemperance of the privileges of that House. The convocation presented their memorial, and the Commons voted, that all matters relating to it should be rased out of the journals and books of convocation. The Duke of Ormond, dreading the consequence of all that clause being taken from the act and transmitted to the first day of May, when the Houses meeting again, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majesty’s government and the protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved in their turn, that the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by King William at the revolution: That the continuance of these blessings were due (under God) to the suspicious reign and happy government of her majesty Queen Anne: That the future security and preservation of the church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the prosperity and the crown as settled by law in the protestant line; That if any man should by word or writing declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the protestants, and an enemy to the common weal, and proceed against the presbyterians, importing, That to teach or to preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to the establishment of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom; of pernicious consequence; and served only to continue and widen the unhappy and ruinous schisms and divisions in the nation. This act of parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year: then the Duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration in the hands of Sir Richard Cox, lord secretary, and Lord Coffs, chief of the queen’s forces, who were appointed lords justices during the duke’s absence. § XXXII. During these transactions in Great Britain and Ireland, the allies had not been remiss in their preparations for the ensuing campaigns. The Duke of Marlborough had fixed upon the Moselle for the scene of action; and magazines of all sorts were formed at Trier. On the thirteenth day of March the duke embarked for Hungary, and the Dutch generals the necessary measures for opening the campaign, and ordered the troops to concentrate near the Danube army. On the fifth day of May the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph, King of the Romans, a prince who resembled his father in meekness of disposition, narrowness of intellect, and bigotry to the Roman religion. On the fifteenth of June the English troops passed the Mathe, and continued their march towards the Moselle, under the command of General Churchill; and the duke set out for Crastenach, to confer with Prince Louis of Baden, who excused himself on pretence of being much indisposed. Marlborough visited him at Rastadt, where in a conference they resolved that a sufficient number of German troops should be left there to ensure the security of the houses of Lauterburg and Stolhofen, under the command of General Thüngen, and that Prince Louis of Baden should march with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in conjunction with the Earl of Hertford in the south. The army passed the Moselle and the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elf in sight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation, and entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Comingairchen. The duke’s design was to attack the Saar, but Marlborough failed in the performance of his engagement: he feigned himself sick, and repaired to the bath at Schlangembude, leaving the small number of imperial troops he conducted as far as Crastenach, under the command of the Count de Freize.
He was suspected of treachery; but probably acted from envy of the duke's military reputation.a

§ XXXIII. While this nobleman sustained such a mortifying disappointment from the Moselle, the French did not fail to make advantage of their superiority in the Netherlands, where General D'Auerquereque was obliged to stand on the defensive. They invested Huy, and carried on their operations to such effect that the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: then Villeroi undertook the reduction of Lierge, and actually began his works before the citadel. Marlborough and D'Auverouerque, then marching to Trier, where, in a council, it was resolved that the army should return to the Netherlands. The troops were in motion on the nineteenth of June, and marched with such expedition, that they passed the Meuse on the first day of July. Villeroi having received advance of the duke's approach, abandoned his enterprise, and retired to Tongeren, from whence he retreated within his lines, that reached from Marche aux Dames on the Meuse, along the Meuse as far as Louvain. Marlborough having joined D'Auverouerque, sent General Scholten with a detachment to invest Huy, and in a few days the garrison surrendered at discretion. The English general, resolving to strike some stroke of importance that should compensate for his disappoointment, since General Horne had concluded a defensive understanding with the States, for a proposal for attacking the French lines, and obtained their permission to do whatever he should think proper for the good of the common cause. Then he expounded his proposals, which were, first, to invest the enemy, who had retired from Olen, with the wood of Soignes, to Neerwiche, with the little river Yse in their front, so as to cover Brussels and Louvain. The Duke of Marlborough proposed to attack them immediately, before they could reconnoitre themselves from their consternation; and D'Auverouerque approved of the design; but it was opposed by General Schlangenburgh, and other Dutch officers, who represented it in such a light to the deputies of the States, that they refused to concur in the execution. The cruel ambition to relinquish the scheme, wrote an expository letter to the States-general, complaining of their having withdrawn that confidence which they had reposed in him while he acted in Germany. This letter being published at the Hague, excited murmurs among the people, and the English nation were incensed at the presumption of the deputies, who wrote several letters in their own justification to the States-general: but these had no effect upon the populace, by whom the duke was received with the greatest approbation. The States being apprised of the resentment that prevailed over all England, and that the Earl of Pembroke, lord president of the council, was appointed as envoy extraordinary to the Duke of Marlborough, with instructions to demand satisfaction for this improper to anticipate his journey, by making submissions to the duke, and removing Schlangenburgh from his command. The confederate army returned to Corinna, from where it marched to Perwitz, where it encamped in the little town of Sont-Louwe, situated in the middle of a marsh, and constituting the chief defence of the enemy's lines, being taken by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, the duke ordered the lines from this post to Wasseneghe to be leveled, and to the failure of the Prince of Baden; but that my esteem for you is still greater than my reverence of his conduct."
he conferred with Prince Louis of Baden. On the twelfth of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the highest marks of distinction and cordial friendship by the Emperor Charles, to whom, however, the Earl of Sunderland, had been sent thither as envoy extraordinary; and now they conferred together with the emperor and his ministers. They resolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigour. The treaties were renewed, and provisions made for the security of the Duke of Savoy. The emperor, in consideration of the duke's signal service to the house of Austria, presented him with a grant of the lordship of Genoa in Savoy, which was now extended into a principality of the Roman empire. In his return to the Earl of Sunderland he visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with that extraordinary respect which was due to his character, and arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth day of December.

There he settled the operations of the next campaign with the States-general, who concerted to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army of Prince Eugene in Italy. While the allies were engaged in the siege of Sanlul, the Elector of Hanover sent a detachment, under the command of Don Marcelllo de Grimando, to invest Dietz, the garrison of which had been made public cause of war.

§ XXXVI. On the Upper Rhine Mareschal Villars besieged and took Hombourg, and passed the Rhine at Strasburg on the sixth day of August. Prince Louis of Baden, serving in the camp of the imperialists at Strasburg, not only held himself ready to cross the river, forced the French lines at Hagenau; then he reduced Drusenheim and Hagenau, but attempted no enterprise equal to the number of his army, although the emperor had exasperated him severely on his conduct, and he had now a fair opportunity of simulating the glory of Marlborough, upon whom he looked with the eyes of an envious rival. In Italy a battle was fought at Casano, between Prince Eugene and the Dutch, with considerable success. The Duke de Foulbrand reduced Chavas, and invested Nice, which, after an obstinate defence, surrendered in December. All the considerable places belonging to the Duke of Savoy were now taken, except Cun and Turen; and his little army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could barely support. His duchess, his clergy, and his subjects in general, pressed him to submit to the necessity of his affairs; but he adhered to the alliance with surprising fortitude. He withstood the importunities of his duchess, excluded all the bishops and clergy from his councils; and when he had occasion for a confessor, chose a priest occasionally, either at Prague or Vienna. The campaign in Portugal began with a very promising aspect. The allies invaded Spain by the different frontiers of Beyra and Alentejo. Their army, under the command of the Conde de Valencias, undertook the siege of Valenca in May, and it successed, on the arrival of D'Alcantara, in the assault, and the town surrendered upon articles; and then the troops were sent into quarters of refreshment. The Marquis de las Minas, who commanded the Portuguese in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Sulva-terra, plundered and burned Sarca: but was obliged to retire to Pamamas at the approach of the enemy. Towards the end of September the confederates being reassured, invested Badajoz, by the advice of the Earl of Galway, who lost his right hand by a cannon-ball, and was obliged to be carried off; so that the conduct of the siege was left to General Fagel. He had made considerable progress towards the reduction of the place, when the Marquis de Tholos found means to throw in a powerful reinforcement; and then the confederates abandoned the enterprise. The war continued to rage in Hungary with various success. Ragotski, though frequently worsted, appeared still in arms, and ravaged the country, which became a strength whereby the action. In Poland the old cardinal prince owned Stanislaus, but died before the coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of Cracow. In the beginning of the winter he left his irregular army, and passed through the Muscovite army, which was put under his command in Lithuania; and the campaign was protracted through the whole winter season, notwithstanding the severity of the weather in that northern climate. In the spring the Swedish general, Rencheld, obtained a complete victory over the Saxony army, which was either cut in pieces or taken prisoners. When the war was at an end, the war was not extinguished. The King of Sweden continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of peace, and was become as sanguine in his manners, as brutal in his revenge.

§ XXXVII. At sea the arms of the allies were generally prosperous. Philip of Spain being obstinately bent upon retaining Gibraltar, sent Mareschal de Tholos to renew the siege, while De Pointis was ordered to block up the place. The king of France attacked the English fleet on the siege with such activity, that the Prince de Hesse despatched an express to Lisbon with a letter, desiring Sir John Leake to sail immediately to his assistance. This admiral having been reinforced from England by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ships of the line and a body of troops, set sail immediately; and on the tenth day of March desired five ships of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. These were commanded by De Pointis in person, to whom the English admiral gave chase. One of them struck, after having made a very slight resistance; and the rest ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron was taken to Cádiz, and placed in the bay of Malaga; but now they slipped their cables, and made the best of their way to Toulon. The Mareschal de Tholos, in consequence of this disaster, abandoned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew the remainder of his fleet. Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byron, who had been ordered to cruise in soundings for the protection of trade, took a ship of forty guns from the enemy, together with twelve privateers, and seven vessels richly laden from the West Indies.

§ XXXVIII. But the most eminent achievement of this summer, was the reduction of Barcelona, by the celebrated Prince de Vendenome, in consequence of the expedition, which sailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the English fleet, having on board a body of five thousand land forces; and on the twelfth of June arrived at Lisbon; where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral, Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to sea with eight-and-forty ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Sporrel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The Prince de Hesse Dumfries, arriving from Gibraltar, assured King Charles, that the province of Catalunya and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his interest; and his majesty being weary of Portugeuse adventurers. The Prince de Hesse-Dumfries took Bordeaux to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board of the Ranelagh; and the fleet sailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the Earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoon. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the eleventh day of August they anchored in the bay of Alco, where the Earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged King Charles as their lawful sovereign. They invested the town of Dona, for the purpose of cutting off the garrison of four hundred men under the command of Major-General Ramos. On the twenty-second they arrived in the bay of Barcelona; the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation, and were well received by the country people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, 'Long live king Charles and eternal glory to the Spanish arms and King Charles.' The king immediately made the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but overawed by a garrison of five thousand men under the Duke de Pompil, Velasco, which was placed in disgrace by the arrival of the English and Dutch forces. The знать of Philip. Considering the strength of such a garrison, and the small number of Dutch and English troops, nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the de-
sign of besieging the place: yet this was proposed by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, strongly urged by King Charles, and approved by the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, that the assault should be made on one side, but as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with much loss of the gallant Prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and expired in a few hours: then the Earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and a shell chances to fall into the magazine of ammunition, that was filled to the brim with the powder, and killed some of the best officers: an accident which struck such a terror into the garrison, that they surrendered without further resistance.

§ XXIXI. This great point being gained, the English general raised his batteries against the town, with the help of the Miquelets and seamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated, and on the fourth day of October King Charles entered in triumph. The other places in Catalonia declared for him, except Roses; so that the largest and richest province of Spain was conquered with an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. King Charles was then salute in Barcelona by five hundred pieces, with a magnificent gun-fire, of the famous Du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

§ XLI. The kingdom of England was now wholly engaged by the election of members for the new parliament. The tories excited throughout the eastern counties, to prevent the Catholics from being admitted to sit in parliament. The minority of the Jacobites in the west of Scotland, the English, and the French, had been the alarms of the council of war, as the guard of this city, the committee of the Treasury, and the warders of the prison. The necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common danger, had been urged in the court of Charles, and the other six regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The Count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attacked to the house of Austria, secured Tarragona, Tortosa, Lareda, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined General Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in Catalonia. The casemates of Mahon were prepared by such unexpected success they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprised, together with the Marquis de Villa-Garcis, the viceroy, and the archbishop. These adven-tures, by no means approved of the court of Charles, were divided into factions, and, so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de los Toses, who was formerly invested San-Mattheo, guard by Colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the Earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. Peterborough afterwards took possession of the town, and then, with his chasse horses at Castillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four hundred armed foot, he marched to Molina, which was surrendered to him by the governor, Brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Duke d'Arcos, the Spanish general, he excited such jealousies by dint of artifices, not altogether justifiable even in war, that the duke was more intent upon avoiding the supposed treachery of Mahoni than upon intercepting the earl's march to Valencia. The inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at this arrival, which, as a very obstinate action happened at St. Istevan de Letrea, where the Chevalier D'Arsfeld, with nine squadrons of horse and dragoons, and as many battalions of French infantry, attacked Colomn at the head of a small detachment; but this last being supported by Lieutenant-General Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, the rebels though three times his number, could not make the least impression on the spot. The troops on both sides fought with the most desperate valour, keeping up their fire until the muskets of their pieces met, and changing each other at the point of the bayonet. The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year, was the capture of the Baltic fleet homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk squadron under the command of the Count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement. When an account of this advantage was communicated to the French king, he replied with a sigh, "Very well, I wish the ships were safe again in any English port, provided the Count de St. Paul were alive." After the death of the famous Du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

§ I. The kingdom of England was now wholly engaged by the election of members for the new parliament. The tories excited throughout the eastern counties, to prevent the Catholics from being admitted to sit in parliament. The minority of the Jacobites in the west of Scotland, the English, and the French, had been the alarms of the council of war, as the guard of this city, the committee of the Treasury, and the warders of the prison. The necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common danger, had been urged in the court of Charles, and the other six regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The Count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attacked to the house of Austria, secured Tarragona, Tortosa, Lareda, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined General Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in Catalonia. The casemates of Mahon were prepared by such unexpected success they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprised, together with the Marquis de Villa-Garcis, the viceroy, and the archbishop. These adven-tures, by no means approved of the court of Charles, were divided into factions, and, so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de los Toses, who was formerly invested San-Mattheo, guard by Colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the Earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. Peterborough afterwards took possession of the town, and then, with his chasse horses at Castillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four hundred armed foot, he marched to Molina, which was surrendered to him by the governor, Brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Duke d'Arcos, the Spanish general, he excited such jealousies
Then the Commons drew up a second, assuring her they would, to the utmost of their power, assist her in bringing the treaty of union to a happy conclusion. They desired that the question of the last, of parliament, relating to the union and succession, might be laid before the House. The Lords had solicited the same satisfaction; and her majesty promised to comply with their request. The lower house, having heard this, declared in some cases of controverted elections, proceeded to take into consideration the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and granted the supplies without hesitation. In the House of Lords, while the queen was present, Lord Haversham, at the instance of the bishops, in a speech, in which he reflected upon the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, both on the Monsele and in Behan, moved for an address to desire her majesty would invite the presumptive heir to the crown of England to come and reside in the kingdom. This motion was earnestly supported by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesea. They said there was no method so effectual to secure the succession, as that of the successor's being upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his or her right against any pretender; and they observed, that in former times, when the throne of England was vacant, the first comer had always succeeded in lawful pretensions. The proposal was relished by the opposition, who knew it was disagreeable to the queen, whom they would not venture to disoblige.

They argued, that a rivalry between the two courts might produce distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences. It was observed, that the Princess Sophia had expressed a full satisfaction in the assurances of the queen, who had promised to maintain her title. The question being put, was carried in the negative by a great majority.

The design of the torres in making this motion was, to bring the other party into disgrace either with the queen or with the people. Their joining in the measure would have given umbrage to their sovereign; and, by opposing it, they ran the risk of incurring the public odium, as enemies of the crown, and of the next successor, whom they thought herself secure; and those patriots who stood up in its defence were disconcerted and punished; nay, when the successor ascended the throne, and the church was apprized in the most imminent danger, by the high commission court and otherwise, the nation was then indeed generally alarmed; and every body knew who sat in that court, and entered deeply into the measures which were then pursued. Compton, Bishop of London, declared that the church was in danger, from profaneness, irreligion, and the licentiousness of the press. He complained, that sermons were preached wherein rebellion was countenanced, and resistance to the higher powers encouraged. He added, that it was the lord chief-justice, and the minister of the queen's bench. Their business was to proclaim the next successor through the kingdom of England, and join with a certain number of persons named as regents by the successor, in three lists to be sealed up and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, and the minister residuary of Hanover. It was enacted, That these joint regencies should conduct the administration: that the last parliament, even though dissolved, should reassemble, and continue sitting for six months after the decease of her majesty. The bill met with a warm opposition from the torres, and did not pass the upper House without a contest. It was still further obstructed in the House of Commons, even by some of the Whigs, who were given to understand that the Princess Sophia had expressed an inclination to reside in England. Exceptions were likewise taken to that clause in the bill, enacting, that the last parliament should be reassembled. They affirmed that this was inconsistent with part of the act by which the succession was at first settled; for, among other limitations, the parliament had provided, that when the crown should descend to the house of Hanover, no man who had either place or pension, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons. After tedious disputed and zealous alterations, they agreed that a certain number of seats should be disqualifying places. This self-denying clause, and some other provisions, were so altered in the conferences between the two Houses, and at length the bill passed by their mutual assent. Lord Haversham
that his sons were indeed taught by Mr. Ellis, a sober, virtuous man; but that when he refused the oath of abjuration, they were immediately withdrawn from his instruction. Lord Wharton proceeded to declare, that he had carefully assembled the pamphlets intended for Memorial, which was said to contain a demonstration that the church was in danger; but all he could hear was, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, were out of place: that he remembered some of these noblemen said, they were all to come, and that he made no complaint of the church's being in danger.

Patrick, Bishop of Ely, complained of the heat and passion manifested by the gentlemen belonging to the university for the affection of the clergy towards their bishops. He was seconded by Hugh of Lichfield and Coventry, who added, that the inferior clergy calumniated their bishops, as if they were in a plot to destroy the church, and had compounded to be the last of their order. Hooper of Bath and Wells expatiated on the invidious distinction implied in the terms "high-church," and "law-church." The Duke of Leeds asserted, that the church could not be safe, without an act against occasions of communion between the two(" high-church") and the law-church. The House resolved, that the church of England as by law established, which was rescued from the extreme danger by King William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest or insinuate that the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom.

Next day the Commons concurred in this determination, and joined the Lords in an address to the queen, communicating this resolution, beseeching her to take effectual measures for making it public; and also for punishing the authors and spreaders of the seditionary and scandalous reports of the church's being in danger. She accordingly issued a proclamation, containing the resolution of the two Houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of the Memorial of the Church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, a servant of Mr. Fanshawe, upon oath to be the printer and publisher of that libel.

§ XI. III. After a short adjournment, a committee of the lower House presented the thanks of the Commons to the queen, for her performance of the resolution concerning her majesty and the nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her allies. This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Sicily, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty: the queen was universally beloved: the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war; the senators and council were well paid: the treasury was punctual: and though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murrains were heard, and the public credit was channelled both at home and abroad.

All the funds being established, one in particular for two millions and a half by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent, and all the bills having received the royal assent, the queen went to the House of Peers on the nine-and-twenty day of March, where, having thanked both Houses for the repeated assurances upon which she had received, she proscribed the parliament to the twenty-first day of May following. The new convocation, instead of imitating the union and harmony of the parliament, which the former had been distraught, and the two Houses seemed to act with more determined rancour against each other. The upper House having drawn up a warm address of thanks to the queen for the affection of the church, the lower House refused to concur; nor would they give any reason for their dissent. They prepared another in a different strain, which was rejected by the archbishop. Then they agreed to divers resolutions, asserting their right of having what they offered to the upper House received by his Grace and their lordships. In consequence of this dissension the address was set aside, and dropped, and a stop put to all further communications between the two branches of parliament. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Bathurst, then offered an amendment to the resolution of the lower House, praying the upper House to consider the irregularities of the lower House. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordina- tion of the lower House, which she expressed her hope that he and his suffragans would act conformably to her resolution, in which case they might be assured of the continuance of her favour and protection: she required him to impart this declaration to the bishops and clergy, and to proscribe the convocation to such end as should appear most convenient. When he communicated this letter to the lower House, the members were not a little confounded; nevertheless, they would not comply with the proposition, but continued to sit, in defiance of her majesty's pleasure.

§ XLI. The eyes of Great Britain were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost importance to the whole island: namely, the treaty for a union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The queen having appointed the commissioners on both sides, they met on the sixteenth day of April, in the council-chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches being pronounced by Lord keeper of England, and the lord chief justice of Scotland, they agreed to certain articles, importing, that all the proposals should be made in writing; and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing: That no points should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted in such manner, that the Articles of Adherents should be read before the queen and the two parliaments for their approbation: That a committee should be appointed from each commission, to revise the minutes of what might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret. The Scots were inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to treat the articles of the treaty. The lord keeper proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great Britain: that it should be represented by one and the same parliament; and, that the succession of this monarchy, failing ...
of heirs of her majesty's body, should be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of parliament passed in the reign of King William, intituled, An Act for the further security of the crown and the estates of the realm; and for the better securing the laws and statutes, and the rights and liberties of the subject. The Scottish commissioners, in order to comply in some measure with the popular clamour of their nation, presented a proposal, implying, that the union to the crown of Scotland should be established upon the same persons mentioned in the act of King William's reign: that the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy all the rights and privileges of the native in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging; that the subjects of England should enjoy like rights and privileges in Scotland: that there should be a free communication and intercourse of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, should be repealed. The English commissioners declined entering into any considerations upon these proposals, declaring themselves fully convinced that nothing but an entire union could settle a perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquiesced in this reply, and both sides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening dispute. They were twiced addressed by the queen, who exhorted them to accept the articles of a treaty that would prove so advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finished, arranged, and mutually signed, on the twenty-second of July, and next day presented to his majesty. The whole of the treaty, and the palace of the exchange at the court, by the English court-keeper in the name of the English commissioners, as the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland: and such made the subjects of both countries, to which the observance returned a very gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law.

§ XLV. In this famous treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdom of Great Britain should be vested in the Princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England: that the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament: that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages: that they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs: that Scotland should not be subject to any extraordinary duties on some certain commodities: that the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom, in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England: that, as the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase, as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: that the sum to be paid at present, as well as the monies arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin, in paying off the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her majesty, and accountable to the parliament of Great Britain: that the laws concerning war, peace, trade, commerce, navigation, coinage, and revenue, should be the same throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for evident utility of the subject. There was also an act, that the Court of Session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, and then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the parliament of Great Britain: that all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and all other rights and jurisdictions, hereditary and ecclesiastical, as well as rights and property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland should remain entire after the union: that they should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland: that all peers of Scotland and the successors to their honors and dignities, should, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and should have rank and precedence next and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union; and before all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: that they should be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all privileges of peers, as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords; and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers: that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and regalia wherewith the crown of Scotland was attended, as they were attended that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland: that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as might be consistent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respectively legislative assembly of each kingdom; and the whole of the substance of that treaty of union which was so eagerly carried by the English ministry, and proved so unpalatable to the generality of the Scottish nation.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Battle of Ramillies, in which the French are defeated. § 11. The siege of Dunkirk by the English fleet. § 11§. Prince Palatine obtains a complete victory over the French in Turin. § 111. The Dutch organized a fleet, with a view to act against the French. § 1111. The French king determined to open negotiations for a peace. § VII. Meeting of the Scottish parliament. § XIII. Violent opposition to the union. § XV. Qualified and general assent to the treaty. § X. Which is nevertheless confirmed in their parliament. § XXVIII. Proceedings in the English parliament. § XXVI. The Commons oppose the articles of union. § XXIII. The Lords pass an act for the security of the union, and for its use against the articles of the union. § XXIV. Which, however, are confirmed by the Scotch parliament, after some violent opposition. § XXVI. The queen gives evidence to a Monsieur de la Morvan. § XXVIII. France threatened with total ruin. § XXIX. The allies are defeated at Almenau. § XXX. The English fleet set out for Dunkirk. § XXXII. Shrewsbury wrecked on the rocks of Scilly. Weakness of the enemy on the Upper Rhine. § XXXIII. The French conquer the Upper Rhine. § XXXIII. Failure in campaign in the Netherlands. § XXXIII. The Duke of Marlborough is created Duke of Marlborough. § XXXIII. The nation discontented with the whole ministry. § XXXII. The French are defeated at Minden. § XXXII. The allies remain at Dunkirk. § XXXIV. The Duke of Marlborough defeats the French at Ramillies. § XXXIII. State of the nation at that period, § XXXIII. Parliament dissolved. § XXXIII. The French restore Ghent and Bruges. § XXXIV. The French kind are defeated near Oudenarde. § XXXII. He allied himself with the Swedes at Freiberg. § XXXII. Duke of Brunswick attacks Breslau. § XXXII. Little success. § XXXIII. Conquest of Novara by General Stanhope. § XXXII. Battaie between the French and the Swedes near the Danube. § XXXII. The new parliament assembled. § XXXII. Naturalization act, &c. § XXXV. Dispute about the Monsieur de la Morvan's ambassadorship.

§ I. While this treaty was on the carpet at home, the allied armies proposed such a war against Spain, as the French king had resolved to make very considerable efforts in these countries; and, indeed, at the beginning of the year 1678, it is said that he had resolved, that, by the reduction of Turin and Barcelone, the war would be extinguished in Italy and Catalonia. He knew that he could out-number any body of forces that Prince Louis of Orange could raise; he should assemble, and be resolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the Duke of Marlborough. This nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter
end of April; and conferred with the States-General. Then he assembled the army between Borschlohn and Groes- 
Waren, and found it amounted, after the battle, to more than two thousand squadrons of horse and dragoons, well furnished with artillery and po-
toon. The court of France having received intelligence that the Dutch and Prussian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the Elector of Bavaria and the 
Mareschal de Villeroi to attack them before the junction could be effected. In pursuance of this order they passed the 
Dyle on the nineteenth day of May, and posted them-
selfs along the front of all Holland, in the hope of forcing the enemy to leave the army. There they were joined by the horse of the army commanded by Mareschal 
Marin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judouge. On Whit'sunday, early in the 
morning, the Duke of Marlborough advanced with his 
amy in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Next 
day the French generals perceiving the confederates so near them, took possession of a strong caup, the right extending to the tomb of Hautemont, on the side of the 
Maheugne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village of 
Ramillies being near their centre. The confederate army 
was divided into three battalions, and the right wing was 
Fitz on the brook of Yasse, and the left by the village of 
Franqueges, which the enemy had occupied. The duke 
ordered Lieutenant-General Schults, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking the French and driving them from their 
artillery. At the same time Velt-Mareschal D'Avrincques, 
the left, commanded Colnel Wurtzmaier, with 
four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the 
enemy's infantry posted near the hedges of Franqueges. 
Both these orders were successfully executed. The Dutch 
and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great 
vigor and intrepidity, but were so roughly handled by the 
troops of the Duke of Burgundy and the Dutch 
Artillery, that the former were driven back to give 
way, when the Duke of Marlborough sustained them 
with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn 
from the right, where a musquet prevented them from acting. 
In the mean time, he in person rallied some of the 
broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own 
horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must 
have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body 
of infantry come seasonably to his relief. When he re-
mounted his horse, the head of Col. Brienfield, his 
gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball 
whilehe held the duke's stirrup. Before the reinforcement 
arrived, the best part of the French musquetrerie were cut 
in pieces. All the troops posted in Ramillies were either 
killed or taken. The Duke of Burgundy began to retire in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry 
on their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines 
between Ossut and Anderkirk; but the English horse 
having found means to pass the rivulet which divided 
them from the enemy, fell upon them with such impetu-
sity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly 
slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. They now gave 
way on all sides. The horse fled three different ways; 
but were so closely pursued that very few escaped. 
The Elector of Bavaria, and the Mareschal de Villerox, 
saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several wagons 
of the enemy's van-guard breaking down in a narrow pass, 
osuallyPered such a manner, that the baggage and 
artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops 
defile in order. The victorious horse being informed of 
this accident pressed upon them so vigorously, that great 
numbers threw down their arms and submitted. The 
pursuit was followed through Judouge till two o'clock in 
the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and 
within two of Louvaine. In a word, the confederates 
overwhelmed his troops. The baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours, 
or standards, six hundred officers, six thousand private 
soldiers; and about eight thousand were killed or wound-
ed. 
Princ Maximilian and Prince Monbson lost their 
A French impale the loss of this battle in the manifest of Villeroi, 
or in a most narrative manner. When Rel returned to Versailles, as he expected to meet with nothing but re-

unsuccessful. Louis received him without the least mark of displeasure saying, 
Mr. Marshal, you and I are too old to be fortunate.
in order of battle within half cannon shot of the enemy. Then they advanced to the attack with surprising resolution, and met with such a warm reception from the Duke of Savoy that they were forced to retire. Prince Eugene perceiving this check, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the entrenchments at the first charge. The Duke of Savoy met with the same success in the center and on the right near Lucerno. The Duke of Orleans advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose; and breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and hastened their flight. The operations of the Po, while the Duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The Duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage; and received several wounds in the engagement. Marschal de Marsin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army about five thousand men were slain on the field of battle; a great number of officers, and upwards of seven thousand men, were taken, together with a hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burden, ten thousand horses belonging to the prisoners, the proportions of dragons, and the mules of the commissary-general, so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three million of livres. The loss of the confederates did not exceed three thousand men killed or disabled in the same manner. On the 22d, the Duke of Savoy, having drawn the siege of Turin, which had fallen since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interest of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the state of his affairs. He was told that the Duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin at the approach of Prince Eugene; but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The spirits of the French were a little comforted in consequence of Prince Eugene's repulse. Now the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Orléans, and the Duke of Guise, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories. He surprised the Prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the Adige, with the loss of two thousand men; but this victory was attended with no consequence in their favour. The Duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrisons were driven out of every place they occupied, in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates.

§ IV. Over and above these disaters, which the French sustained in the course of this campaign, they were miserably alarmed before they had entered Italy. The King of France, who was informed by the Marquis de Guiscard, who, actuated by a family disgust, had abandoned his country, and become a partisan of the confederates. He was declared a lieutenant-general in the emperor's army, and came over to London, after having settled a correspondence with the malcontents in the southern parts of France. He insinuated himself into the friendship of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved by the British ministry, and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons destined for that service. About eleven thousand men were embarked under the conduct of Earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery and the necessary supplies, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth day of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds, and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded upon such slight assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their proceeding to execution. An express was immediately despatched to the admiralty, with the report of this unfortunate event. Letters arrived at court from the Earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, adjuring succours with the most earnest entreaties. The expedition to France was immediately stopped. The Prince of Condé ordered to make the best of his way for Lisbon, there to take such measures as the state of the war in Spain should
reader necessary. Guiscard and his officers being set on shore, the fleet sailed with the first fair wind, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. On the twenty-eighth of November, a disease, which had portended the death of his eldest son and successor but eight years of age, was even more than his father influenced by a ministry which had private connections with the court of Valencia; he commanded Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Earl Rivers, being pressed by letters from Charles and the Earl of Galway, sailed to their assistance in the beginning of January; and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Alcant, from whence the Earl of Rivers proceeded by land to Valencia, at which place he died. The operations of the ensuing campaign being contested, and the army joined by the reinforcement from England, Earl Rivers, disliking the country, returned with the admiral to Lisbon.

§ V. Poland was at length delivered from the presence of the King of Sweden, who, in the beginning of September suddenly marched through Lusatia into Saxony; and in a little time laid that whole electorate under contribution. Augustus being thus cut off from all resource, resolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a secret treaty for this purpose. In the mean time the Poles and Muscovites attacked the Swedish foundations, and Poland, under the influence of famine routed them with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this event, Augustus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as true and rightful King of Poland, re-ensured the loss of his nearest province, and gave the confederates a not a little alarmed to find Charles in the heart of Germany, and the French court did not fail to court his alliance; but he continued on the reserve against all their solicitations. Then they implored his mediation for a peace; and he answered, that he would interpose his good offices, as soon as he should know he would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance.

The pride of Louis was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited the compassion of his enemies. He employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-general, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the Marquis d'Alençon. He likewise besought the Pope to interpose in his behalf. He offered in dote either Spain and the West Indies, or Marseilles and the city of Naples, to King Charles; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the Duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. Though his real aim was posterity, and not to be persuaded by the necessity of his situation, he hoped, that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her parliament of Scotland. She said, an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, liberty, and prosperity, remove the anxiety that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations; it would increase their strength, riches, and commerce: the whole island would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of danger, and might be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of their church, and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the union. She demanded the necessary supplies. She observed, that the great success with which God Almighty had blessed her arms afforded the greater prospect of a happy peace, with which they might enjoy the full advantages of this union; that they had no reason to doubt that the parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part to confirm the union, if it was with advantage to them, to be joined in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great Britain.

§ VIII. Juslito the articles of the union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people, but the treaty being read in parliament, and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared since the Restoration. The exiles or Jacobites had always foreseen that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a revolution in favour of a pretender. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commercial connections with foreign countries restricted, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. The barons, or gentlemen, were exasperated as a coalition, by which their parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their crown was betrayed, that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption, that whatever conditions might be offered, it would be better not to conclude, than be observed by a parliament in which the English had such a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their church would be exposed from a body of bishops, and a parliament of episcopal claims. Their greater consideration alarmed the presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in
walking the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced a universal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the most rigid puritans joined the cavillers in their censure of this measure, and, in order not to let this undue and illegal matter go unpunished, they proposed an investigation, not only of the treaty, but of the multiplicity of other mischiefs, which were alleged as the cause of the present condition of the kingdom. The first of these noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct, that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles. He was generally supposed to disapprove the claim of the queen; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English parliament, and forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain’s; but he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been inflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many shrewd arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union. One member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring pretender, to the liberties and boroughs of Scotland; for if the parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert, its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the parliament of Great Britain to assume the same power; that the representatives for Scotland would, from their own interest, connive at this and facilitate the means of corruption: and having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. What (said the Duke of Hamilton) shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are here none of the descendants of those worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against all invaders; who assisted the great King Robert Bruce to recover it for the first time for England, and the usurpation of Balliol? Where are the Douglases and Campbells? Where are the peers, where are the barons, once the bulwark of the nation! Shall we yield up the supremacy and independency of our country, when we are commanded by those we represent to preserve the same, and assured of their assistance to support us?”

The Duke of Athol protested against an incorporating union, as contrary to the honour, interest, fundamental laws, and constitution of the Kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the peers, the rights and privileges of the barons and boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the subjects. To this protest nineteen peers and forty-six members of the council added their names. Sir Francis Mackenzie entered a protest, importing, that no person being successor to the crown of England should inherit that of Scotland, without such previous limitations as might secure the honour and sovereignty of the Scottish crown and kingdom, the frequency and power of parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence. He was seconded by six-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the union, stipulating that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament, the country party observed, that, by ascertaining to this expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration; that in all avocations there are fundaments on which no power whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of parliament being one of these fundaments among the Scots, no parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of parliament; but that by this treaty the parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English parliament established. The other side argued, that though the legislative power in parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the constitutions with the rights and privileges of the country, was a subject of such importance to the nation, and did not, on this occasion, subsist in theuin, and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and to be represented in parliament. They affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long in London, in attendance on the British parliament, would disable Scotland of all its natural rights; impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another protest was entered by the Marquis of Annandale against an incorporating union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, and contrary to the sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the church as by law established. Fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article produced the strongest animadversions. This pretended law was pronounced, and the mschafis which would attend the union, in a pathetic speech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation. Addressed against the treaty were presented to parliament by the convention of burgouges, the commissioners of the general assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several shires, stewarries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of whig or tory, episcopal or presbyterian. The Earl of Buchan for the peers, Lockhart of Carnwath for the barons, Sir Walter Stuart for behalf of the peers, barons, and representaives of the Camerons, who served them as we, and themselves, as high-constable and earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of union.

§ 19. While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and resentment. The town of Edinburgh, with the great body of the Camerons, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries, burnt the articles of the union at the market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to Duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret. They reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the cavaliers; they resolved to take the road to Edinburgh, and, at the instance of the Earl of Athol undertook to secure the pass of Stirling with his highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thousand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the duke’s command, when that nobleman altered his opinion, and despatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further directions. The mistake of the soldiers accused his Grace of treachery; but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives. He alleged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprise, and that the Earl of Mar, upon his entering a protest, importing, that no person being successor to the crown of England should inherit that of Scotland, without such previous limitations as might secure the honour and sovereignty of the Scottish crown and kingdom, the frequency and power of parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence. He was seconded by six-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the union, stipulating that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament, the country party observed, that, by ascertaining to this expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration; that in all avocations there are fundaments on which no power whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of parliament being one of these fundaments among the Scots, no parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of parliament; but that by this treaty the parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English parliament established. The other side argued, that though the legislative power in parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the constitutions with the rights and privileges of the country, was a subject of such importance to the nation, and did not, on this occasion, subsist in theuin, and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had
They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful nation, and therefore resolved to throw off the pretended, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promises, and partly by corruption, to bring over the Earls of Roxburgh and Sunderland, with the whole court to whom bad known to be unproportioned to the court. They disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promising to act as an interest in the union, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all, and that the church was a dummy to the treaty. They sought the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent. They employed emusaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disuade them from the causers, by canting, praying, and demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition.

These remonstrances were reinforced by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which the queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the runymine in such a manner as might best conduce to the success of the treaty. By these practices they diminished, they opposed, and obtained a considerable major in parliament, which cut out all opposition. Not but that the Duke of Queensberry at one time despaired of succeeding, and being in danger of losing his life, by quitting the calling the parliament, until time and good management he should be able to remove those difficulties that then seemed to be insurmountable. But the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, who foresaw that the measure would be entirely lost by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, insisted upon his proceeding. It was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the bill was brought to the Commons, and prepared for the articles of the union, with some small variation. They then prepared an act for regulating the election of the sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent Scotland in the British parliament. This being touched with the sceptre, the three estates proceeded to elect their representatives. The remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was scandalously misapplied. On the twenty-fifth day of March the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having, in a short speech, taken notice of the honour they had acquired in the court of Scotland, by their zeal and industry. Having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, he set out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horseback. Next day he waited upon the queen at Kensington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another instance upon record, of a ministry having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people. The Scots were persuaded that their trade would be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their rights impounded, in consequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or, at best, prove ineffectual. But we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated; that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmountable by union, when those who are benefited are satisfied with the execution of any great project; and that many schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment.

X. The English parliament assembling on the third day of December, the queen, in her speech to both Houses, congratulated them on the glorious successes of her arms. She desired the Commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this successful campaign. She told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under consideration of the two parlia-

ments; and she recommended despatch in the public affairs, that both friends and enemies might be convinced of the firmness and vigour of their proceedings. The parliament was perfectly well disposed to comply with all her majesty's requests. Warm addresses were presented by both Houses. Then they proceeded to the consideration of the supply, and having examined the estimates in less than a week, voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year. Nevertheless, during the acceptance of these provisions arose. They found that the extraordinary supplies for the support of King Charles of Spain, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sums provided by parliament. Some members argued that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry could thus ruin the nation in debt, and expect the parliament should pay the money. The courtiers answered, that if any thing had been raised without necessity, or ill applied, it was reasonable that those who were in fault should be punished; but, as this expense was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to parliament, the ministry was rather to be applauded for their zeal than condemned for their liberalism. Thus being put, the majority voted that those sums had been expended for the preservation of the Duke of Savoy, for the interest of King Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety of the Hanoverian succession. As the speaker presented the money bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so it was on less supposing that the Commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that the parliament was sitting. The general was again honoured with the thanks of both Houses. The Lords in an address, besought the queen to settle the Scotch Commons, that the Commons might be passed for this purpose; and in pursuance of another address from the Commons, a pension of five thousand pounds out of the post-office was settled upon him and his descendants. The Lords and Commons having adjourned themselves to the last day of December, the queen closed the year with triumphal processions. As the standards and colours taken at Blenheim had been placed in Westminster-hall, so now those that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in Guildhall, as trophies of that victory. About this time, the Earl of Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston, were raised to the rank of marquesses. The Lords Wharton, Paulet, Godolphin, and Bolingbroke, with their sisters, were naturalized, and her apparrel to the Earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of Earl of Bindon: the Lord Keeper Cowper, and Sir Thomas Pelham, were ennobled as barons.

XII. The parliament being assembled after their short recess, the Earl of Nottingham moved for an address to the queen, desiring her majesty would order the proceedings of the commissioners for the union, as well as those of the Scottish parliament on the said subject, be laid before them. He was seconded by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Rochester; and answered by the Earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her majesty would communicate those proceedings, as soon as the Scotch parliament should have disposed of the subject of the union. The Lords Wharton, Somers, and Halfax, observed, that it was for the honour of the nation that the treaty of union should, first come ratified from the parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the Lords to take it into consideration. On the twenty-eighth day of January, the queen in person told both Houses, that the bills for the union were to be completed by the alteration suggested by an act of the Scotch parliament: that she had ordered it to be laid before them; and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She desired the Lords gave the great scheme of the union so tolerably well, in case the treaty should be approved. She observed to both Houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two king-
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["A. D. 1706.—Book I.

doms; and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in time. The Commons, therefore, provided themselves with a committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish Act of Ratification, the tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections. Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. He said it was a union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without; that the promoters of it had been guilty of such perfidy as to induce the King against his own interest, to consent to it. He said to the judgment of the House, to consider whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their House of representatives. He observed that her majesty, by the coronation oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom. Now, said he, after this union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her majesty? It is not the business of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wishers to the church of England. It is then only the part of the bishops to do it; and can it be supposed that such men as will act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the presbyterian church-government in the united kingdom? He added, that the church of England being established jure divinum, and the Scots presbyterian church erected at will, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential an article could unite; he, therefore, thought it proper to consult the parliament on this critical point. A motion was made that the first article of the treaty, which implies a preambular agreement to an incorporating union, should be postponed; and that the House should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union, containing three articles. The proposal being read, some tory members quitted the House; and all the articles were examined and approved without further opposition. The whigs were so exact in the prosecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very superficial manner, and with such precipitation as furnished their enemies with a plausible pretence to affirm that they had not considered the treaty with the coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

41. Before the Lords began to investigate the articles of the union, they, at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of it. It passed the House without opposition, and received the royal assent. On the fifteenth day of February, the debates concerning the union began in the House of Lords, the queen being present, and the Bishop of Sarum chairman of the committee. The Earls of Rochester, Anglesea, and Nottingham, argued against the union; as did the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lord Haversham, in a premeditated bararque, and the question was, Whether two nations independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interest, their different forms of worship, church-government, and order, should be united into one kingdom? He supposed it a union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such part that the kirk was as the best, that such an union would never take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling under and breaking in pieces every moment. He repeated what had been said by Lord Bacon, that a unity paved up by direct admission of contadictories in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay, they may cleave together, but would never incorporate. He dis- sented from the words of Sir Harford, who embraced all the Scottish constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and these too returned by a Scottish privy council. He took notice, that twenty-five hundred Scotch ecclesiastics, and as many lay sages, were excluded from sitting and voting to parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there, as an English peer had of sitting in the parliament of England. He expressed his apprehension of this precedent; and asked what security any peer of England and peer of Scotland, or any earl, marquis, duke, or lords had not. He said, if the bishops would break their own cause, so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church-government in Scotland, as the true protestant religion and purity of worship; they must give up that which had been contended for between them and the presbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the Kirk of Scotland to the utmost of their strength. He objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superstities were reserved. He affirmed that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation; that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold as to reach even to the doors of the parliament; that the parliament itself had suspended their beloved clausse in the act of security for arming the people: that the government had issued a proclamation promising all salvation, bloodshed, and maiming committed upon those who should be found in tumults. From these circumstances he concluded, that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporating union, which would make them mere ciphers in that union, and subjected them to the experiments in both nations. Lords North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the lands, taxes imposed upon Scotland. The Earl of Nottingham had already at it, and the Scots were not the worse for it by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little towards the expense of the government, should moreover have such a round sum by way of equivalent. The same topics were insisted upon by the Lords of North and Grey, on the customs, the minister-hall, the fortresses in Scotland, and the duties of Scotland. The Earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article separately, concluded with words to this effect: "As Sir John Maynard said to the late king at the revocation of the massacre, that in his opinion a degree of union, that he did not fear, was to be asked for; and that in this union any prince should be afraid to come in, in consideration of the greatness of the advantage: that the chief dangers to which the church was exposed arose from France and popery; and this union would effectually secure it against these evils; that Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, which could not be defended but by an expensive army. Should a war break out between the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that case it would be necessary to keep it under with a standing army, which any enterprising prince might model for his ambitious purposes, and joining with the Scots, enslave his English dominion; that any union after a conquest would be compulsory, consequently of short duration; whereas now it was voluntary, it would be lasting: that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, all burdens and anomalies might be allayed by soft and gentle management. The cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different religion, were yet united in one general bond; and the confededes of Germany were preserved as princes and states, among whom three different persuasions prevailed: so that two sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one legislature. If there was any danger in either, it was that good old English freedom of the most durable; and, as it was five hundred and thirteen members could certainly be too hard for forty-five; and in the House of Lords, six-and-twenty bishops would always proportionately prevent the opposition made by the lords of the toy interest, every article was approved by a great majority, though not with-
out a good number of protestations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the lower House by Sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor-general, in such a manner as to remove all reason to doubt the intention of the articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both parliaments for the security of the set public revenue; and in conclusion there was one clause, by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, those who were designing to stultify new difficulties found themselves obliged to pass from punishment. The latter could not object to the recall, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose the general enacting clause. On the other hand, the whigs promised it with such zeal that it passed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen, before the others had recollectted themselves from the surprise which the structure of the bill had occasioned. It made its way through the House of Lords with equal despatch; and, when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. She said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. The law of nature, the kinship, the interest, should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people.

A. D. 1707.

§ XV. As the act of union did not take place till the first of May, a great number of traders in both kingdoms resolved to take advantage of this interval. The English proposed to export into Scotland such commodities as entitled them to drawback, with a view to bring them back after the first of May. The Scots on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than those in England, intended to import great quantities of such articles, and to sell them for a greater advantage in England after the union, when there would be a free intercourse between the two nations. Some of the munsters had embarked in this fraudulent design, which alarmed the merchants of England to such a degree, that they presented a remonstrance to the Commons. Resolutions were immediately taken in the House against these practices, and a bill was prepared; but the Lords apprehending that it in some measure infringed the articles of the Union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottish nation, it was dropped. The fraud was in a good measure prevented by the previous resolutions of the House; and the first day of May was not at all brought to the test of necessity. On the twenty-fourth day of April the queen prorogued the parliament, after having given them to understand, that she would continue by proclamation the Lords and Commons already assembled, as members in the first British parliament on the part of England, pursuant to the powers vested in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, ratifying the treaty of union. The parliament was accordingly revolved by proclamation, and another issued to convocate the first parliament of Great Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the queen, who bestowed on the title of duke on the Earl of Rochburgh and Montrose. She likewise granted a commission for a new privy council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next session of parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England: but the university of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots presented to the queen a number of verses, which was not acceptable. The latter was accordingly revolved by proclamation, and another issued to convocate the first parliament of Great Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the queen, who bestowed on the title of duke on the Earl of Rochburgh and Montrose. She likewise granted a commission for a new privy council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next session of parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England: but the university of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots presented to the queen a number of verses, which was not acceptable.

§ XVI. In the course of this session the Commons, in an address to the queen, desired she would re-settle the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis in the West Indies, which had been neglected by her predecessors. The latter addressed to the queen, praying she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pirates who had made a settlement on the island of Madagascar, as also for recovering and preserving the ancient possession, trade, and fisheries in Newfoundland. The French refugees likewise delivered a petition to the queen, praying she would prevent the persecution of the Protestants in France which the persecuted protestants in France had resided from the assistance of her royal predecessors, acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among the people by whom they had been kindly treated when driven from their native country, and improving her majesty's interposition and good offices in favour of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. She graciously received this address, declaring, she had always been and would continue to be the protector of the protestants in France; that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies; and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken as should sufficiently answer the intent of their petition. In the month of May she granted an audience to an ambassador extraordinary from the Czar of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his master, containing complaints of King Augustus, who had instigated the Russian troops sent to his assistance, concluded a dishonourable peace with Charles King of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies, and surrendered Count Patkul, the Muscovite minister, as a deserter, to the Swedish monarch, contrary to the law of nations. She declared she would shun all communication with the Czar; that she desired her Britannic majesty would use her good offices to prevent the enlargement of the Count, and the other Russian prisoners detained at Stockholm; and that she would take proper care to prevent the Russian auxiliaries upon the Isthme, that they might enter into the service of the allies, or be at liberty to return in safety to their own country. The queen actually interposed in behalf of Patkul; but her intercession proved ineffectual, and that unhappy minister was put to death with all the circumstances of wanton barbarity. As many severe sentences, and sarcastic writings had lately appeared, in which the whigs and ministry were reviled and reflections hinted to the prejudice of the queen, the queen was desired to solve to make examples of the authors and publishers of these licentious productions. Dr. Joseph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verses entitled, "The Country Poiser's Advice to the Lord Keeper," and after which be afterwards wrote to Mr. Secretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey, underwent the same sentence, as author of a pamphlet, called, "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the Church of England." Edward Ward was fixed and set in the pillory, for having written a burlesque poem on the times, under the title of "Hudibras Redivivus"; and the same punishment was inflicted upon William Pitee, author of a performance entitled," The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated."
repeated. About this period the Earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the secretaries of state, in the room of Sir Charles Nicholls. This change won great opposition from Harley, who was in his heart an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, and all his adherents; and had already, by his secret intrigues, made considerable progress in a scheme for superseding the influence of the Duke in the councils of the kingdom.

§ XVIII. The French king at this juncture seemed to be entirely abandoned by his former good fortune. He had sustained such a number of successive defeats as had devoured the kingdom of personages and soldiers; and his treasury was quite exhausted:

He had endeavoured to support the credit of his government by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank notes of England; but notwithstanding all his pretexts, they passed at a discount of three-and-fifty per cent. The lands lay uncultivated; the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the subjects perished with famine. The allies, on the other hand, seemed to prosper in every quarter. They had become masters of the greatest part of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory at Ramillies: the army of King Charles was considerably reinforced: a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon, by the troops of the emperor and the English; supplies were collected by means of the Queen Anne, and assisted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel. In a word, France seemed to be reduced to the worst extremity, from which nothing could have saved her but the jealousy and misconduct of the confederates. Louis, by virtue of his capitulation with the emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain, as turned the fortune of the war in that country; while the distractions in the council of King Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence, without which no success can be expected. The Earl of Peterborough declared against an offensive war, on account of the difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile; and advised the Emperor Charles to trust to the expedition against Toulon. This opinion he sent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

§ XIX. Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they should appear. On the thirteenth day of March the army was assembled at Caudiel, to the number of sixteen thousand men; under the auspices of the Marquis del Menas, to whom the Earl of Galway was second in command. They marched towards Yecla, and under took the siege of Vílora; but, having received intelligence that the Duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth day of April in four columns towards the city of Almansa, which was drawn up in order of battle, their number being considerably superior to that of the confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The English and Dutch stood on the left, supported by the Portuguese. Each of the second line, were overpowered after a gallant resistance. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, oblied the enemy to give way, and drove their first upon their second line: but the Portuguese cavalry on the right being broken at their first charge, their foot betook themselves to flight; so that the English and Dutch troops being left naked on the thanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite spent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhausted: they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their former habits of provision, and cut off from all hope of supply. Moved by these dismal considerations, they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese, guard the baggage, retreated to Alcera, where they were joined by the Earl of Galway, with about five-and-twenty hundred dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle. About two hundred men of the allied army were killed upon the spot, and among that number Brigadier Killigrew, with many officers of distinction. The Earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guscuard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face. The Marquis del Menas was run through the arm, and saw his concubine, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side: the Lords Tyrwhali, Mark Ker, and Colonel Clayton, were wounded: all their artillery, together with a hundred and thirty thousand francs' worth of baggage, and ten thousand men, were taken; so that no victory could be more complete: yet it was not purchased without the loss of two thousand men slain in the action, including some officers of eminence. The Duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of King Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behaviour before and during the engagement; but his authority was superseded by the Duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This prince seemed to entertain some private views of his own; for he took no effectual step to improve the victory. He began a private negotiation with the Earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay; and at length agreed to the sum of money to be paid to the Earl, the merchants, and others, and a scheme for the surrender of Toulon, to be carried into execution. He embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and General Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to King Charles.

§ XX. The attempt upon Toulon by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body through the plains of Maestricht towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty. Besides, ten thousand recruits destined for the imperial forces in Italy were detained in Germany, from apprehension of the King of Sweden, who remained in Savoy, and seemed to be upon very indifferent terms with the emperor. With the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets, the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene passed the Var on the eleventh day of July, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whether the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined squadrons. The French king was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as five thousand of the enemy, in the best part of his fleet, were in the harbour of Toulon, and ran the greatest risk of being entirely taken or destroyed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with consternation, when they learned their enemy was in the bosom of their country. The emperor resolved to leave no stone unturned for the relief of the place, and his subjects exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner for its preservation. The nobility of the adjacent provinces armed their servants and tenants, at the head of whom they marched into the city: they coned their plate, and pawned their jewels for money to pay the workmen employed upon the fortifications; and such industry was used, that in a few days the town and harbour, which had been greatly neglected, were put in a good posture of defence. The allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries. From these they began to cannonade and bombard the town, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole, and co-operated in the siege with their guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison was numerous, and defended the place with great vigour. They sunk ships in the harbour to the depth of fifteen feet, generated a prodigious fire from the ramparts: they made desperate
sallies, and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French king, alarmed at this design of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon to counteract it. The artillery being too few, he ordered the forces that were on route to improve the victory of Almazia: a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhone was detached to Provence, and the court of Versailles declared the negotiators of Burgundy should march at the head of a strong army to the relief of Toulon.

The Duke of Savoy being apprized of these preparations, seeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehensive that his passage would be intercepted, resolved to abandon it and retreat on the wing from the enemy's encampment, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, under favour of a terrible bombardment and cannonading from the English fleet, and retreated to his own country without molestation. 22 Then he undertook the reduction of Susa, the garnison of which surrendered at discretion. By this conquest he not only secured the key to his own dominions, but also opened to himself a free passage into Dalmatia.

§ XXI. Sir Cloudesley Shore having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the twenty-second of June. About eight o'clock at night, his own ship, the Association, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the Eagle and the Romney: the Freestyle was dashed to pieces on the rock, and the boat found two men were drowned in the boat; the Phoenix was driven on shore: the Royal Anne was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the St. George, commanded by Lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her astern again. The admiral's body was cast ashore, and stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred. Sir John Abbey and Sir Cloudesley Shore were born of mean parentage to the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea, by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity. In the Upper Rhine the allies were unprospers. The Prince of Baden was dead, and the German army so inconsiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Blud against the Mareschal de Villars, who broke through this work, esteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Halsatt, defeated a body of horse, laid the duchy of Wurtemberg under contribution, took Stuttgard and Schondorf; and routed three thousand Germans entrenched at Lorch, under the command of General Janus, who was made prisoner. In all probability the states have ventured too much in order to the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to stop in the middle of his career, in consequence of his army's being diminished by sending off detachments to Provence. The imperial army retar-ded Hailseron, and the command of it was, at the request of the emperor and allies, assumed by the Elector of Hanover, who restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection; but he had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprise of importance.

22 Had the Duke of Savoy marched with expedition from the Var, he would have been forced upon Charles; but he lingered in such a manner as gives reason to believe he was not weary in the enterprise: and his expedition did not fail short of him, being known by Prince Eugene.

§ XXII. In the month of April, the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Leipsic with a letter from the queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whose designs on Germany were still so menacing. The British king had sent help being alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. The duke was pushed upon as the most proper ambassador, to soothe his vanity and penetrate into his real intentions. He found this real character not such, but recorded in his appearance and economy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English general assailed him on the side of his vanity, that part by which he was accessible. "Sure," said he, "I am not so far from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me, to learn under so great a sovereign as your majesty what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seems to have been calculated for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, without any sense of the present situation. He pressed particular veneration for Queen Anne, as well as for the person of her ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance. Nevertheless, the sincerity of this declaration has been questioned. This is the case with all the actions of his minister, Count Piper, to their interest. Certain it is, he most un decorously sought occasion to quarrel with the emperor, and treated him with great insolence, until he submitted to all his demands. The treaty being concluded upon the terms he thought proper to impose, he had no longer the least shadow of pretence to continue his disputes with the court of Vienna: and therefore began his search for Poland, which was by this time overrun by the Czar of Muscovy.

§ XXIII. The Duke of Marlborough returning from Saxony, assembled the allied army at Andelbrach near Brussels, about the middle of May; and, understanding that the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Vendome, who commanded the French forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to Sogna, with a design to engage them in the plain of Fleurs. But receiving certain intelligence that the enemy were greatly superiority in the allies in number, by the help of drafts from all the garrisons, he retreated towards Brussels, and took post at Milttert; while the French advanced to Gemblours. Both armies lay in such a way towards one another as to render the establishment of the treaty towards Provence. Then the Duke of Marlborough and General D'Avusenerque resolved to attack them in their fortiest camp at Gemblours. But they retreated with such celerity from one post to another, that the confederates could not come up with them until they were entirely encamped with the right at Ponta-Tresin, and their left under the cannon of Lisle, covered with the river Scheldt, and secured by entrenchments. The allies chose their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, with an alliance of the enemy: but nothing could in-
duce them to hazard an engagement; and both armies went into winter quarters in the latter end of October. The Duke of Marlborough set out for Frœnkfort, where he conferred with the Electors of Hanover, Hannover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign; then he returned to the Hague, and having concerted the necessary arrangements, the deputies of the States-General, embarked for England the beginning of November.

§ XXIV. The queen's private favour was now shifted to a new object. The Duchess of Marlborough was supplied by her own authority, her own means, whom she had rescued from indignity and obscurity. This favourite succeeded to that ascendancy over the mind of her sovereign which the duchess had formerly possessed. She was more humble, pliable, and obliging, than her first patroness, who had played the tyrant and threatened the queen in some of her most respected maxims. Her majesty's propriety in favour of the Tories and high-churchmen was no longer insolently condemned and violently opposed. The new candidate conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her designs with assent and approbation.

In political intrigues she acted as associate, or rather auxiliary, to Mr. Secretary Harley, who had immunized himself into the queen's good graces; and determined to be the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and Earl of Godolphin. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own auspices, and expel the whigs from the advantage they then enjoyed. The governor's chief conductor in this scheme, was Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising, whose talents were rather precocious than solid, and whose principles were loose and fluctuating. He was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to the designs of the secretary: but when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was freed from the medium of the minister's government; and from the sphere of his minister raised himself to the character of his rival. These politicians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted themselves to rally and establish the Tories, who were given to understand, that the queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the whigs: that she had been always a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party; and that she could now exhibit manifest proof of her inclination. She accordingly bestowed the bishopric of Chester and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished character, had openly opposed the revolution.

§ XXV. The people in general began to be sick of the whig ministry, whom they had formerly caressed. To them it imputed the burdens under which they groaned; the miseries which had grown to such a degree to bear by the pomp of triumph, and uninterrupted success. At present they were discouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miscarriage of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudsley Shovel, and the fate of four ships of the line, destroyed or taken by a squadron under the command of Messieurs Forbin and Du Gignon Trouin, two of the most enterprising sea-officers in the French service. No new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow: the English traders had lately sustained repeated losses for want of proper conveys; the coin of the nation was cara and debased; and the ambition of eclipsing his principal, and from the sphere of his minister raised himself to the character of his rival. These politicians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted themselves to rally and establish the Tories, who were given to understand, that the queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the whigs: that she had been always a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party; and that she could now exhibit manifest proof of her inclination. She accordingly bestowed the bishopric of Chester and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished character, had openly opposed the revolution.

so that the generality of the Scottish nation loudly exclaimed against the union and the government. The Jacobites were again in commotion. They held conferences: they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germain's: a great number of the most rigid whigs entered so far into their measures, as to think a revolution was absolutely necessary to the safety of the government. Under the influence of these considerations, they endeavored to make the English people think of a separation of the two kingdoms, and threw themselves into an insurrection. They raised money in greater quantities than ever before, and organized matters more effectually than before. The government was alarmed. The queen was seized with anxiety. She had recourse to her saucepans, resolved, that the kingdom had been put to excessive charge, by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late taxes, as due out of the forfeited estates, which returns were false and unjust, and, that an humble representation should be laid before her majesty on this subject. They passed another laudable resolution in favour of their own manufactures. They granted the necessary supplies, and having finished several bills for the royal assent, were prorogued on the twenty-sixth day of October.

§ XXVI. It was on the twenty-third of the same month, that the queen determined to dismiss the legislature at Westminster, when the queen, in her speech to both houses, palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain; represented the necessity of making further efforts against the rebellion in the two kingdoms; and the necessity of calling upon the guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the commonwealth. The Commons, in their address, expressed the coyness of their former zeal and devotion to the government; but in the House of Lords, the Earl of Wilmington expressed his apprehension of the necessity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. He was seconded by Lord Somers, and the leaders of the tory party, who proposed, that previous to every measure, there should be a committee to examine the necessity of the measure. The design of Wharton and Somers was to raise the Earl of Oxford once more to the head of the admiralty; and the tories, who did not possess their drift, answered, that they could do no harm without the concurrence of the allegiance upon the whig ministers. A day being fixed for this examination, the house received a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great loss by sea, for want of cruisers and resources; and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The report was sent to the lord admiral, who answered all the articles paragraphed: they should convene for an address, in which they should declare their minds to his majesty, and informed the same, that the minority of Scotland should be on the same footing with that of England: that the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same, through the whole island: that the lords of justiciary in Scotland should go on with their sessions as before: that the Scotch members of commons should be directed, and returned, in the same manner as practised in England. An act being formed on these resolutions, the king in council, in June, in the month of June, in Portugal: then they considered the state of the war in Spain.

§ XXVII. When the queen passed these bills, she recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the army, and increased the quantity of wines and spirits exported from thence into England, were made in all the northern parts with an affection of severity and disdain:
Peterborough were extolled by the Earl of Rochester and Lord Haversham, who levelled some oblique reflections at the Earl of Galway. Several lords enlarged upon the necessity of carrying on the war until King Charles should be driven from his throne by the fruits of his unfaithfulness.

The Earl of Peterborough said they ought to contribute nine shipfuls in the pound rather than make peace on any other terms: he declared himself ready to return to Spain, and serve every one under the Earl of Galway. The Earl of Rochester represented a system of the old Duke of Schomberg, that attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns. He therefore proposed, that the allies should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and decline any operation in divers letters or written decrees, or even to ask a truce of the Catalans. He was seconded by the Earl of Nottingham; but warmly opposed by the Duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered could not be preserved without a considerable number of men; and that if the Spanish should gain any advantage in Flanders their superiority in point of number, the discontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with patience the burthen of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace. Being challenged by Rochester to show how troops could be procured for the service in Italy and Spain, he assured the House, that measures had been already concerted with the emperor for that service. Then he added, that the Duke of Savoy, for sending powerful succours to King Charles. This declaration finished the debate, which issued in an affectionate address to her majesty. The Lords did not, but one private measure the more, make any demonstrations of the Queen or her advisors. The ministry finding it strenuously supported by all the peers, and a considerable number of the other faction, would have compromised the design, by proposing that the privy council of Scotland should convene the day of October. They hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections; but their design being palpable, the motion was overruled, and the late court of the Stannaries, for reasons of the supply, which amounted to the enormous sum of six millions.

§ XXVIII. At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred the censure from the French cabinet. The Ducreux, inferior clerk in his office, who was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamiard, the French king's minister. When his practices were detected he made an ample confession, and pleading guilt to his indictment at the Old Bailey, was condemned to death for high treason.

At the same time, John Bara and Alexander Caliere were committed to Newgate, for corresponding with the enemy, and Claude Bunde, secretary to the Duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehehended for traitorous practices against her majesty and her government. A committee of seven lords being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the House, which were transmitted to the town, and the whole public. It is apparent, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French minister; that Alexander Caliere and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the governors and commanders-in-chief. The Duke of Savoy, and all probable, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruisers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant ships proceeded on their voyages: that all the papers in the office of Mr. Secretary Harley had been destroyed in a considerable time; that they were kept by the most trusted clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be infatuated upon this particular subject. The Earl of Marlborough, in his address to the House of Commons, declared that he must, in hopes of making some important discovery: but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an ignobls Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamiard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery; but he was discovered before he had reaped any advantage. And this was an instance of so small a part of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable communications, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him to declare the whole.

§ XXIX. The queen had refused to admit the Earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which King Charles had complained in divers letters and written decrees. He was consequently divorced from his ministerial duty. His military proceedings, his negotiations, his disposal of the remittances, were taken into consideration by both Houses; but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the inquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great defection in the English troops at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service. But the duke of Marlborough added, that a more complete met with a vigorous opposition in the House of Lords from the court party, on account of the clause enacting, That, after the first of May, there should be no more troops raised in this kingdom. The ministry finding it strenuously supported by all the tories, and a considerable number of the other faction, would have compromised the design, by proposing that the privy council of Scotland should convene the day of October. They hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections; but their design being palpable, the motion was overruled, and the late court of the Stannaries, for reasons of the supply, which amounted to the enormous sum of six millions.

The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, being apprised of his secret practices in this matter, pressed thematter forward, and were not to be deterred. They served her no longer, should Mr. Harley continue in the post of secretary. Being summoned to the cabinet council, they waited on her person and expostulated on the necessity of taking some decisive measures. They were received with the utmost clemency; and she affected to treat them with soft persuasion, which had no effect; and when they retired from court, to the astonishment of all the spectators, she repaired in person to the council. There Mr. Secretary Harley began to explain the cause of their meeting, which was some circumstance relating to foreign affairs. The Duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters while the general and treasurer were absent: the other members observed a motion was made, and the queen found herself in danger of being abandoned by her ministers. Next day her majesty sent for the Duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign the place, and to make his resignations. The Duke of Marlborough went to the chamber, and said, that his resignation would be presented to the queen, that he and Lord Boyce, chancellor of the exchequer, but she deeply received the department of the duke and the Earl of Godolphin, from whom she entirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, the Earl of Somers, comptroller of the household, and Mr. St. John, relinquished their several posts under the disgrace of Harley.

§ XXX. The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a threatened invasion from France. The court of St. Germain's had sent over a colonel to Scotland, to learn the situation, number, and abilities of the pretender's friends in that country. This minister, by his misconduct, produced a division among the Scots, and the prevalence of his Jacobite principles. As he had his own interest, he attached himself wholly to the Duke of Athol, and those other zealous partisans who were bent upon receiving the
pretender without conditions; and he neglected the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl Marschal, and other adherents of that house, who adopted the more moderate principle advanced by the Earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made such a favourable report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation, that Louis resolved to equip an armament, and send over the pretender to that kingdom. His presence was considered that prince on the throne of his ancestors: but his real aim was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which should hinder Queen Anne from executing her own designs against France, and her own continent. Hence he began to make preparations for this expedition at Dunkirk, where a squadron was assembled under the command of the Chevalier de Furbon; and a body of land forces were embarked with Monsieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the Mariscal de Matignon. The pretender, who had assumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich clothes for his guards, splendid lances, and all sorts of necessary even to profusion. Louis at parting presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to this adventurer's father: "He hoped he should never see him again (blasphemous traitor!) to the expense of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious inscriptions, which were wrought upon his colours and standards. Queen Anne being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French minister, she sent a mean present for advice to which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands, touching the destination of the Dunkirk armament: both houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would外壳 her majesty with their lives and fortunes against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all her other enemies. Then they passed a bill, enacting, That the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted rebels. By this means, the halberd armed, was act October, with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices. The pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chief who should take up arms against her majesty. 

Transport were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend; a large fleet being equipped with considerable diligence, sailed from Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Bung, and Lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unpowdered of war; so that they were amazed and frightened when this vessel, having made a stop, was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops: frequent express were dispatched to Paris: the Count de Furbon represented to the French king the utter ruin of the pretender, and the danger that would attend the attempt; but he received postive orders in embark the forces, and set sail with the first favourable wind.

§ XXII. The British fleet being forced from their station by severe weather on the fourteenth day of March, the French squadron sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk; but the wind shifting, it anchored in Newport-Duiks till the nineteenth in the evening, when they set sail again with a fair breeze, the wind having detached a squadron, under Admiral Launay, to convey the troops under the command of Lord Newburgh. On the tenth day of March, the queen went to the House of Peers, where, in a speech to both houses, she told them that the French fleet had sailed; that Sir George Bung was in command; and that the troops were expected every day in England. This information was followed by various warm addresses from the Lords and Commons, in which they repeated their assurances to make her Majesty free from all her enemies. They exhorted her to persevere in supporting the common cause, notwithstanding this petty attempt to disturb her dominions; and levelled some severe insinuations against the Jesuits, whose designs were to establish in France the Pretender's majesty and her most faithful servants. Addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the kingdom; so that the queen seemed to look with contempt upon the designs of the enemy. Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, began their march for Scotland: the Earl of Leven, the commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edin- burgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to invite the Pretender to his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Bung rendered all these precautions unnecessary. He sailed directly to the firth of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English admiral gave chase; and the Saumane, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night Monsieur de Furbon altered his course, so that next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Furbon seemed willing to gratify his request: but the wind changing, and having unchained his adventurers, he began the dance of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and, with the consent of the Chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather. In the meantime, the Pretender wrote to the queen, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they laboured.}

§ XXIII. Certain it is, the pretender could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the union: the regular troops were composed of the four hundred thousand men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader: the castle of Edin- burgh was instituted of amniation, and would in all apperance have surrendered at the first summons; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equiva lent money lodged in that fortress; n good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammuation, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been taken by the fronds of the pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms. In England, such a demand was made upon the commons of England, where the Jacobites, who dreaded a revolution, that the public credit seemed to be in danger. The Commons resolved, that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, engagin the state, and those who had been enriched with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdeemor, and an enemy to her majesty and the kingdom. The lord treasurer signified to the directors of the bank, that her majesty would allow for six months an interest of six per cent, upon their bills, which was double the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this noblemen, as well as by the Duke of Newcastle, for Scotland. The French Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the bank, exerted themselves for its support; and the directrs, having called in twenty per cent upon their capital, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected. All the noblemen and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of an attachment to the Pretender, were either sent into gaol, or imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among these was the Duke of Hamilton, who found means to escape, and repaired to France, where, in a little time, the other prisoners were admitted to bail, and ship escape, and repaired to London, according about this time the appel-
On the first day of April, the parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by proclamation. Writs were issued for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the peers of North Britain to assemble at Holyroodhouse, and the French advanced to Flanders to cross the Scheldt, and elect sixteen peers to represent them in the ensuing British parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. After the dissolution of the parliament, the legislature of Scotland, continuing the same council of ministers,גו ויריב, and several Scottish and Irish officers, who had been taken on board the Salisbury, were brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, or in Newgate. Lord Grey, among them, was detained till the assassination committed in the reign of William, was brought to the bar of the court of king's bench, and a rule made for his execution; but he was remanded from month to month, until he died of a natural death in prison. The privy council of Scotland was dissolved; the Duke of Queensberry was created a British peer, by the title of Baron of Rippon, Marquis of Beverley, and Duke of Dover; and the office of secretary at war, vacated by the resignation of Henry Pelham, was made over to the Duke of Ancaster. A gentleman who had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, and whose conduct we shall have occasion to mention more at large in the sequel. About the middle of the month, the detachment towards the protection of the shipping, in certain proportions, to the different officers and seamen of the royal navy; a regulation that still prevails.

The French king, not at all discouraged by the enemy's successes, had determined to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign, and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, considering the consummate state of his finances. He assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops in the province of Brabant, and the Duke of Berwick; and the Mareschal de Villeroi was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné. About the latter end of March, the Duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene; those celebrated generals conferred with the Pensionary Heinsius, and the deputies of the States-general. Then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed upon the elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his present condition. The British and Hanoverian confederates were now pressed so hard that the confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands. The prince proceeded to Vienna, and the duke immediately returned to Flanders, which was invested, and was invested with the May. On the twenty-fifth day of that month, the Duke de Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the confederates, who were encamped at Billingen and Halie. The Duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine-la-Luëve, concluded their intention was to take post on the banks of the Dyle, to hinder the allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. He, therefore, commanded the army to march all night, and on the third day of June encamped at Terhank, General D'Anquerque fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvaine, while the rest of the French general and Duke of Flanders moved to Leuze. As they were more numerous than the confederates, and headed by a prince of the blood, the generals of the allies at first expected that they would hazard a battle; but the command they were given was so exact that they had lost in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great towns: the Count de Bergeyck, who had considerable interest in the Heights of Havre, and the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally constant and mutinous, and particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The French generals resolved to profit by these circumstances. A detachment of their troops, under the Brugedyers La Faille and Pastene, surprised the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison: at the same time the Count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without resistance: this was made a fluster at Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plassendael, which he took by assault. The Duke of Marlborough was no sooner apprized of the enemy's having sent a strong body of men from Ypres to the assistance of the Dutch, than he sent a body of men from the bank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderloch. The French crossed the Senne at Halte and Tubize, and the allies resolved to attack them next morning; but the prince of Orange was immediately informed that the French had made a surprising march from Asche, as far as Helsingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement. Then he took possession of the strong camp at Lessenuse, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde.

Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Scheldt towards the Caray. The two generals of the French forces assembled in a place called Cadogon were sent with seventeen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Scheldt below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at seven o'clock, and by ten o'clock the two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogon and his detachment were passing. The enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Huyven, situated on the banks of the Scheldie, and the French household troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under Major-General Hantzw, who were posted behind a rivulet...
that ran into the river. The Duke de Vendome intended to
attack the Confederates when one half of their army
should have passed the Schelde; but he was thwarted by
the Duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and
irresolute. Thus prince had ordered the troops to halt in
their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any
resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the
plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendome remon-
strated against this conduct, and the dispute continued
till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the
allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition.
Then the Duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement,
and promised to lead the centre; the enemy was with great
resistance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army un-
formed. Major-General Girmaldi was ordered to attack
Rantzau with the horse of the king's household, who,
finding the river marshy, refused to charge, and retired
to the right. Meanwhile Cadogan attacked the advance
of Heynem, which he took with three of the seven battalions
by which it was guarded. Rantzau, passing the rivulet,
advanced into the plain, and drove before him several
regiments of the enemy. In this attack the electoral Prince of Hanover, his late majesty George II. charged
at the head of Balun's drag ons with great intrepidity.
His horse was shot under him, and Colonel Laschky killed.
The Duke of Argyile's French advanced, and a good number of officers and standards fell
into the hands of the Hanoverians. The Confederates con-
tinued still passing the river; but few or none of the in-
fantry accompanied them till five in the afternoon, when
the Duke of Argyile arrived with twenty battalions, which im-
mEDIATELY sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy.
By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle;
and the enemy, who had fanned the river, detached
both armies engaged through the whole extent of their
lines about seven in the evening. Europe had not many
years produced two such noble armies: above one hundred
generals officered in the field, that two hundred and
fifty colonels fought at the head of their respective
regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of
the allies by twelve thousand; but their generals were di-
vided; their forces ill-disposed; and the men dispirited by
the failure of their officers. They seemed from the beginning adverse to an engagement, and
acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheless, the motion was maintained until General D'Arquespoque and Count
Turenne had advanced, when the two emperors of the enemy
began to give ground; and the Prince of Orange with Count Ostenheim attacked them in flank with
the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and
retreat, but not without confusion. The French,
slighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, constrained them to maintain
the honour of their country, and animate the men with his
example. When, after engaging all his extradistri-
vors, they were forced back among the enclosures in great
confusion. Some regiments were cut in pieces; others
deserted to capitulate; and if the darkness had not inter-
posed, their whole army would have been ruined. The
right coming on, so that it became impossible to dis-
tinguish friends from enemies, the two generals ordered the
troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity
of escaping by the road which leads from Oudenarde to
Gavre. The Duke de Vendome seeing the retreat of
the allied army, was entirely owning the troops to meet
at day-break the Duke of Marlborough sent a large
detachment of horse and foot, under the Lieutenant-Generals
Balun and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives: but the
French made the most of their retreat, and galloped
through the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry
could not form, and they were obliged to disperse. The
French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and
marched in the field, with the appearance of having halted
for the purpose of assenting to engagement. There tied the
French expected to cast up entrench-
ments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they
had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About three
thousand were slain on the field of battle; two thousand
deserted; and about seven thousand were taken, including
a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of can-
on, above a hundred standards and colours, and four
thousand horses. The loss of the allies did not amount
to two thousand men; nor was one officer of distinction
killed on their side during the whole engagement. After
the conference, the Duke of Burgundy detached the French
troops to cross the river; a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between
Ypres and the Lys; another was sent to raise contributions
as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and struck ter-
ror even in the head of the enemy. While the allies plundered
the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French
army, under the Chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption
into Dutch Flanders, broke through the lines of Berrikit,
which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon
the island of Cadsandt, which they had left under command
§ XXXVI. The generals of the allies now undertook
an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the French generals,
was arduous and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This
was the siege of Lille, the strongest town in Flanders,
provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a
garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of
the best troops in France, commanded by Mareschal de
Boufflers. When the French were engaged in the difficulties which the allies encountered.

5. Among the officers who were engaged in this battle, old General D'Ar-
quespoque and the Duke of Argyile distinguished themselves by the most

extraordinary valor and activity.
forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the banner of the town into which about three hundred were admitted. M. de Mareschal, in the citadel, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they earned.

§ XXXVII. The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. Count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thousand men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the allied army, commanded by Mayor-General Webb. This officer made such an admirable dispositions by land and sea, that, after a great and long action, they did not prevent the convoy from reaching Antwerp, where they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries were ready to open, the Count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the third day of the next month it was marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tribeur; while the Duke of Ancyre, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plassendahl, and Leffingen; and the generals of the allies, having settled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of Count Tilly. The French king was confounded, and dismayed at these disasters, which, in that year, were far from the side of Dauphiné: in spite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the Duke of Savoy made himself master of the important fortress of Esplugue, La Péruse, the valley of Martin, and all the land of Dauphiné. On the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers; and opened a way into the French provinces; after having made a diversion in favour of King Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Roussillon to the assistance of Villars.

§ XXXIX. The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Dover. Prince Eugene had received the troops brought from Italy by Admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Torton, which the Duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Dema, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake having taken on board a hundred of troops, under the conduct of the Marquis D'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the viceroy to submit to King Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the confederates, however, marched away with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of General Paschal, and retired with precipitation, when he understood that the Duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and Prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering army to the Schelde, which they passed on portions without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprise of the confederates, who had had their account with the loss of a thousand men in the attack. Having been driven between Eeknalle and Hastenburg, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the elector had retreated. Then Prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the Elector sent a personal letter to him. But the prince was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with Prince Eugene.
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dier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a retrenchment with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, that they should march out with the honours of war: that the Spaniards should be transported to Minorca, and that they should be permitted to take with them all their baggage and provender; and that the commander of the bishopric of Cadiz, with all his troops, should be allowed to go into the town of Cadiz. The Spaniards were so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Moraca, he threw himself into the river and was killed in the act. In consequence of the loss, the whole French army was posted in protection to the spot. La Jonquière was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. For St. Philip being thus reduced, to the annoyance of all Philistines, and the garrison of Port-Foulques having surrendered the keys of the prison to the Admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for King Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; General Stanhope appointed Colonel Petet governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa harassed the operations of the campaign.

§ XL. The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise overset the Pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of the princes in Italy against the emperor. On this point had manifested his design. On the 13th of January, in such a palmar manner, that his imperial majesty ordered Monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the Duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comacchio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the Duke of Modena, and facts of the emperor, to which the holy see had no lawful ground. The Vicerey of Naples was forbidden to remit any money to Rome; and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, containing the pretensions of his catholic majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the Pope's temporal power. His holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the emperor, on the injustice of these proceedings, and declared that he would assert his cause though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the princes and states of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bomband Civita-Vecchia, in resentment for the Pope's having countenanced the pretender's expedition to Great Britain; and the emperor and Duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English admiral to suspend hostilities until they should have tried the method of negotiation. The Marquis de Pryan, a Protestant nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome, but the Pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the emperor at defiance; and his troops having surprised a body of imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The Duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the emperor, which had served under that prince, were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; but Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the Pope's courage failed; he was glad to admit the Marquis de Prie as envoy from the emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the imperial troops with winter-quarters in the papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to King Charles; and to allow at all times a passage to the imperial troops through his dominions. On the Upper Rhine the Elector of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak, that they could not undertake any thing of consequence against each other. In Hungary the disputes still continued between the emperor and the magnates of Poland; but the marquis had nothing to fear, as the oppression exercised by the King of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the Czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submission with which that monarch endeavoured to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by the cruisers of the French, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoy.

In the West Indies Commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthagena. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, they would have destroyed the French vessel. However, were deprived of the honours of the capture by way of reprisal for the garrison of Deuna. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Moraca, he threw himself into the river and was killed in the act. In consequence of the loss, the whole French army was posted in protection to the spot. La Jonquière was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. For St. Philip being thus reduced, to the annoyance of all Philistines, and the garrison of Port-Foulques having surrendered the keys of the prison to the Admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for King Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; General Stanhope appointed Colonel Petet governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa harassed the operations of the campaign.

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millions for the service of the ensuing year. The bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills for the government, on condition that the new subsidy, which was voted the second and twenty years; and that their stock of two millions one hundred and thousand pounds should be doubled by a new subscription. The two-thirds subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the new subscription.

§ X.III. Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the House considered the petitions and representations that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the election commissioners for the election of members to the parliament of Great Britain. Counsel being heard upon the subject, that incapacity was confirmed, and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William Lord Haddo, and James Lord Johnston. Petitions were likewise presented to the House of Lords by some Scottish peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies. After warm debates, the House, upon a division, determined that a Scottish Lord, created a peer of Great Britain, should no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the constitution. Ministers that sat in the British parliament were divided into two factions. The Duke of Queensberry was in great credit with the queen and the lord treasurer, by whose interest his influence in elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation. He was opposed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the Earl of Sutherland and Lord Somers: so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalization of all protestants was brought into the House, and notwithstanding various small substructions to the bill, the House of Commons, was enacted into a law. The wigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned: but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The Tories pleaded that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitution; that they would retain a fondness for their native country; that they were the best of men; and, that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of parliament; and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the House of Commons. The House of Lords ordered the Duke of Marlborough to write expostulatory letters to Mr. Secretary Boyle, who at last owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded. An information was used in the court of king's bench against the majesty of Thomas Morton, haunch, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges. Meanwhile, the queen, by way of satisfaction to the court, concurred to make solemn excuses by her ambassador to repair the majesty's honour by a letter, and immediately him for all his costs and damages: concessions with which the state and his ambassador were well satisfied. The convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new parliament: but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the lower house, the queen, went to the archbishop, ordered him to proceed from time to time, until the session of parliament was finished.

CHAP. X.

1. News taken for peace intercepted. II. The allied army besiege and take Lorraine. III. The French are defeated at Malpasset. IV. Mons surrendered. V. Defeat of the French at the Battle of Rocroi. IV. His Excellency the Duke of Marlborough's letters to the House of Lords. VI. De-
§ I. The French king was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter, which completed the misery of his subjects, that he resolved to make some concessions and a truce, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable. He despatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland, with an offer of a general and absolute cession of all his possessions to the States-general, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderduussen, the Ulster commissioners, at Amsterdam, and from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The States immediately communicated his proposals to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, before the arrival of the Dutch ambassador, conferred with the grand pensionsman Heinens, Buys, and Vanderduussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory. Rouillé immediately despatched a courier to Paris, for further instructions; and the Duke of Marlborough returned to England, to make the queen acquainted with the progress of the negociation. Louis, in order to convince the States of his sincerity, sent the Marquis de Törey, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with fresh offers, by which the deputies were made no greater until they knew the sentiments of the Queen of Great Britain. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the Lord Viscount Townshend, before the arrival of the Dutch ambassador. The minister declared that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk, to the satisfaction of the demands of the conqueror, and dismissed him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession: that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-general demanded for their barrier; that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications at Strasburg. The ministers of the allies, rendered proud and wanton by success, and to whom the deputies gave the conduct of the concluding articles of the war, insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire; upon the French monarch's restoring Strasburg in its present condition; upon his demanid to the last degree of distress, and from the first conferences with the deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive that they would choose to bear the burden of excessive taxes in prosecuting the war, the expenses of which would be always he who undertook to be more courtly rather than enjoy the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himself, that the allies would not so far deviate from their purposed aim of establishing a barrier against the French, as to deviate weight into the scale of the house of Austria, which shrowded all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary power without the liberty of sentiment peculiar to the House of Bourbon. In proportion as they rose in their demands, he found the Dutch, on the contrary, more ready to yield. The Marquis de Törey, posted in disguise to Holland, on the faith of a common blank passport. He soothed, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign. He found the States were wholly guided by the influence of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. He found these generals elated, haughty, overbearing, and implacable. He in private attacked the Duke of Marlborough on his weakest side; he informed the nobleman a large sum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions. The proposal was rejected. The duke found his enemies in England increasing, and his credit at court in the wane; and he knew that nothing short of a decisive battle without a possibility of support his influence in Holland. Törey was sensible that his country was utterly exhausted; that Louis dreaded nothing so much as the opening of the campaign; and he could not consent to any one of the preliminaries. The French king was confounded at these proposals: he felt the complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain. He even desired to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the allies. 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a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate; the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison retired to the瓜d Marly, when a council of war decided upon carrying the place by a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Louis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the fifteenth of September. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth day of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardour and anxiety. On the thirtieth, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the Duke of Marlborough, who informed the English commanders that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

§ III. The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Scheldt on the third day of September, and detached the Prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haines to Bleron, which were abandoned at his approach. On the thirteenth, Major-General Marly de Batz, with two hundred and twenty thousand of his best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half that number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, Count Lottin, General Tettau, Count Oxenstern, and the Marquis of Tullibar, were killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: a lieutenant-General Welch received a shot in the groin. The Duke of Argyile, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valor, escaped unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, his hat, and periwig. In the French army the Chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The Mareschal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would certainly have been defeated.

§ IV. Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more decisive than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the Duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to the glory of his army and the interest of the great court of Great Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had entrenched themselves; but Prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay. The extraordinary carnage is imputed to the immobility of the Prince of Orange, whose arm through this whole war was to raise himself into consideration with the States-general, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Vle, the Dutch to Blerom, and the left on the edge of the woods of Lagmers; the head-quarters being at Blargines. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple entrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, entrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would not have proved so decisive, for they had not then begun to secure the camp; but Marlborough postponed the engagement until they should be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in an engagement with the enemy, and the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and despatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the confederates, favored by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre: and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by General Schuylerdeburg, the Duke of Argyile, and other generals, and supported by two and twenty battalions under Count Lottin, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that notwithstanding their lines and barricades, they were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Sirt and Tanniers. The Princes, to prevent their soldiers from being exposed to Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, posted in the wood of Lamer, and covered with three entrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first entrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The Prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and for the accomplishment of his designs, in the face of the enemy. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general superiority was downcast, their officers exhorted them to remain unvanquished. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general superiority was downcast, their officers exhorted them to remain unvanquished, and, towards Bayau, they couched for a retreat, and headed to Quesnoy and Valencienches.
them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended: and allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider a more resolute stand they should take. Hythurg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and, with an obstinacy that savoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the sentinels that were placed on the side of the town were noticed, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the runs of their fort, and they falling into the chasms, it instantly closed, and crumpled them to pieces. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, Colonel d'Alblon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whistler sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then General Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, General Staremburg maintained his ground, and even annoyied the enemy. He placed Bishop Seguier at Puliowa; Balagué: having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters.

The most remarkable event of this summer was the battle of Poldova, in which the King of Sweden was entirely defeated. That war of Minorca was ended by a capitulation of the fugue at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if to give the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the Kings of Denmark and Prussia, to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the emperor and maritime powers prevented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guarantee for preserving the peace of the empire. Nevertheless, the King of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound to Schonen; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolters were routed in many petty engagements.

§ VI. Though the events of the summer had been less unfavourable to France than Louis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity. His minister, Torey, maintained a correspondence with the Duke of Holstein at the Hague: he proposed to this minister, that the negociation should be renewed; and demanded passes by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might remain in the Netherlands. In the mean time, the French king withdrew his troops from Spain, on purpose of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the allies in that particular: though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recall those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The States-general refused to grant passes to the French ministers; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the interim King Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to prejudice his pretensions. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession. He named the Duke of Alba and Count Burgos, for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers: but no regard was paid to their intimation. Philip tampered likewise with the Duke of Holstein and the Marquis de Torey renewed his attempts upon that general; but all his applications and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing, that those motives which influenced the French before the campaign was opened, were no longer such; and that the winter had naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the preliminaries which the allies had pretended to impose: that, nevertheless, he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented, and send plenipotentiaries to obtain the renunciation of all the terms that had been agreed upon. They came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and they wrote pressing letters on the subject to all their allies.

§ VII. The parliament of Great Britain being assembled on the fifteenth day of November, the queen in her speech told both Houses, That the enemy had endeavoured, by false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the allies: that God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She insisted upon the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained, by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened all Europe, and the liberties of all mankind; deluding them as eager and compliant as ever. They presented cogent andvarious addresses: they thanked the Duke of Marlborough for his signal services; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousands of men to the effusion of their blood, and to the extortion. In less than a month, the Commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous expense. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Doblen, son to the late Archbishop of York, complained to the House of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, as containing propositions contrary to the religious principles, to the present government, and the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the judges; on the fifth day of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declaration, defended the doctrine of non-resistance; inveighed against the toleration and dissenters; declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies, and slightly defended by her friends. Out of the durability of the nation, he exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrad, the lord mayor, countenanced this farage, which was published under his protection, exiled by the torres, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Doblen against Sacheverel was seconded in the House of Commons by Sir Peter King, and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read: the sermons were voted scandalous and venomous libel. Sacheverel, being brought to the bar of the House, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print what that was entitled, "The Perils of False Brethren, to Sir Samuel, who was a party to his proceedings: which he had ever given him such encouragement. The Doctor being ordered to withdraw, the House resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; and Mr. Doblen was ordered to impeach the Duke of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved on the suspension and deprivation of the rector of St. Peter-le-Po, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution, had justly merited the favour of the law, and refused to conform with the director. It was their address to the queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly, for his eminent services both to the church and state. The queen returned a civil
answer, though she paid no regard to their recommenda-
tion. Blandly was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor of London, had dwelt upon the sinfulness of trampling upon the holy foot and forsook not the protest of the true and cruel governors; and vindicated the late revolution. By pronouncing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the high-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument. He, as well as Bishop Warburton, was afterwards treated with great violence in Sacheverel’s sermon; and the lord treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

§ VII. The doctor being impeached at the bar of the upper House, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the Commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Meanwhile the topic was not idle. They boldly affirmed that the whigs had formed a design to pull down the church; and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their designs. They were answered, that they were even more excited, by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent arising from a scarcity which prevailed and troubled him as the minister of the church. The ministry magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed, from dissenters, whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a rumous war which, in a little while, would produce universal famines, and as the immediate encouragers of those Palatine refugees who had been brought over, to the number of six thousand, and maintained by voluntary contributions until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity between whom these unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy-usher of the black rod; but, afterwards, the Lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and admitted others to justify to exact punishment. The Commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the Lords appointed the twenty-seventh day of February for the trial, in Westminster-hall.

§ IX. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. The managers for the Commons were Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London, Lieutenant-General Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole, treasurer of the navy. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Pepys, and assisted by Dr. At-
terbury, Dr. Smallbridge, and Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The queen’s sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, “God bless your majesty and the church. We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel.” They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the doctor, as he passed in his coach to the temple, where he lodged; and among these some members of parliament, who were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting-houses; plundered several dwellings of non-conformists; and threatened to pull down those of the lord chancellor, the Earl of Wharton, and the Bishop of Surum. They even propounded to attack the bank; so that the directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance. The horse and foot of the city were ordered to be dispersed, in order to prevent the insurrection which seemed on the eve of taking place.

Sixteen of the officers who died in the battle were doubled at Whitehall, and the train-bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The Commons treated the queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and encouraged by all those enemies to her title and government. She expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as of a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings. She published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high treason. Two of them were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither suffered. The Commons presented another address to the queen, in a gracious answer to their first remonstrance. They took this occasion to declare that the prosecution of the Commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present established and protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the doctors counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government; and spoke in the most respectful terms of the revolution, and the protestant succession. The doctors maintained that non-resistant persons were not in whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetical expressions endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the queen’s chaplains, who encouraged and assisted him in all the conduct of his defence. He was privately favoured by the queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

§ X. On the tenth day of March, the Lords being ad-
journed to their own House, the Earl of Nottingham pro-
posed the following question, “Whether, in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanors, by writing or speaking, the particular words supposed to be criminal, are necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments?” The judges being consulted, were unanimously of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both. One of the lords having suggested, that the judges had, delivered their opinions according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of parliament, the House resolved, that in any impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of parliament. On the sixteenth day of the month, the queen being in the House incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the Commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The Earl of Wharton said, that the doctor’s speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon; that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous; that the doctrine of passive obedience, as urged by the doctor, was not reconcilable to the practice of churchmen: that if the revolution was not lawful, many in that House, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rape, and injustice; and that the queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown, was her parliamentary title, founded upon the re-

In the next chapter the Commons came to a resolution, and the trial was determined. The Earl of Scarborough observed, that the revolution was a nice point, and above the law: he moved that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider before they gave judgment. Dr. Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who ought to be taught to resist; that this resolution was to be boasted of or made a precedent; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it should be called a vacancy or abdication. He said the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned, and desired the court to reserve the question examined the revolution too muchly were no friends to it;
and that there seemed to be a necessity for preaching up non-resistance and passive obedience at that time, when resistance was justified. The Duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, promiscuously, in order to govern him the more easily; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics. The Earl of Anglesey owned the doctor had preached nonsense; but he was now come. The Duke of Leeds durst not distinguish between resistance and revolution; for had not the last succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, since he knew of no other but hereditary right. The Bishop of Salisbury justified resistance from the Book of Macros; which stated that the prelate then desired that Earl Sacheverel, who assisted the Scots, the French, and the States-General, in resisting their different sovereigns, and was supported in this practice both by her parliament and his convocations. He observed that King Charles I. had assisted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion; that Mainwaring incurred a severe censure from the parliament for having preached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that though this became a favourite maxim after the restoration, yet its warmest asserters were the first who pleaded for resistance when they thought themselves oppressed. The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Bucking, and other leaders of the protestant interest declared, that they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense as Sacheverel's sermon; but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanor. Next day, Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, accused Sacheverel of having made a strange and fallacious exhibition of the doctrine of the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, which had been set on foot by Archbishop Sancroft, and promoted by the most eminent divines of the church of England. He was of opinion that some step should be taken for putting a stop to such preaching; as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animosities that would endanger both church and state. Dr. Trammell, Bishop of Norwich, expatiated on the insolence of Sacheverel, who had presumed to publish the most high mysteries, in the presence of the eminent churchmen, as a pernicious prelate, for having favoured and tolerated the discipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's preposition in publishing inflammatory prayers, declaring himself under persecution, while he was prosecuted for offending against the law, by those who in common justice ought to be thought the fairest accusers, and before their lordships, who were justly acknowledged to be the most impartial judges. In discussing the former article, the Bishop of Salisbury spoke with great vehemence against Sacheverel, who, by investigating against the revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arrogate and attack the dignity of the state, and incite her majesty to such a name in the first; had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed that nothing could be more plain than the doctor'sickening upon her majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning. Some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undeneuned sarcasm upon the lord treasurers, whom Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, "Name him, name him;" and in all probability, the zealous bishop, who was remarkable for abrupt and other expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the chamber, interpolating, declared that no peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

§ XI. All observed disputes, and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; and four-and-thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The Lords likewise voted, that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous devotions of the people, preaching up the king's power, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes. A like sentence was denounced by the Commons upon a book entitled, "Collections of Passages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment." These he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel, as proofs that the church was in danger. The length of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends considered as a victory obtained over a wily faction, and the town of Leeds described as the mightiest bournes and illuminations. On the fifth day of April, the queen ordered the parliament to be prorogued, after hearing, in her speech to both Houses, expressed her concern for the necessity of an expedient to bring the session to an end. She declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than she had, and should always have; and she said it was very injurious to take a present from wicked and malicious libels, to impute that the church was in danger by her administration.

§ XII. The French king, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the French and Spaniards, by the means of the Electors of Saxony and Jena, to assist him in his case. In order to facilitate their consent, he despatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be reinforced in their establishments of compunction, which was being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and queen of Great Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the Marquis de Torcy, intimating, that the allies required, that Christian majesty should declare, in plain and expressive terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of civil wars, in case the empires were divided, and that King Charles was to be sent in lieu of them. He said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers, to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught. He sacrificed his consent, and appointed the Marquis DONELLES and the Abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries. They were not refused, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies BUSY and VANDERDUSSEN at Gertruydenburgh. Meanwhile, as the French king was determined to send over the Duke of Marlborough, to assist them with his advice in these conferences. The two Houses of parliament seconded their request in a joint address to her majesty, which was urged by other members, in case of refusal, to request her majesty for his departure; and said she was glad to find they concurred with her in just sense of the duke's eminent services. Both the letter and addresses were procured by the interest of Marlborough, to let the queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad. But she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her distrust.
Naples was already in possession of the house of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four castrum towns in Flanders, as a security of Behithune, and even engaged to supply the confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expense of expelling that prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace.

The deputies,commissioned to Lord Townsend, and Count Zinzelpof, the imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the Pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, and who had never been pacificator. The negotiation lasted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which time the conferences were several times interrupted, and a great many despatches and new proposals arrived from Versailles. At length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having sent a letter to the pensionary, in which they declared, that the proposals made by the deputies were unjust and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been exposed. Louys resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope, that there might be some lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the English ministry, of which he was well apprized, would give him an additional pretext. The States-general resolved, That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the treaty. By a great number of the Lords, Townsend, and, in short, that France had no other view than to sow and create jealousy and discord among the allies. Lord Townsend, in a memorial, assured them, that the queen entirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negotiation; and that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquility of the Christian world.

§ XV. The operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the fifteenth day of March for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maes, in Flanders, and Brabant.

On the twentieth of April, they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Douay and other frontier towns, which were threatened by these operations. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The allies having laid bridges over the scarp, the Duke of Marlborough with his division passed the river, and encamped at Vitr. Prince Eugene took possession of the whole invasion. The enemy retiring towards Canbeuray. Mariscal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well appointed, considering the distress they were in. Indeed, the numbers were augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger, by carrying arms in the service. The maréchal having assembled all his forces, passed the Schelte, and encamped at Bouchan, declaring that he would give battle to the confederates; an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the confederates he marched back to the heights of B台南ware, where he fixed his camp. His aim was, by continual alarms, to intercept the siege of Douay, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Monsieur Albergotti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers were greatly outnumbered. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults; but still proceeded with unremitting vigour, until the besieged, being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate. He had placed a garrison in all the towns of the districts of Amiens, which he had stormed. But the Duke of Berwick had cast up entrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horse and dragon-s in the army of King Charles, headed by General Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almenaur. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew General Amessida, who commanded the guards of camp. The Spanish horse were entirely routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favour of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lendu. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found a vast number of battalions in their winter-quarters. The disposition ensuing on the ninth day of August, the enemy were totally defeated; five thousand of their men were killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and the enemy retreated to Saragossa, which they entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having sent his queen and son to Vicenza, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered forces, so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of a short duration. Stanhope proposed that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French king could send troops to Spain; but this salutary scheme was rejected. King of France was at one time the whole country deserted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

§ XVI. While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the King of France, at the request of Philip, sent the Duke de Vendome to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned general. They were new recruited, had undergone severe service, were imbued with the greatest courage, and made surprising efforts in favour of their sovereign; so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. In the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremberg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the British forces, was quartered in the little town of Brinlac, where, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, he found himself again under the command of the Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, one thousand colonels, and two thousand one hundred and forty-two officers. General de Staremberg, major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and officers of the respective regiments. He was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised; for if he had placed a garrison in the order of battle, and acceding to the advice of General Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he had detached his aide-de-camp, with an account of the enemy's march. The duke of Berwick fled to United States and Spanish army; and Staremberg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to
march towards Birnsea; but the roads were so bad, that
night overtook them before they reached the height of that place. Staremberg is said to have
lost many of his men in the attempt. He sent the English general, who had surrendered before his ar-
vival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villa-
franca, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the
enemy, who doubted the weakness of Staremberg's left
wing. It was utterly defeated, all the infantry that com-
opposed it having been cut in pieces or taken; but the vic-
tors, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the
baggage; and Staremberg with his right wing fought their
left, and his foot made up for the lack of cavalry. Then they re-
verted in disorder, leaving him master of the
field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thousand
of the enemy were killed on the spot: but the allies had
suffered so severely, that the general could not main-
tain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up,
and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Ca-
talona. Thither he was pursued by the Duke de Vendome,
who reduced Dalaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and
commanded him to take shelter under the walls of Barce-
lona. At this period the Duke de Noailles invested
Gironne, which he reduced notwithstanding the severity of the
weather; so that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three
months its supreme master. He invested the Spanish
archy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay
open to his incursions. Nothing of consequence was
achieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the Earl of
Garcia and Granville had retired. The operations of the
British fleet, during this summer, were so inconsiderable as scarcely to deserve notice.
Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean, and
with a view to support the Camisars, who were in arms in
the Crimea, sailed for the Cape, within a gulf of
Marseilles, and at the distance of fifteen from the
mouintains. The place surrendered, without opposition, to about seven
hundred men who landed under the command of Major-
General, and lately voncertain, he made himself master of the town and castle of Avile; but the
Duke de Noailles advancing with a body of forces to join
the Duke de Roqueilail, who commanded in those parts, the
English abandoned their conquests, and re-embarked
with precipitation. After the battle of Pollania the
Czar of Muscovy reduced all Liron; but he and King Augustus
agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The King of
Sweden continued at Bender, and the grand signor
interested himself so much in favour of that prince, as to
declare war against the Emperor of Russia. Hostilities were
concluded on the Swedish and Danish fleets, without further
success. The malcontents in Hungary sus-
tained their intrigues during the summer; but they were
discouraged, and encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture
between the Ottoman Porte and Russia. They were flattered with
hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks: and expected
enginedmn from the French monarch.
§ XVII. In England, the effects of these intrigues
which had been formed against the whig ministers began to
appear. The trial of Sacheverel excited a popular
spirit of averse to those who favoured the dissenters.
From all parts of the kingdom addresses were sent to
the queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine,
found upon anti-monarchical and republican principles.
At the same time counter addresses were procured by
the whigs, censuring the action, and magnifying the conduct of
the present parliament. The queen began to express
her attachment to the courtiers, by mortifying the Duke of
Marlborough. Upon the death of the Earl of Essex she
wrote to the general, desiring that the regiment which had
been commanded by that nobleman should be given to
Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted
the Dachess of Marlborough in the queen's friendship, and
was, in effect, the source of this political revolution. The
duke, instead of supporting her Majesty, or assuming
the protection of that which would redound to the service from the promotion of
such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave
men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and
courage, was Mariners in this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mr.
Masham, which he could not help considering as a de-
claration against himself and his family, who had so much
care to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude.
To this remonstrance the queen made no other reply, but
lesser his aprax. He died at St. John's in the
Goddolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without
effect; and the duke in disgrace retired to Windsor. The
queen appeared at council without taking the least notice of
this faUl and dismissed the Duke of Marlborough. Several
noblemen ventured to speak to her majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of
disobliging a man who had done such eminent services to the
nation. She told them his services were still fresh in her
memory: but that she could not spare the Duke of Marlborough for his person, Hearing, however, that a popular clamour
was raised, and that the House of Commons intended to
pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and
her new counsellors, she ordered the Earl of Godolphin to
write to the duke, to dispose of the regiment as he should
think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he
received this intimation he had sent a letter to the queen,
desiring she would permit him to retire from business.
In answer to this petition, the assured him his suspicions
were groundless, and insisted upon his coming to council.
The duchess demanded an audience of her majesty, on pre-
tence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions.
She was not likely to hope much success from the
influence she had lost. She protested, argued,
wept, and supplicated; but the queen was too well pleased
with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other
and the weakness of the party. The queen and
humiliation of the duchess served only to render herself
more contemptible. The queen heard her without
examining the least sign of emotion, and all she would
vouchsafe, was a repetition of these words, "You desired
no answer, and you shall have none:" alluding to an ex-
pression in a letter she had received from the duchess.
As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office
of lord chamberlain was transferred from the Duke of Kent
to the Duke de Noailles. The Duke de Sangle
to the tories, and maintained an intimacy of correspondence
with Mr. Harley. The interest of the Duke of Marl-
borough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismission
of his own son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, from the
post of secretary of state, in which he was succeeded by
Lord Dartmouth.

§ XVIII. The queen was generally applauded for this
act, which appeared to just and reasonable, and setting herself free from
her dependency, she appeared an arbiter of her own
and public affairs, which had hitherto been
in the hands of others. The Duke of Beaufort went to court on this
occasion, and told her majesty he was extremely glad
that she could now salute her queen in reality. The whole
world who had been out of the secret was glad to see the
ministry, by which the king had been influenced, out of the
confidence of the bank represented to her majesty the prejudice that
would undoubtedly accrue to public credit from a change
of the ministry. The emperor and the States-general
were in this domestic revolution. Their ministers at
London presented memorials, explaining in what manner
their foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in
the British ministry. The queen assured them, that, whatever
changes might be made, the Duke of Marlborough should
continue in his employment. In the month of Au-
gust the Earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and
the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction
of Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer and
under-treasurer. The Earl of Rochefoucauld was declared
president of the council, in the room of Lord Stanhope,
whose death had taken place. The lord steward was
replaced by the Duke of Devonshire, who was given to the Duke of
Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make
way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor
resigned the great seal, it was first put to commission, and
afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of
Wharton surrendered his commission of lord lieutenant of
the island of Jersey, to Mr. Henry St. John. The Duke of
Gloucester, the Earl of Orford withdrew himself from the
board of admality; and Mr. George Granville was ap-
nointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Wal-
pole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed
under the Duke of Portland; the Duke of Hamilton was
appointed lord lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaster.
ter. In a word, there was not one whig left in any office of state, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earnestly dissuaded by the peerage. ... his good name as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation. That the triumph of the toasts might be complete, the queen dissolved the whig parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election in favour of the other party.

§ XIX. To this end nothing so effectually contributed as the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wound and turn the passions of the vulgar. Having given his assent to the war, and being sent in procession to that country, with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the University of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Buckingham he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with streamers of blue, white, and red; and the steppers covered with streamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was heard but the cry of "The church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the house of commons by a spirit of terror; all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for a new parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the whig administration. Now the queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenant of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both houses of parliament, in the hands of the Tories. When these met on the twenty-fifth of November, Mr. Hanly spoke with great freedom, and without opposition. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous dissentions; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The Lords in their address promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable peace. The Commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her majesty to distinguish all such principles and measures as were lately threatened her honour and dignity; measures which, whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution, both in church and state. After this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the House of Peers, the Earl of Scarborough moved, that the thanks of the House should be returned to the Duke of Marlborough; but the Duke of York made some objections to the motion, and the general's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the duke should return from the continent. The Earl of Peterborough was appointed extraordinary to the imperial court: the Earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover: Mr. Richard Hill was nominated envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of Lieutenant-General Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood, were deprived of their regiments, because in their cups they had drank a toast to the Duke of Dinmont.

§ XX. This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the queen, and next morning assisted at a council of war; but without violence; and to express to the queen, as well as to the nation, that he needed not to expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly: and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January, the queen procured a message to the king, intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of King Charles; that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the parliament would approve her conduct. Both Houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which, in the course of the war, assumed the name of whig and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and cared for by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained this noisy adversary to his chains; in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public letters, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, his excess, his violence, his cruelty, his ambition, and misconduct; even his courage was called in question: and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite sides of faction.

§ XXI. The Lords, in their answer to the queen's message, declared, that as the misfortunes in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would not use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the Earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war, to the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the House resolved, That the Earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and an honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia; that the Earl of Galway, Lord Trowley, and General Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the nation's misfortune; and that this conduct was inexplicable by the conduct of the minister with her majesty. They voted that the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the ministers, who were, therefore, justly blamable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disarmed and the Earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued. Then the Duke of Buckingham moved, That the thanks of the House should be given to the Earl, for his remarkable and eminent services: and these were actually received from the mouth of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections upon the mercenary disposition of the Duke of Marlborough. The House, proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing, That the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, That the Earl of Galway, in yielding the right wing of the army to the Earl of Marlborough, the greatest of Prince of Great Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely long and arduous, and was determined to give no protest. These were not the proceedings of candour and national justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rampant animosity.


§ XXII. While the Lords were employed in this inquiry, the Commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in matters for virtually the same. The interesting evidence of St. Olave's and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines, inhabiting one house, might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a plague to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the tories, that the House of Commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry. A committee, with the purpose to investigate or encourage those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the queen's order, and perused, the House resolved, That the inquiring and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous cooeorence with the constitution in church and state; and, that whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of some ancient times. But this bill was rejected in the House of Lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualifications to hold a seat in parliament. The intent of this law was to exclude trading people from the House of Commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-owners. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms; that against which the whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

§ XXIII. A violent party in the House of Commons began to make war on Harley in a warm, tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular accident. Giscard, the French parion, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services, with a pecunious pension of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty. He had been denounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleasures; he had in vain endeavoured to obtain audience of the queen, with a view to command more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappoiments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services in a hundred thousand pounds a-year to a person in a high station. Moreau, a banker, in Paris. This packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high treason. When the messenger dissatisfied him in St. James's Park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Convict, in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants. A committee of counsell was immediately summoned, and Giscard brought before them to examine. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John, whom, in all probability, he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard I not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then!" stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force, that the character of the masochist fell to St. John, seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his sword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Giscard in several places. Yet he made a desperate defence, until he was supported by the masters and servants, and conveived from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal: but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley by a person wanted to establish a correspondence with France, called the suspicion of those who began to doubt that minister's integrity. The two Houses of parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and his services, had not removed from him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They besought her majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, was appointed, to inquire into what circumstances or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the queen's order, and perused, the House resolved, That the inquiring and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous cooeorence with the constitution in church and state; and, that whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of some ancient times. But this bill was rejected in the House of Lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualifications to hold a seat in parliament. The intent of this law was to exclude trading people from the House of Commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-owners. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms; that against which the whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

§ XXIV. The Commons empowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by King William, and ascertain to what they were, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed and passed that House; but the Lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the Earl of Godolphin. They voted, That above five-and-thirty millions of the money granted by parliament remained unaccounted for. This sum, however, was afterwards declared, by the Parliaments of Charles and King William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office. The Commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded five millions, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and forty thousand three hundred and three thousand pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade in the South Sea, vested in the proprietors of the navy-bills, who were divided into three thousand six hundred and eighty shares, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South Sea company, founded upon a chimerical supposition, that the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru in the West Indies. Perhaps the new ministry hoped to obtain this permission, as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of King Charles, with respect to his pretensions upon Spain. By this time the Emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox, without making issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the imperial throne. This event was on the twentieth day of April communicated by a message from the queen to both Houses. She told them that the States-General had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria; and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

§ XXV. The House of Commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the lower house of convocation, and a quickening message from the queen, passed a bill for the building of a new church in Westminster, and appropriated for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session, the Commons presented a rémonstrance or representation to the queen, in
which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and unjustly complained. They said, that, in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money; that they who of late years had the management of the treasury were guilty of notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty million pounds in arrears. In order that the actual state of things might look like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several imposts accountants speedily to proceed with the settlement of the accounts, as they had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be intrusted with the public money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who, had by false professions of love to their country, maintained themselves into their royal favour, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her majesty's favourable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed that her people could with greater propriety and advantage be restrained, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation of the conspirators with the desired effect of inflicting the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was, to send a speedy end to a war that the late ministry projected the people to, and even accumulated money hitherto retained and in themselves to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to check this excess, must needs proceed with measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June, the queen, having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both Houses. She thanked the Commons, in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored. Had a squabble or the succession of the house of Hanover, and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England by law established. Then the parliament was prorogued. § XXVI. Of the convention which was assembled with the new parliament, the lower house chose Dr. Atterbury their procurator. He was an enterprising ecclesiastic, of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to Tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister, Oxford: so that he directed all the proceedings in the lower house of convolution, in concert with that minister. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her approbation of the consultations of the clergy must be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the Reformation. They were ordered to lay before the queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The bishops were purposely slighted and overruled. But the council on the Scotch lines was allowed to sit, and the Latin and the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a representation that most keenly attacked all the stricures upon the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the revolution. Another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms: and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favouring Arminism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematician professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the convocation. The archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave an opinion, that the convocation had had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the Reformation. The queen, in a letter to the bishops, said, that as there was no doubt that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be intrusted with the public money, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly. An extract of the sentence was sent to the queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on the subject, and the affair remained in suspense. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining that the apostolical constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the Epistles and the Gospel.

§ XXVII. The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the Duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was, at first, a sacrifice to the commonwealth, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, who had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation of the execution of Oxford's project, which was, to send a speedy end to a war that the late ministry projected the people to, and even accumulated money hitherto retained and in themselves to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to check this excess, must needs proceed with measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June, the queen, having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both Houses. She thanked the Commons, in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year: in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored. Had a squabble or the succession of the house of Hanover, and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England by law established. Then the parliament was prorogued.

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be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The duke, on the supposition that the enemy was on the left unsupported, had ordered the Generals Cadogan and Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons from Douay and the neighbouring garrisons, to march to Arleux, where they should endeavour to pass the Sambre. But such an attempt was delayed with the earthen bridges and pontoons, to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the duke, with the whole confederate army, began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry. There he received intelligence that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sainct and Schelde without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined. He himself, with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight of the clock arrived at Bouchouchel, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars being certified of his intention, about two in the morning, decamped with his whole army, and putting himself at the head of the king's household troops, marched forward with such expedition, that at eight o'clock in the forenoon he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined Count Hompesch. The French general immediately retreated to the main body of his forces, which had advanced to the high ground between Arras and Cambrai, while the allies encamped upon the Schelde, between Rys and Estryn, after a march of ten leagues without halting, scarcely to be paralleled in history. By this plan, so hastily executed, the Duke of Marlborough fairly surprised Villars, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impracticable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was assailed with ridicule even by his own officers. The field-deputies of the States-general proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crevecoeur, in order to cover Bouchain; but the duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal. His intention was to besiege Bouchain; an enterprise that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissensions of last winter, the duke resolved to enter in upon the campaign in the mean time, despatched Brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of Prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honour to his country. He was then actually expiring his life in service. § XXIX. On the tenth day of August Bouchain was invested, and the Duke of Marlborough exercised himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to humble the endeavours of the English general, and to confound the skill and activity of the Duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a casemake through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the Duke of Marlborough on the other, we must allow this was the boldest enterprise of the whole war: that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarce ever exhibited it on a similar occasion. It was not performed by the Duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They were now in possession of the Maes, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greatest part of Hanover; they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valour of the Duke of Marlborough. After the loss of Bouchain, he returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

§ XXX. The queen had conferred the command of her forces in Flanders upon the Duke of Argyile, who had been removed from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the Duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona in the twen-tieth of May, and found the British troops in such desperate distress for want of subsistence. The treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the Commons had granted one million five hundred thousand pounds for that service. There were all their former acquisitions and acquisitions which the British forces were still capable of maintaining in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the Duke de Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremberg had been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The Duke of Argyile, having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British troops could take the field. At length, Staremberg determined to march towards the enemy, and attacked him at the pass of Porto del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage. After this action the Duke of Argyile was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome invested the castle of Cadiz, which the British soon resolved to abandon. In the mean time, despatched Brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of Prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honour to his country. He was then actually expiring his life in service. The Duke of Argyile wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupposed; but all his remonstrances were ineffectual; no remittances arrived; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, King Charles, leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, who still disputes were concluded. The emperor, who had forced his way into Savoy and penetrated as far as the Rhine; but he suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repulsed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the Electors at Frankfurt from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen emperor; the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, because they lay under the bao of the empire. The war was reduced to the number of six thousand choise men, commanded by officers of known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummation of the campaign, and by the activity of the Duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines,
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to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation; that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, either by purchase or cession, and that no nation should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united in the same head. Her majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the extermination of the house of Austria would be dangerous to the liberty of Europe. She was ever of the opinion that the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures; she was eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and compensate them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war. These were all Christian princes; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a part in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with King Charles.

§ XXXV. As Peace's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negotiate, Mr. Menazer, a deputy from the city of Boulogne to the board of trade, accompanied the English minister to London, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. On his arrival in London, the queen immediately commissioned the Duke of Savoy, the Earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences were immediately begun. After long and various disputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were signed by the French minister, and by the two secretaries of state, in consequence of a written order from her majesty. Then Menazer was privately introduced to the queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war: that she should exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace; that she should be glad to live upon good terms with the King of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood: she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace between the two subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The Earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensions the proposals of peace which France had made; to signify the queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the court of Versailles; and Mareschal Tallard being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menazer, the preliminaries were communicated to Count Galis, the emperor's minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be inserted in one of the daily papers. This step was so much resented by the queen, that she sent a message, desiring he would come no more to court; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly; but the queen gave the emperor to understand, that any other minister he should appoint would be admitted by her without restraint, if it had her approbation.

§ XXXVI. The States of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Bussy, as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen, that she would alter her resolutions: she manifested the greatest anxiety for peace, and the Earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring in the queen's name, that she would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the first day of January. They granted passports to the English ministers, on condition that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united in the same head. Her majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the extermination of the house of Austria would be dangerous to the liberty of Europe. She was ever of the opinion that the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures; she was eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and compensate them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war. These were all Christian princes; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a part in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with King Charles.
cil of all the proposals of peace which had been made; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject. He declared, upon his conscience, and in presence of the Supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he should not attempt to make or arrange any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last the question being put, Whether the Earl of Nottingham, when he speaks of the Queen to take a personal character at the bar, whether in the affirmative or in the negative by a small majority. The address was accordingly presented, and the queen, in her answer, said, she should be very sorry any one should think she would shew her contempt of the Crown in quitting the Court from the house of Bourbon. Against this advice, however, several peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks; and because they looked upon it as an invasion of the royal prerogative. In the address of the Commons there was no such article; and, therefore, the answer they received was warm and cordial.

§ XXXVIII. The Duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the House of Peers, as Duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution for admitting into the House a greater number of Scottish peers than the act of union allowed. Cornwall was heard upon the question. The object of the objection could be made to the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours: and that all the subjects of the United Kingdom were equally capable of receiving honour. The House of Lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the Duke of Queensberry upon his being created Duke of Devon. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides. The Scottish peers united in defence of the Duke's claim; and the court exerted its whole strength to support the patent. Nevertheless, the question being put, Whether Scottish peers, created peers of Great Britain since the union, had a right to sit in that House; it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices; though not without a protest signed by the Lords in the opposition. The Scottish peers were so incensed at this decision, that they drew up a representation to the queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole people of Scotland. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the Earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected; and it passed both Houses by one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing in his courage and conduct. While the nobility concurred with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the wisps, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in public; even in the midst of all these caresses, party riots were excited to insult his person, and some scandalous reflections upon his mother were inserted in one of the public papers. The queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard; and, on her birth-day, presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. Nevertheless, she looked upon him as a patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet. She knew he had been pressed to come over by the whig noblemen, who hoped his presence would in¬

fluence the people to some desperate attempt upon the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Somers, Halifax, and all the chiefs of that party; and that he entered into a close connexation with the Baron de Botham, the Hanoverian envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people.

of Warwiek; Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron Trevor, of Pembroke, in the county of Pembroke; Sir Thomas King, Baron King of Ayr, in the county of Ayr; Lord Lister, Baron Lister of Bethune, in the county of York; Lord Talbot, Baron Talbot of Malahide, in the county of Dublin; Lord Blount, Baron Blount of Chandos, in the county of Middlesex; Lord Loughborough, Baron Loughborough of Kinloss, in the county of Elgin; Lord Bute, Baron Bute of Whitland, in the county of Glamorgan. Sir Thomas Williams, Baron Williams of Warfield, in the county of Berkshire.
§ XLI. Her majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both Houses, on the seventeenth day of January, signifying that the plenipotentiaries, who had been so long detained, had arrived at Utrecht, and that she would employ in making preparations for an early campaign: she hoped, therefore, that the Commons would proceed in giving the necessary despatch to the supplies. The lord treasurer, in order to delay the attachment to the protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the Duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews to the crown; and, when it was passed into an act, he sent it to the crown by Mr. Lord Chamberlayne. Much notice was taken of the proceedings for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the upper House, from which they had abjured themselves since the decision against the patent of the Duke of Hamilton; but whatever pecuniary recompense they might have obtained from the court, on which they were mainly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the parliament. The Commons, finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their House, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the king's interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the foreign contract in Scotland. The evidence was not less than afraid it should be discovered by a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friends with five hundreds pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who indorsed it, and his friends, at large. The whole article of prosecution was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the House. Being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Leeds-Helig, in which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the Commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

§ XLI. Their next attack was upon the Duke of Marlborough. They were found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerning a contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the queen with ten thousand pounds a-year to defray the expense of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained in England. It was alleged, in his justification, that the present from the Jews was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her majesty; that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum so trifling as to be a matter of no consequence. Lord William for contingencies: that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact, that the duke was never surprised: that none of his parties were ever intercepted, or cut off; and all the designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations, the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions were communicated to the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted of virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary and greatly tarnished the genius of the house of Lune, which had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overthrow the new ministers, and retard the negotiations for peace. They maintained an intimate acquaintance with the whigs of England.

They disliked the most injudicious reports against Oxford and Secretary St. John. Buys, their envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent and seditious sentences, as well as to the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the House of Commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the States-general. They alleged that the States had been engaged in a war against the States by Lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gerschymen. By this agreement, England guaranteed a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch, and the States bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the protestant succession. The tone affirmed that England was disgraced by engaging any other State to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter; that by this treaty, the States were authorized to interpose in British councils: that, being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. The House of Commons was satisfied, The House of Commons were destroyed. The House of Commons were destroyed. The House of Commons were destroyed. The House of Commons were destroyed. They advised it being ratified was enemies to the queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the queen, in which they averred that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumstance that implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The States, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the queen, expressing the necessity of a bargain, for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces. This letter afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war; and it was published in one of the English papers. The Commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the House; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

§ XLI. They now repealed the naturalization act. They passed a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland, without paying the least regard to a representation from the general assembly to the House of Lords, desiring it to be granted. This presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of union. The House, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the Kirk-judges. The episcopal as well as the presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oaths of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the Commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both from very different motives. In order to exasperate the presbyterians with further provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature, during the Christian year, which had received the glory which this bill was to have taken up for itself. When this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, "Since the House is resolved to make no toleration on the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be mutilated. A bill for establishing Jacobinism and immorality." The charter of the Scottish presbyterians was completed by a third bill, restoring the right of patronage, which had been taken from the pleasure of this House, and that Mr. Speaker do move his warrant as usual.

b The commoners appointed for taking, stating, and examining the public accounts, having made their report naming the conduct of Mr. Walpole as much long detaining, came to the following resolution, viz.: 1. That the right Walpole, Esq., a member of this House, in receiving the money granted from the Crown, for the purpose of furnishing the army with bread, is charged with no account on account of two contracts for forage of her majesty's troops quartered for the foreign army, by which was given to the said house of Commons, in a letter from the war, pursuant to power granted to him by the late king: an act, of a high and we presume, is a great deliverance to the House, as the character of Robert Walpole being in the first instance, to be for the said offence committed prisoner to the Tower of London, during
away when the discipline of the kirk was last established. Prince Eugene having presented a memorial to the queen, touching the conduct of the emperor during the war, and complained of the neglect to which his requests for supplies were at length, the queen communicated the scheme to the House of Commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect. The prince, finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much as his present situation and the state of the ministry would admit, and was satisfied with the people of England. The Commons having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to six millions, the treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to consider the various grants made since the revolution. His design was to make a general assessment; but as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition. Mr. Warton, who had so long passed, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford abstained themselves from the House during the debate.

**CHAP. XI.**

§ 1. The conference opened at Utrecht. The queen’s measures obviating the danger. The settlement of the duchy of Parma. The queen demands Philip’s renunciation of the crown of France. The Duke of Utrecht declares his firm determination to the contest. The first knots of the war. France, England, and the Dutch forces united in Flanders. He is restricted from acting against the enemy. The House of Commons composed. A new plan of the peace. The Duke of Utrecht returns to the continent. The State general, etc. The danger of the queen’s position. The Duke of Utrecht, etc. The governor of Antwerp. For this reason, etc. The peace with France signed at Utrecht. Both Houses of parliament support the queen’s measure. Subsistence of the treaty with France. Objections to the treaty of commerce. The Dutch of the House of Lords on the measure. The queen’s powers. The bill of rights. The bill is brought in. The queen signs it. The king, etc. The word of the Dutch. The complaints of the states-general. The declaration of the States-general in the house of lords concerning the pretender and the cabinet. The House of lords concerning the preserver and the cabinet. The measures of the cabinet. The queen demands Philip’s renunciation. The Duke of Utrecht declares his resolution. A bill to enable the queen to preside in the Cabinet. A bill to prevent the growth of the Dutch. Another against all who should use the systems of the states-general. A declaration. The treasurer discharges. Precautions taken for preserving the peace of the kingdom. Death and character of Queen Anne

A. D. 1711.

§ I. In the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht. The Earl of Jersey would have been appointed the plenipotentiary for England, but he dyed after the correspondence with the court of France was established, the queen conferred that charge upon Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the Earl of Strafford. The chief of the Dutch deputies named for the congress were Buys and Vanderveldes; the latter was entrusted with his powers to the Marchioness D’Uxelles, the Abbot (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, and Menger, who had been in England. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the empire and the other allies were sent their plenipotentiaries. The conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The queen had so long been engaged and involved against these difficulties. Her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish at spite of all opposition. She had striven to procure reasonable moderation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The emperor obstinately insisted upon his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the last title of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the pretensions of Sophia, which the queen communicated to the House of Commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect. The prince, finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much as his present situation and the state of the ministry would admit, and was satisfied with the people of England. The Commons having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to six millions, the treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to consider the various grants made since the revolution. His design was to make a general assessment; but as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition. Mr. Warton, who had so long passed, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford abstained themselves from the House during the debate. The queen’s measures obviating the danger. The settlement of the duchy of Parma. The queen demands Philip’s renunciation of the crown of France. The Duke of Utrecht declares his firm determination to the contest. The first knots of the war. France, England, and the Dutch forces united in Flanders. He is restricted from acting against the enemy. The House of Commons composed. A new plan of the peace. The Duke of Utrecht returns to the continent. The State general, etc. The danger of the queen’s position. The Duke of Utrecht, etc. The governor of Antwerp. For this reason, etc. The peace with France signed at Utrecht. Both Houses of parliament support the queen’s measure. Subsistence of the treaty with France. Objections to the treaty of commerce. The Dutch of the House of Lords on the measure. The queen’s powers. The bill of rights. The bill is brought in. The queen signs it. The king, etc. The word of the Dutch. The complaints of the states-general. The declaration of the States-general in the house of lords concerning the pretender and the cabinet. The House of lords concerning the preserver and the cabinet. The measures of the cabinet. The queen demands Philip’s renunciation. The Duke of Utrecht declares his resolution. A bill to enable the queen to preside in the Cabinet. A bill to prevent the growth of the Dutch. Another against all who should use the systems of the states-general. A declaration. The treasurer discharges. Precautions taken for preserving the peace of the kingdom. Death and character of Queen Anne.
after the death of his wife, Mary Adelphile of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring, the Prince of Beaujolais, in the month of March, at the age of 10; so that the Duke of Burgundy's children none remained alive but the Duke of Alençon, the late French king, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Lewis and his queen; but they were still more French to the Queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which she reckoned the only possible means to prevent. She therefore sent the Abbé Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed, should Philip ascend the throne of France; and demanding, that his title should be transferred to his brother, the Duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation.

§ IV. Meanwhile the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their proposals in writing under the name of specific offers, which the allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with universal scorn. Lord Halifax, in the House of Peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies. An address was presented to the queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in prosecuting the war, until a safe and honorably peace should be obtained. The plenipotentiaries of the allies were not less extravagant in their specific demands than the French had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the empress seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breaches between her enemies, and concert a plan of pacification. They amused one another with fruitless conferences, while the Queen of Great Britain endeavoured to engage the States-general in her measures, the Duke of Marlborough and the French plenipotentiaries exerted themselves to divide the allies, and give law to the rest of the allies. She departed from some of her own pretentions, in order to gratify them with the possession of some towns in Flanders. She consented to their being admitted into participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the congress to tell them, that she would take her measures according to the return they should make on this occasion. Finding them still obstinate in attacking to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand, that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded upon the express condition, That they should come into her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely; but they replied, they had no such land to receive it, and return towards them, that she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the allies had insisted upon a written answer to their specific demands, which the French plenipotentiaries desired, until they should receive fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretense for suspending the conferences; but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France, was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which at length, however, arrived, and produced a cessation of arms.

§ V. In the meantime the Duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received in particular order, that he should not hazard an engagement. Louis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson. Reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority, and determined to procure a peace at all events. The queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his procrastinations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered the situation of the affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March, the Earl of Albemarle, had assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to a heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May, the Duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the States-general at the Hague, and assured them that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined Prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-first of May, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Schelde, encamped at Haspe and Solemunes. The imperial general proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars; but by this time the duke was restrained from hazarding a siege or battle, a circumstance known to the imperial commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from Prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith despatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obstinacy of such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and in a letter to Secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the queen would permit him to return to England.

§ VI. Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quessoy, and the duke furnished towards this enterprise seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the Bishop of Bristol upon the duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that prince, that declared to him, that he could not express, with a letter from her majesty, in which she complained, that as the States-general had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised, if she thought fit to begin a fresh negociation in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience. When they remonstrated against such conduct as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the queen and the States-general, the bishop declared his instructors further to possess the confidence of his new sovereign, and that he was intent on obtaining a peace for his majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their high magnitudes. The States and the ministers of the allies were instantly in correspondence to agree upon moderate terms, which would satisfy the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers in the pay of Great Britain. The States-general wrote a long letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, despatched expresses to his master, to Prince Eugene, and to the imperial ambassadors for the Dutch. The latter held a council at Kensington upon the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the Duke of Ormond, directing him to conciliate with the general of the allies in a siege.

§ VII. On the twenty-eighth day of May, Lord Halifax, in the name of all her representatives, concluded an armistice of the duke's refusing to co-operate with Prince Eugene, and moved for an address, desiring her majesty would order the general to act offensively, in concert with the Dutch allies. The imperial general urged his excellency to make a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word. The Earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Orford declared, that the Duke of Ormond had received orders to join the allies in a siege, the Duke of Marlborough affirmed it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandon the enterprise. The Duke of Argyle having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater general than Prince Eugene of Savoy, observed, that, considering the different interests of the house of Austria and of Great Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might entirely break off a negociation, the conclusion of which, in all probability was being concluded. He added, that two years before, the confederates might have taken Arras and Cambrai, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of airy, Bethune, and St. Venant. The Duke of Devonshire said he was, by proximity of blood, more concerned than any other in the reputation of the Duke of Ormond: and, therefore, could not help expressing his surprise, that any one would dare to make a noblesman of the first rank, and
of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Pulteney answered, that nobody could doubt the Duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. The Duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that he resolved to remonstrate in the House, he took the first opportunity to send Lord Mohun to the earl with a message, importing, that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his lordship about some expressions he had used in that day's debate, and that he wished to have some explanation of them afterwards. The earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state. Two sentinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate: the queen, by the channel of Lord Dartmouth, desired the Duke of Marlborough would proceed no further in the quarrel; and he assured her he would punctually obey her majesty's commands. The Earl of Oxford assured the House, that a separate peace was never intended; that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villanous, that every one who heard the report might answer it with their heads to the nation: but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation, than the first preliminaries insisted upon by the ministers. The earl then said, there was, after a long debate, carried in the affirmative; but twenty lords entered a protest. The Earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed, that they should examine the negotiations of the Hague and Gertrudenberg, before they considered that of Utrecht. He observed, that in the former negotiations the French ministers had conferred only with the pensionary, who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the allies than was judged absolutely necessary to the transaction; but that the French were absolute masters of the secret. He asserted that the States-general had consented to give Naples and Sicily to King Philip; a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the Spanish dominions was looked upon as impeachable. He concluded with a motion for an address to her majesty, desiring that the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertrudenberg should be laid before the House. This was carried without a division.

§ VIII. In the House of Commons Mr. Pulteney moved for an address, acquainting her majesty that her faithful Commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from Holland, that in France last day, declined acting offensively against France in concurrence with her allies; and beseeching her majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain motion having been made, that the committee appointed for the business of the Spanish negotiations had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. Secretary St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great Britain; that he glozed in the small share he had in the transaction; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The House resolved that the Commons had an entire confidence in her majesty's promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded; and, that they would support the king against all such persons, either at home or abroad, as should endeavour to obstruct the pacification. The queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable. She further, in the full confidence, that the peace would be a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring they might have an account of the negotiations and transactions at the Hague and Gertrudenberg, and know who were the persons who had been employed in the said transactions, and the force used to obtain a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring they might have an account of the negotiations and transactions at the Hague and Gertrudenberg, and know who were the persons who had been employed in the said transactions, and the force used to obtain a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. She declared, that France offered to make the Blantu the barrier of the empire, to yield Brusa, Fort Kehl, and Ludau, and raise all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine, and in the islands of that river; that the protestant interest in Germany would be entirely confined to the fortunes of Westphalia: that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his imperial majesty; but that of Sicily was not. She declared, that the demands of the States-general with relation to commerce, and the barrier in the Low Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients; that no great progress had yet been made upon the pre-
HAMPDEN moved for an address to her majesty, that she would give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in the council and council chamber, and that which France now offered, was very considerable: that the elector palatine should maintain his present rank among the electors; and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover. Such were the conditions the queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects, for the great and unequal burthen they had borne during the whole course of the war, carried with acting no doubts that they were fully persuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progress of this negociation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence upon the entire confidence and cheerful concurrence of her parliament.

§ XI. An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the queen by the Commons in a body. When the House of Lords took the speech into consideration, the Duke of Marlborough assented, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with the allies: that they sufficed the triumphs and glories of her reign, and rendered the English nation famous all nations. The Earl of Strafford said, that some of the allies would not have shown such backwardness to a peace, had they not been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrous assembly, who had entered into secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this retribution against Marlborough, Lord Cowper observed, that it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation; such allies, especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be involved in her own, in her speech at the opening of the session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correspondence with any persons whatsoever becomes criminal, when it tends to form the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their sovereign. If England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honour, to withdraw herself from a confederry which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate but a party to the alliance. The French, it was affirmed, that the trade of Spain was such a trade as deserved no consideration; and that it would continually diminish, until it should be entirely engrossed by the French merchants. Notwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majesty agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary cendescension in communicating those conditions to her parliament; and expressed an entire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guarantee. A debate ensued, the question was put, and the clause rejected. Several noblemen presented a protest, which was expunged from the journals of the House by the decision of the majority.

§ XII. In the House of Commons, a complaint was exhibited against Bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons which he had published, took occasion to extol the last ministry, at the expense of the present administration. This piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create discord and sedition among her majesty's subjects, and likely to be prejudicial to the common hangman. They presented an address to the queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the bishop, in which he had grossly misrepresented her majesty, and that such recent insults as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorial that should be thus ushered into the world as inflammatory appeals to the public. Mr.
§ XIV. The Bishop of Bristol imported to the other plebiscitaries at Utrecht the concessions which France would make to the allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner. But this was not agreeable to the Confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first imperial plebiscitarius, presented a memorial to the States-General, explaining and defending the common cause against the cessation of arms; and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and a certain French territory. The States-General bad authorized Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprise, detached Major-General Grovezstein, with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Nore, the Maase, the Moeller, and the Sair, and retired to Trabach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having executed contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this interruption reached the city of Paris: the King of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards: all the men of war in the surrounding country assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment under Grovezstein, as soon as he understood his destination: but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, and had made so considerable a force that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. By way of retaliation, Major-General Pasteur, a French partisan, made an excursion beyond the spoars-opi and ravaged the island of Tortola belonging to Zealand.

§ XV. The Earl of Strafford having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-General, by which he was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the Duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quequoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth day of July. The officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the duke; and such a spirit of amosity began to prevail between the English and allies, that it was absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation. Prince Eugene resolved to undertake the siege of Lens: a design is said to have been formed by the German kings, and the duke, on purpose of the arrangements that were due to them; and to distress the British troops, lest they should join the French army. In the mean time a literary correspondence was maintained between them. Respect, curiosity, and a lively interest in the affairs of each other were the causes that led to these conferences. The duke was in possession of the town on the seventh day of July; the French garrison retired to Winneberg. On the sixteenth of the same month Prince Eugene marched from his camp at Hasper, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holsten-Gottorpe, and Walef's regiment of dragoons, belonging to the State of Lieven.

§ XVI. Landrecy was immediately invested: while the Duke of Ormond, with the English forces, removed from Chateauguay, and encamping at Avenien-le-Sec, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the English troops, that the governors would not allow the Earl of Strafford to enter Bouchain, nor the British army to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of stores, together with their general hospital. Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, understanding the wish of the English, made the Duke of Orleans a mark of their regard. At length, on the 7th of August, Bouchain began to be in peace for that city, and sent Count Nassau Woodemunth to him with a written apology, confounding and disavowing the conduct and commandants of Bouchain and Douay: but the English afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle: insults which were resented by the whole British nation. The duke, however, pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the Queen of England; then he reinforced the garrison of Brussels. The English ambushes were supported by the French garrison at Dunkirk, which Prince Eugene aided. His conduct was so less agreeable to his sovereign, than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, as being so completely invested and occupied by the motions and expeditions of the British general.

§ XVII. The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denaum, under the command of the Earl of Ormond. They were surprised and driven back, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggonets loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and considerable booty, fell into the hands of the enemy; this advantage they gained in sight of Prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Scheldischel to sustain Albermarle: but the bridge over that river was broken down by accident; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Merchines, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged. The French last day of December carried the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; an enterprise, in consequence of which they had the death of Prince Eugene and his chief deputy. The allies marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The States, however, would not run the risk; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. Eugene could not even prevent the retaining of Quequoy and Bouchain, of which places they were in possession before the tenth day of October. The allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses, but the conquest of Forcoque, which was surprised by one of their partisans.

§ XVIII. The British ministers at the congress continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the armistice; but they were deaf to the proposal, and concerted measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Then the Earl of Strafford insisted upon their admitting to the congress the plebiscitaries of King Philip: but he found them equally averse to this expedient. In the beginning of August, Secretary St John, now created Lord viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles in order to remove all obstructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and the Abbe Guatier, treated with the most distinguished marks of respect, curiosity, and a lively interest in the French king's service. He went to the Duke of Savoy and the Elector of Bavaria. He settled the time and manner of the remittance, and agreed to a suspension of arms by sea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England: this was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. The negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbrooke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France. The States-General breathed nothing but war; the Pensionary Heinsius pronounced an oration in their assembly, represented the impossibility of concluding a peace without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended in the war. The conferences were interrupted by a quarrel between the domestics of Menager and those of the Count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch plebiscitaries. The populace insulted the Earl of Strafford and the Marquis del Borgo, minister of the king, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice. These obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British plebiscitaries exerted all their abilities, both in public and private, to engage the allies in a war for the recovery of Flanders. The conferences between the French and the English in passing to the other side of the Scheldischel, with the intention of removing all obstructions to the treaty, and of sending an address to the States-General, with a view to persuade the elector that it would be for his interest to cooperate with them in the enterprise, the resolution was already taken. * Whenever it shall please
God (said he) to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me for the advantage of my people; in the mean time, speak to me as to a German prince, and a prince of the empire." Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to draw over the Court of Prussia to her sentiments. In the mean time, LordINGTON was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where King Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortes. The like renunciation of Spain was made by the Princes of France; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the renonciations of England, and of the whole of Europe. The king in his name issued, and the queen, his regent, in her own, a declaration that the king would maintain his arms against the insurgents. (said she) So long as the king was in being, their arms were in the field. The queen ordered the seige of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannic majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of Count Staremburg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were to embark on board an English squadron, commanded by Sir John Jenings, and transported to Minorca.

§ XV. The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, and the determination of Portugal for England, where the party disputes were become more violent than ever. The sighs of those who had celebrated the birthday of the king, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. The English were only a few days in that city, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord treasurer with some squibs in a hand-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The Duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, his followers were alarmed on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the pretender. Some dispute arose between the duke and Lord Mohun, on the subject of a law-suit, formerly settled for a quartet. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the hereditary party, sent a message by General Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde Park, attended by Macartney and Colinet Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared and escaped in disguise; and the colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the sword in his attendance, but with the shriek of a piece of plate in raising the duke, Macartney having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the Duchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The forces exclaimed against this event as a party duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed that the whistle had posted others of the same stamp, all round Hyde Park, to murder the Duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and revenge the treachery of Macartney. The whigs on the other hand affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy to his charge; that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was convicted by the testimony of divers persons, who saw the combat at a distance. The Duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischief, and seeing his enemies grown stronger every day, and more incomprehensible, thought proper to retire to the continent, having lost his duke. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The Duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the Duke of Hamilton; the Duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and he bestowed the bare marks of respect upon the queen, to gain an audience to the Marquis de Montecelone, whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

§ XV. In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obstinacy of the States-General; but by a hint from the queen, the English, in vain did they represent, that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with any prospect of success; that the queen's aim had been to procure reasonable terms for the treaty of peace, that the ministers' measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favour, were they unanimous in their consultations. In November, the Earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promised to move upon France's ceding to the States the city of Tournay, and some other places which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their counsels. The ministers dreaded their reverse; they conceived that the allies would plainly perceive that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burden which they could not bear, especially since the Duke of Savoy and the King of Spain were at this moment engaged in the war; and were staggered by the affair of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive: namely, the apprehension of new mischief; and the desire to preserve the empire from the King of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French monarch. The czar and King Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania: the King of Denmark had taken part in the war, and laid Holstein under contribution; but Count Steinback, the Swedish general, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburg, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altens to ashes. The grand augur threatened to declare war against the czar, on pretext that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace; but his real motive was an inclination to support the King of Sweden. This disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party real the Porte, who were averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand, that the sultan would procure his safe conduct. Steinback, who brought this intimation with the most outrageous insolence; rejected the proposal; fortified his house, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with so much spirit, that he slew some hundreds of the assailants; but at last he was set fire in the house: so that he was obliged to surrender himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves. He himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Meanwhile the czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steinback maintained himself in Tommingen until all his supplies were cut off, and then he was obliged to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war. But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that case, they knew the emperor would recall great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burthen of the war must lie upon their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came into the queen's councils by the treaty of Utrecht, having submitted their treaties. They were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their own disappointment: that they had been deficient in furnishing
their proportion of troops and other necessaries; and let the whole burden of the war to fall upon the queen and the States to the Netherlands: that when a cessation was just, to transfer the heads of men and states to the chimerical projects of France Eugene; that while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace, they began to exert themselves in procuring peace with uncommon eagerness; that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, and endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the emperor's plenipotentiaries began to talk in most moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace, and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress; and now the plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies.

[XXI. The pacification between France and England was retarried, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North America. A long dispute ensued; and the Dutch plenipotentiaries and French plenipotentiaries were in the French minister at length it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great Britain; and the English plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty. The minister of Hanover's Bay, for the first time, said that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to postpone this transaction until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the States of the Dutch of Hanover's Bay and the empress would immediately withdraw his troops from the Dutch country, how vain all attempts would be to divide them. She left it entirely to the House of Commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons. 1 "Make yourselves safe (said she) and I shall be satisfied."

Next to the protection of the Divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I want no other guarantee." She recommended to their protection the same equity, the same respect for the persons of the men of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She desired they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom, for improving and perfecting the Portuguese wines; and for employing the hands of idle people. She expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditions labels which had been lately published. She exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the apprehensions of men and states to fall the chimerical projects of France Eugene; and that groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a candid, and benevolent sovereign, who loved her subjects with a truly parental affection. The parliament considered her in that light. Each House presented her with a warm address of thanks and congratulation. Expressing, in particular, their invaluable attachment to the person and present successions of the house of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, with the usual ceremonies, to the insensible joy of the nation in general. It was about this period that the Chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prepossession. The Commons, in a second address, had besought her majesty to communicate to the House in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benson, chancellor of the exchequer.

[XXIV. By the treaty of peace the French king obliged himself to abandon the pretender, and acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession: to raise the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, to the Duke of Savoy, to the Trinity and Bay Islands, and to the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish in Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, except in some commodities that were subject to new regulations in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, That no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France, imported into England, than such as are paid by the respective countries; and, that commissioners shall meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce; as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. It was stipulated, That the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: that the Duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of king; that the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the Elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his losses: that the States-general should restore Lisle and its dependences: that Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders; and, that the King of the Two Sicilies should have the title of King of Orange and the other states belonging to that family in Franche Comte. The King of Portugal was satisfied: and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time to be agreed upon by the emperor for consideration.

XXV. A day being appointed by the Commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing, That Great Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the most favoured nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than those that were drawn from any productions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition. Some members observed, that by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country were lower than those laid upon the wines of France; that should they now be reduced to such a figure, the trade of foreign wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the English. The Commons observed, that in such a case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on; for it consumed a great quantity of their manu-
factures, and returned a yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the interview, been importuned to encourage woollen manufactures, he was prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys, formerly imported from France: by which means an infinite number of idle persons were employed, and much money was saved to the nation; but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported, as an ordinary duty. The labour was cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be under-sold and ruined. He urged, that the sum of the silk manufactures would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those manufactures for British commodities would fail of course. Others alleged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops separated from those of the confederates, the French king would not have presumed to insist upon such terms, but the latter would have consented to more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late ministry, for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He said that Portugal would have been the occasion for the war, and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the House resolved, by a great majority, that a bill should be brought in to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring, that should the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, it would be prejudicial to the weavers, woollen manufactures, and other products of Great Britain. Indeed, all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry, from the intrigues of the whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates.

§ XXVII. Another bill was introduced, that granted an aid of two millions in gold, in order to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish merchants, who represented, that their country could not bear it. They insisted upon an express article of the union, stipulating, that no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the parliament, on account of the Whitsun holidays, the Scots of both Houses, laying aside all party distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject. They deputed the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Cockburn, and Mr. Cockburn to lay their grievances before the queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the union; and that the imposition of a duty so burdensome, as the malt-tax would, in all probability, prompt them to declare the union dissolved. The queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but that she would endeavour to make all things easy. On the first day of June, the Earl of Findlater, in the House of Peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances; that they were deprived of a privileged trade, receiving a bounty from the English nation; and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of tory members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the motion on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the same time, however, the House agreed to an address, thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdoms in the late depositions of laws in cases of a nature to give her good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade. They likewise besought her to appoint commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the continent. Moreover, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her people. The queen inter-
The queen, by her remonstrances to the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six protestants from the galleys: understanding afterwards that they were not employed on that business, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released. Then she appointed General Ross her envoy extraordinary to the King of France.

§ XXIX. The Duke of Shrewsbury was nominated Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two Houses still at variance, on the opposite principles of whig and Tory. Allan Broderick being chosen Speaker of the Commons, he ordered a list to be taken in to attain the pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book entitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George," and they agreed upon an address to the queen, to remove from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the tories of that kingdom. The Lords, however, resolved, that Chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two houses of conviction presented an address to the same purpose. They likewise complained of Mr. Molyneux, for having insulted them, by saving, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world upside down also, may be here, and in them, by the ear from the privy council. The Duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils. The queen, he obtained leave to return to England, leaving Chancellor Phipps, with the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

§ XXX. The parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the Tories; but the meeting of the new parliament was delayed, by repeated prorogations, to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the queen's indisposition, and partly to the demands of Oxford and Cambridge for the Ionian Islands, which were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid, the secretary's more shining; but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious. The first was bent upon maintaining the first rank in the administration, which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry; the other disdained to set as a subordinate to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius, and equalled in importance. They began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of Lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, who, in order to the same purpose. Thus she, who had been the author of his elevation, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority; by turns, to appease: but their mutual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was on the wane, and began to think of retirement. Meanwhile the Earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the King of Sicily, and set out for Turin. The queen retired to Windsor, where she was very dainty of her person. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the public funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament embarking in the ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The queen being made acquainted with this circumstance, she demurred to this, the lord mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discounte-
inance those malicious rumours, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and the imminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. The queen's recovery, together with the groundless imaginations that the armament was a phantom, and the pretender still in Lorraine, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been indistinctly raised by party writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, entitled, "The Cruze," so defensive of the resolution and the protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary right to the crown of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way to the restoration of the Pretender. One Bedford, who had been apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

§ XXX. While England was harassed by these intestine commotions, the emperor, rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expense, with the assistance of the empire. His forces on the Rhine, commanded by Prince Eugene, were so much assisted by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Fribourg. His imperial majesty hoped that the death of Queen Anne, or that of Louis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be of advantage to his interests. He depended upon the conduct and fortune of Prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the extensive campaigns, the emperor resolved to overtake the peace that was made by the Electors of Cleon and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Altrastadt, between Prince Eugene and Marschal de Villars, on the twentieth-day of November. In the beginning of February these ministers separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the two courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French king yielded to the emperor Old Brasse, with all its dependences, Fribourg, the forts in the Brigau and Black Forest, together with Fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huyingen, the fort of Sellinen, and all between that and Fort Louis. The town and fortress of Landau were ceded to the King of France, who acknowledged the Elector of Hanover. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and domains. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and the King of France, by the treaty, resolved to refrain from infringing the Guelphs. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first of May, at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and Prince Eugene and Marschal de Villars were appointed their first plenipotentiaries.

§ XXXII. The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first day of March, in London, and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation, and ceded to the king of France, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. He granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, according to the act of parliament. He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with all their estates, honour and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the Republic of Venice. The new parliament was opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hamer was chosen speaker of the House of Commons. On the second day of March, the queen being carried in a sedan to the House of Lords, signified to both Houses, that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her dominions; and she declared that her independent position might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe. She observed, that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate that the protestant succession, in the House of Bourbon, was brought under her government, but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity. She said, that after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, she could not for a moment endure the suggestions of those warm; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession. Affectation addresses were presented by the Lords, the Commons, and the convocation; but the ill humour of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, supported by Anson and Halifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of whig principles; and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

§ XXXIII. The Earl of Wharton complained in the House of Lords, that a libel, entitled, "The public spirit of the whigs set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastic performance, imputed to Lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with drivelling nonsense. He was accused by Lord Wharton of being the Duke of Argyll in particular. The lord treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morpeth, the publisher, as well as John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morpeth. The Earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly, to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scotchman. His demand that Barber and his servants might be examined; but, next day, the Earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared, that, in pursuance to her majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted. Notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to set the offenders, the lords presented an address, beseeching her majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and insidious, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a warrant was issued for the removal of the persons, with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more ecclesiastical defence. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, General Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole: and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. Whatever could be urged to his favour was but little regarded by the majesty, who voted, "that the pamphlets, entitled, "The Eng." and the "Crisis," and the Duke of Argyll, Sir John Steele, Esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels; and that he should be expell'd the House of Commons.

§ XXXV. The Lords, taking into consideration the state
of the nation, resolved upon addresses to the queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine; that she would impart to them a detail of the negociations which had taken place, to that effect, which had been made in favour of the Catalans, and an account of the monies granted by parliament since the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of mili subjects granted since her accession to the throne, and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, were allowed to continue in, or to have any connexion with, other of her majesty's dominions, since the revolution.

Having voted an application to the queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the House adjourned itself to the last day of March. As the minds of men had been artificially irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most christian majesty. The suspicions of many people, however, had not been wholly dispelled by the arts and simulacra of the wig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions, was a total removal of the whigs from all the eminence and influence of that order.

They were now bestowed upon profess'd Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the queen's views were maliciously misrepresented to the Marquis of Whig and the government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription, by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she disapprov'd the partiality of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the House of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity had suggested; and they seemed to be naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The whigs were all in communion, either approving, or affecting to approve, that a design was formed to secure the pretended successor to the throne of Great Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron S-h-z, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the elector: they received his instructions: they maintained their ground; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the pretender's succession upon the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired. This conduct of the whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation: but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

A.D. 1711. Lord Wharton was now dead.

The Duke of Wharton proposed an address to the queen, that she would name the last of that illustrious house, and would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The whigs were all in communion, either approving, or affecting to approve, that a design was formed to secure the pretended successor to the throne of Great Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron S-h-z, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the elector: they received his instructions: they maintained their ground; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the pretender's succession upon the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired. This conduct of the whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation: but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

§ XXXVI. The House of Peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the pretender's succession. With respect to the Catalans, they represented, that Great Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the House of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared that the queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf: and that the engagements with them subsisted no longer than King Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requesting the queen to continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the pretended, the whig lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and execration, as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest, assembly of Christians. Not content with this, the House joined in the following resolution: they seemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it a crime in him to be born. The Earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorraine, that, notwithstanding the application of both Houses to her majesty, during the last session, concerning the pretender's being removed from Lorraine, no instances had yet been made to the Duke for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke explained that he himself had made those instances, in the queen's name, to the Emperor, and that his Majesty was resolved to press them on England. The Earl of Wharton proposed a question: "Whether the pretender's succession was in danger under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, in which the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Anglesey joined in the opposition to the ministry. It was pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the course of the debate. He had given his assent to thecession of arms, for which he took shame into his hand, as it was inconsistent with his conscience. He affirmed that the honour of his sovereignty, and the good of his country, were the rules of his actions; but that, without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he must pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold. This conversion, however, was much more owing to a full persuasion, that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist, and that the pretender's succession was firmly secured. He therefore resolved to put a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved.

The Duke of Argyll charged the ministers with maladministration, because they had refused to offer to prove that the lord treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the pretender. He added, that the adhering of the highland clans to the ministry was the result of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the House of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advance to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay being defrauded by the ministry.

They were now bestowed upon profess'd Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the queen's views were maliciously misrepresented to the Marquis of Whig and the government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription, by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she disapprov'd the partiality of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the House of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity had suggested; and they seemed to be naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The whigs were all in communion, either approving, or affecting to approve, that a design was formed to secure the pretended successor to the throne of Great Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron S-h-z, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the elector: they received his instructions: they maintained their ground; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the pretender's succession upon the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired. This conduct of the whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation: but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

§ XXXVII. Lord Halifax proposed an address to the queen, that she would name the last of the illustrious house of Whig, and that she would, in conjunction with the States-general, enter into the guarantee of the pretender's succession in the house of Hanover. The Earl of Wharton moved, that in this address her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretended dead or alive. He was seconded by the Duke of Bolton; and the House agreed that an address should be presented. When it was reported by the committee, Lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head; he proved it was an encouragement to murder and assassination: contrary to the precepts of Christianity; contrary to the laws of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by Lord Trevor, who moved that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the pretended pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the Lords Cowper and Halifax; and it was moved by this time that the Earl of Anglesea, who had abdicated the ministry, were brought back in their former principles, by promise of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the whig lords only, the queen replied in
these words: "My Lords, it would be a real strengthen-
ing to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so unjustly and faultlessly promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be neces-
sary, I shall give my orders for having it issued. As to the other particulars of this address, I will give proper directions."

She was marked for another address, to issue out a proclamation against all Jesuits, popular priests, and bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for adhering to the late King James the Second. This person, not included in the articles of Limehouse, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military; and that no person, a natural-born subject of her majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of a public minister from any foreign potentate. These resolutions were named at Sir Patrick, Lawless, an Irish papist, who had come to England with a credential letter from King Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

§ XXXVIII. Then the Lords in the opposition made an attack upon the treasurer, concerning the money he had remitted to the highlanders; but Oxford silenced his opposition by adding, that in so doing he had followed the example of King William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the House; and Lord North and Grenvile, moved, that a day might be appointed for considering the state of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April fixed for this purpose.

In the mean time, Baron Schantz demanded of the chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, to sit in the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, intimating that his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance; but the prince's design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the queen, that she signified her disapprobation of such a step in a letter to the Princess Sophia. She observed, that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said a great many people in England were sedulously disposed; so she left her highness to judge what tumults they might be able to raise, should they have a pretext to begin a commotion; she, therefore, persuaded herself that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the peace and quiet of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the electoral prince, complaining that he had formed such a resolution, without first knowing her sentiments on the subject; and told him, nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession to the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the elector, his father: and the treasurer took this opportunity to assure that prince of his involuntary attachment to the family of Hanover.

§ XXXIX. The whig lords were dissatisfied with the queen's answer to their address concerning the pretender, and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which the minister was bound by a rescript of the Palatine, and the house of Hanover were printed and published in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family of the reasons which prevented the Duke of Cambridge from executing the commission given to him. The queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinion of her subjects; she therefore ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the Princess Sophia died, in the eighteenth year of her age, but was immediately suc-

§ XL. Her majesty's constitution was now quite broken; one fit of sickness succeeded another; what completed the ruin of her health was the austerity of her mind, occupied partly by the disputes which had been raised and fo-

Bolingbroke affected to set the whigs at defiance; he professed a warm zeal for the church; he soothed the queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention. He and his confidants unmasked that the treasurer was biased in favour of the dissorters, and even that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes, he had been deserted by Frederick, Duke of Cufhiau, who took his seat with the cabinet, and the queen'saabrother Jacobites, her house under the name of her brother, and her Hanover, his prince's house, and the queen's minister. They flattered themselves that the queen in secret favou-

The Commons voted an address of thanks for the proclamation; and assured her majesty, that they would cheerfully aid and support her in this her just and necessary undertaking.

§ XLI. The second day of July, the Lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain;
and a great number of merchants being examined at the bar of the House, declared that unless the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed, were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing five-and-twenty per cent of the profits. The House agreed that the queen should dress the queen for all the papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the name of the person who advised her majesty to that treaty. 

The queen was immediately supplied with a draft of the articles of the treaty which were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to being ratified with the treaty. The Earl of Wharton represented, that in the same short space of time the House, had no business in that House. He moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty, and the House agreed to his motion. Another member moved, that the House should insist on her majesty's naming the person who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur MOORE, a man of genius, who Lord Belingbroke consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was sworn by the majority in parliament; but a general court of the South sea company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by the South sea Artilliers, that they could not permit a director to carry on a desperate scheme, and that they were privy and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him; that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in, this company. The queen had reserved to herself the quarter part of the assent contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the upper House; but she would not communicate the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquility of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words: but I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts, unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside; and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have already expressed for the rights of my people.

§ XLI. After the peace had thus received the sanction of the parliament, the ministers, being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity, and a licence to a levity which was a detail of the public transactions; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the Duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The Duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council. In all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite, Lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's presence. The treasurer affirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations, but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attacked his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained. He had laid his account with being admitted as chief minister, to all but the aspect of being; and it is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the Duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a rebuff from the Duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the duchess had conceived against that minister.

§ XLI. Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his departure, nor can it be without pain to recollect the distress and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council on this event, had such an effect upon the queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was said to have been in so parlous a situation as to be apprehensive of the men and the means of which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of the朝代 of her life. Then the divisions of the five and twenty August assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that House. He moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty, and the House agreed to his motion. Another member moved, that the House should insist on her majesty's naming the person who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur MORR, a man of genius, who Lord Belingbroke consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was sworn by the majority in parliament; but a general court of the South sea company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by the South sea Artilliers, that they could not permit a director to carry on a desperate scheme, and that they were privy and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him; that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in, this company. The queen had reserved to herself the quarter part of the assent contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the upper House; but she would not communicate the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquility of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words: but I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts, unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside; and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have already expressed for the rights of my people.

§ XLI. After the peace had thus received the sanction of the parliament, the ministers, being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity, and a licence to a levity which was a detail of the public transactions; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the Duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The Duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council. In all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite, Lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's presence. The treasurer afirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations, but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attacked his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained. He had laid his account with being admitted as chief minister, to all but the aspect of being; and it is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the Duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a rebuff from the Duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the duchess had conceived against that minister.
in that vigour of mind by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the tears and letters of sycophants and favourites; but whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtue of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and of filial piety. She never turned her warm embraces of an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the church of England; and, with other religious publictions and sermons, Published without pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's kindness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudices of party could not abate. In a word, if she was persecuted, and ridiculed, she was singularly one of the last and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England; and well deserved the expressive though simple epithet of the good Queen Anne.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.


A.D. 1711.

§ I. It may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of party at this important juncture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the Earl of Oxford. These hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undetermined, and mysterious manner, without any other than that of preventing them from taking violent measures to embarrass his administration. At least, if he actually entertained at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, hid it wholly abse, probably from an apprehension of the danger which it must have been attended, and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the house of Hanover; but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of his country, without requiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke. Though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to have a leaning towards that body, and he might be an implacable enemy to the whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the pretender's succession. The Jacobites promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment; and they believed the majority of the Jacobites would join them on the same maxim. All Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of treasurer; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the queen, on whose personal favour he depended. The resolute behaviour of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyll, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the whig interest had gained the ascendency, completed the election of the Prince of Orange without a head, divided, distracted, and irresolute. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence, and submission to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success. They had no interest to raise the succession in the house of Hanover, but the fear of seeing the whig faction once more predominate; yet they were not without hope that their new sovereign, who was reputed a prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate the same principles of the throne, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, rather than declare himself the head of a faction which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the church and monocracy, on the bank and the funded-interest, raised upon usury, and maintained by corruption. In a word, the whigs were elated and overbearing; the Jacobites abashed and humble; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which, with respect to the event, was truly critical.

§ II. The queen had no sooner resigned her last breath than the privy council met, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Hanoverian postmaster, Kreyenberg,pronounced the three unrepresented ministers of state. The Elector of Brunswick had nominated the persons* to be added as lords justices to the seven great offices of the realm. Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming King George, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the Earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers in whom they could confide to their respective posts: this reinforced the garrison of the queen, of which they appointed Mr. Addison their secretary: while Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and underwent every species of ridicule. The death of the fourth Duke of Marlborough, King George ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent: and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design had ever been concerted by Queen Anne and her ministers in favour of the pretender. The mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. This being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately ordered to be committed to Mr. Secretary, the keeper of the parliament for the University; and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was either the production of some luminary, or weak constancy to fix an odium on so venerable a body.

§ III. The parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both Houses in the name of the regency. He told them, that the privy council appointed by the Elector of Brunswick had proclaimed that prince under the name of King George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace. He observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty; and recommended to the Commons the making such provision, in that respect, as might be requisite to support the state and guard the public credit. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduci to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both Houses immediately agreed to address, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the parliament of Great Britain. In the mean time the queen was the first to pay a visit to her majesty the same civil list which the crown had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the ser-
vice of Great Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by the treasury to any person who should apprehend the pretended in London, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Pulteney would otherwise have sent a message to Hanover if the queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the House of Peers; then the chancellor, in another speech to both Houses, intimated his Majesty's satisfaction at the loyalty and affection which he has publicly expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The Commons finished the bill for the civil list, and one for making some alterations in an act for the granting of letters of pry secretary. Mr. Pulteney was sent to the lords justices.—Then the parliament was prorogued.

§ IV. Mr. Prior having notified the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would involuntarily maintain the treaties of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The Earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the States of Holland, and the resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guarantee, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his succession to the throne of Great Britain. They invited him to proceed to England, if he pleased, and he informed them that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The Chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was not likely to be delayed. The king published a statute by which he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice to the king that he had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creating the prince-royal Prince of Wales; and for removing Lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary. The seals were taken from this minister by the Duke of Somerset, and given to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

§ V. King George having vested the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his brother Prince Ernest, set out with the electoral prince from Herrenhausen on the thirty-first day of August; and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the States-General. On the sixteenth day of September he arrived at Arlberg, under escort of an English and Dutch squadron arrived there by the Earl of Berkeley; and next day arrived at the Hope. In the afternoon the yacht sailed up the river; and his majesty, with the prince, were landed at a bank at Greenwich, about six miles from London; where he left the Duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss his hand as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession; but the Duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and Lord Treasurer, were not of the number. Next morning, the Earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive some particular mark of his majesty's favour: but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time undistinguished among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. On the other hand, his majesty expressed uncommon regard for the Duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the whig party.

§ VI. It was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been misled into strong prepossessions against the Tories, who constituted such a considerable part of his subjects. They were now excluded from all share of the royal favour, which was wholly engrossed by their enemies: these early marks of aversion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who would otherwise have served him as loyal and zealous subjects. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. The Duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the king restored to the Duke of Marlborough, likewise of ancient and illustrious extraction. The great seal was given to Lord Cowper; the privy seal to the Earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Devonshire was deprived of the lord high steward of England, and the Earls of Ormond and Somers were appointed secretaries of state; the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon the Duke of Montrose. The Duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the Duke of Albany, captain of the band of pensioners; and the Duke of Argyll commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney became secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the House of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea hospital. A new privy council was appointed, and the Earl of Nottingham declared president; but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet council, consisting of the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Halifax, Townshend, and Somers, and General Stanhope. The regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps, who was appointed chancellor; another privy council was formed; and the Duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission: all the governments were changed; and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the whigs. At the same time the prince-royal prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The king was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established: an aim which he ingeniously accomplished without impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: he, moreover, assured them he would earnestly endeavour to render protection to the several churches in their own ways, and clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles. On the twentieth day of October, he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnities, at which the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke assisted. On that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convention, unanimously conferred the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem. As the French king was said to protract the demolition of Dukirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. The answer which this minister received was not so encouraging as had been expected; his majesty, however, was recalled, and the Earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the same time General Collins was sent as plenipotentiary to Austria, to assist at the barrier treaty, negotiated there between the emperor and the States-General.

§ VII. Meanwhile, the number of the malcontents in England was considerably increased by the king's attachment to the whig faction. The clamour of the church's
being in danger was revived: jealousies were excited: sedi-
ditions laboured disperse; and dangerous tumults raised
in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol,
Chichester, Norwich, and Reading were filled with con
fusions. They were called "Down with the whigs! Sackverel for ever!" Many gentlemen of the whig faction were abused: magistrates in towns and jus
tices in the country were reviled and insulted by the popu-
lace, and by weight of their authority and pretender to
this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies
of a printed manifesto to the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marl-
borough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction.
In this case His Majesty mentioned the intentions of the
sister towards him, which were prevented by her deplo-
orable death. He observed that his people, instead of doing
him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king
a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontest
able laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of
settlement could never abrogate. These papers being de-
livered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an
audience to the Marquis de Lambert, minister from the
Duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto
could not have been prepared or transmitted without the
knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis
ha
ing communicated this circumstance to the duke, that
pretender bought his last, by placing the book in his
transaction, and declared that the Chevalier de St. George
came into Lorraine by the directions of the French king,
whom the duke could not dissemble without exposing his
terminable cessation. Notwithstanding this declaration,
the marquis was given to understand that he could not be
admitted to an audience until the pretender should be
removed from the diminions of his master; he, therefore,
quieted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion
was still mingled with all political disputes. The high-
churchmen complained that impurity and heresy daily min-
dered ground from the conscience, or at least the supreme
negligence, of the whig prelates. The lower house of con-
vention, in the meantime, declared the following
in a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke under the title of
"The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained asser-
tions contrary to the catholic faith. They sent up extracts
from this performance to the bishops; and the doctor
wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed
upon to write an apology, which he presented to the upper
house; but apprehending it might be published separately,
and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation
to the Bishop of London. This was not satisfactory to the
bishops; but the lower house resolved, that it was no
recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about
the Trinity increasing, the archbishop and bishops re-
curred to. The Duke of Marlborough was a
unity in the church, the purity of the Christian faith con-
cerning the Holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace
and quiet of the state. By these every preacher was re-
strained from delivering any other doctrine than what is
contained in the Holy Scriptures with respect to the Trinity;
and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or
government. The like prohibition was extended to those
who should write, baragzn, or dispute on the same
subjects.

§ VIII. The parliament being dissolved, another was
called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the
king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to
him in a respectable manner. He represented his conduct and
principles. He mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy
debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving
subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to
deress the present disorders, and that in the elections they
would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a
firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was
in danger; and that no person did not agree in the pro-
session was ever in danger. How then was this de-
claration to be interpreted? People in general construed
it into a design to maintain party distinctions, and encour-
aging the whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the
elections into a municipality of the state; and as the first
flash of that vengeance which afterwards was seen to
burst upon the heads of the late ministry. When the
Earl of Stafford returned from Holland, all his papers
were seized by an order from the secretaries office. Mr.
Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover
all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's adminis-
tration in the elections; but, by dint of the manoeuvred interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the ministry, which will always be advantageously exerted to the ruin of the majority of
whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

§ IX. When this new parliament assembled on the
seventeenth day of March at Westminster, Mr. Spencer
at the command of the king, on the twenty-first day of the month, the king appeared in
the House of Lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written
speech, which was read in the presence of both Houses.
His majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for
that zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the
protestant succession, against all the open and secret prac-
tices which had been used to defeat it. He told them that
some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and
trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly executed; and
that the performance of the whole might be looked upon
as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed
to guarantee the present treaties. He observed, that the
parliament was instructed to settle the great affairs of
to repair his former disappointment; that great part of
the national trade was rendered impracticable; and that
the public debts were surprisingly increased since the
declaration of peace. He further observed, that it was
understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly
called for the support of the civil government, were so far encum-
bered and alienated, that the produce of them which
remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short
of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour
and dignity of the crown; that as it was his and their
happiness to see a Prince of Wales who might in due time
come to the throne, and to see him blest with many
blessings, he was the viceroy of so many children; that he
had offered to the nation an expense to which the nation had not been for many
years accustomed; and, therefore, he did not doubt but
they would think of it with that affection which he had
reason to hope from his commons. He declared that
unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pur-
suing the common interest of their country. He declared
that the established constitution in church and state should
be the rule of his government; and that the happiness,
prosperity, and tranquility of the people should be the
chief end of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence,
that with their assistance he should accomplish the designs
of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessings which he
most valued, and which was an object of so much care
and solicitude of his life. The Commons pretended to think that
their majesty had no more interest in the success of the
kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to
converse the world by their actions was by no means to
be imputed to the nation in general. The houses said this
was an invincible objection; and the majority of its people was inclined to mis
inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had
never been so high as at this very juncture. The Commons
pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the
late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care
was not taken to form such alliances as might have ren-
dered the peace not precarious. They declared their reso-
lution to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to truce out
these misgivings; and to make the protestant succession
safe. They promised to the king, and bring the authors of them to condign punishments.
These addresses were not voted without opposition. In
the House of Lords, the Dukes of Buckingham and
Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesey, the Arch Bishop of
York, and several peers, as well as a number of common
men, observed, that their address was injurious to the late
queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those

unhappy divisions that distressed the kingdom. In the lower House, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, General Ross, Sir William Whitefock, and other members, took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address and declaration of the House of Commons. The speech was answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pittsley, and Mr. Secretary Stanhope. These gentlemen took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to p. t. entert a discovery of the late mismanagements, by every means in their power, the secretary’s office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm; that those matters would soon be laid before the House. The Whig oratorism did not, however, the English House of Commons vote in concert with, if not received orders from, Marischal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with remarkable serenity, and spoke in the House of Lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his Boyer, Tacy. Tindal. Reid. Before to the continent, leaving a letter which was bound to be opened afterwards printed in his justification. In this paper, he declared that he had found, for having presumed to information, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold; that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already pre-judged, he did not think the course of the parliament, should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most invertebrate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable interpretation would be put upon it, but affirmed, that he had served her majesty faithfully and dutifully in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

A. D. 1718.

§ XVI. In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition; and even in some addresses to the king their conduct was justified. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the House of Commons, to consider the king’s majesty’s declaration for calling a new parliament, Sir William Whitefock, member for Middlesex university, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, Sir William Wynn rang up, said, the proposition was extremely unwarrantable and inadmissible, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower! the Tower!"

A warm debate ensued: Sir William being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and those who remained in the House resolved, that he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was accordingly reprimanded, and was desired to reflect on his majesty’s proclamation, and having made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty. Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege; that he acquiesced in the determination of the House; but had no thanks to give to those gentlemen who, under pretence of tenor, had subjected him to this censure.

§ XII. On the ninth day of April, General Stanhope delivered to the House of Commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negociations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; nor could any thing be added that was not truly material, and of great concern to the nation. The House resolved, on the motion of the committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of their several papers; and report them, with their observations, to the House. One more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot, and met that same evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees: to each a certain number of books was assigned, and they were charged, with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, died of a pleuritic fever, in the seventy-second year of his age. Immediately after the committee had begun to act, the white party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the Marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents which a life of pleasure and health had preserved in young vigour and application. The committee of the lower House taking the civil list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The tones observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds, granted annually to King William, fifty thousand pounds were allotted to the late queen, when Princess of Denmark; twenty thousand pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum, as a dowry, to James’s queen; that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly derived from the revenues of the late queen’s civil list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honoursly maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown of England. Further alteration passed between Lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late ministry had used the whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation, in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed hard-shap. At length the House agreed that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should be granted for the civil list during his majesty’s life. A motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and overruled by the majority. The present minister, Lord Stanhope, put in the place of the act, for regulating the land forces, with some amendments.

§ XIII. On the eighteenth day of May, Sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation. In June, an order was that a corner of Sweden, which caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concluded by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the States-general had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish general, Sir Stenbock, had taken, in May, a few places, and Wellem concluded a treaty with the administration of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stettin and Wis- mar were sequestered into the hands of the King of Prus- sia; the ambassador engaged to send them, and the towns of the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pommerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stettin to surrenders. Then the government consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix-dollars, to indemnify them for the expense of the siege. The King of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insulted upon Steen’s war, which was restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chose his false friend; King George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the King of Prussia, by which the duchies of Brem- men and Verden, which had been taken from the Swedes in his absence, were made over to his British majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly, he took possession of the duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thou- sand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Po- merania. The King of Sweden released the blockade of Cleon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops, with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen: but was disappointed by a sudden
thee. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlescroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of

§ XIV. The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the mob which has convened in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the king's birthday with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace; but next day, which was the anniversary of the facts of distraction, the streets were lighted with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of martial and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards, who patrolled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High-church and Ormonde," and in Southwark they burned the picture of King William. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bourgeois a schoolmaster, who affirmed that King George had no right to the crown, was tried, and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, were of course, that the soldiers could have been persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the king's palace, and into that which belonged to the Duke of Marlborough. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers, who exclaimed, "These are the Hanover over shirts." The court being informed of this clamour, ordered those shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the Duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered to the government to any person that would discover the agents of the Duke of Marlborough, or any interested persons who appeared to be disaffected to King George; and Mr. George Jeffreys was seized at Dublin, with a packet, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England; Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

§ XV. The House of Lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against the sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition addressed to them in behalf of Blackburn, Cassilis, Bernarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners for having conspired against the life of King William. On the third day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the House of Commons, that the report was ready; and in the meantime, that a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker, for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the House, were immediately taken into custody. Then he recited the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negociation with Monsieur Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the contrivance of the British ministers; the negociation about the remuneration of the Spanish monarchy; the fatal suspension of arms in the possession of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favour the French; the Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French generally; the Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace; Mr. Prior's and the Duke of Strafford's negociations in France, the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the meantime the expenses should be paid out of the public funds to the members: he was seconded by the tones; a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

§ XVI. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Lord Brouning for the high treason. The Duke of Ormond accused of other high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Hargrave declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to Lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high treason; and General Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then Lord Orrinckley standing up, "The worthy chairman (said Lord Orrinckley) has impeached the hand, he has impeached the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice; be impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors." Mr. Auditor Harley, the Earl's brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose. Sir Joseph Jekyll, a stanch whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the earl of high treason. Nevertheless, the House resolved to impeach him, without a division. When he appeared in the House of Lords next day, he found himself deserted by his brother peers, as infectious; and retired with signs of contempt, not having any expectation of the support of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex. Mr. Walpole informed the House that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move for that member's being closely confined, from all communication. On the twenty-first day of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope impeached James, Duke of Ormond, of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Whelband, the Auditor-General, commissioners of trade, spoke in favour of the duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his Grace, his brother, the Duke of Wiltshire, and in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and he affirmed that all allegations against him could not, to the rigour of the law, be construed into high treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by General Lumley, who urged that the Duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by sacrificing a most noble man of years of useful and honourable services for the good and benefit of his country; that the death of Edward III. on which the charge of high treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the House ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered. The question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who receiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety. He withdrew from the kingdom. On the twenty-second day of June, the Earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Anlaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seating of the Jacobite troops, as well as for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. He was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies. The House of Commons

[A.D. 1715.—Book II.]}
was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham and the Tories, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyll. This honest patriot said it was even his principle to do justice to every body from the highest to the lowest; and that it was the duty of every House of Commons to point out that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not scruple to declare, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high commission, which, however, warmly, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and who were superior to him in other respects: the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the House, Lord Comyns, attended by the whig members, impeached the Earl of Oxford at the bar of the House of Lords, demanding at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read; then the toby lords moved that the judges might be consulted. The motion being rejected, another was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody; this occasioned a considerable division of opinion as to the following purpose: That the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusions of the peace; that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny; that the conditions of the peace were as good as could be expected with a much more righteous and equitable disposition which some of the allies showed to come into the queen's measures; that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments; that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who has thought fit to step aside; that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offering any ministerial advice that might be prejudicial to his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man; that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he did not doubt their lordships' out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing; and that in the prosecution of the inquiry it would be immeasurably to his inestimable honour, the even the favour of his government. "My lords, (said he,) I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable House, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life in the service of my country, or continue to disserve the royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and repute with great content; and, my lords, God will still have done. The Duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the House that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black rod; in his way thither he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, "High-church, Ormond, and Oxford, for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar; where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the bar, in danger of shedding his blood, he feared such violent measures would make the seer shew in the king's hands. This expression kindled the whole House into a flame. Some members cried "To the Tower!" some, "To order! The Earl of Sunderland declared, that if these words had been spoken to another place, he would have called the person that spoke them to an account; in the mean time, he moved that the noble Lord should explain himself. Anglesey, dreading the resentment of an ill-natured body of people, left the seat to apoloty; which was accepted. The Earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom, against the whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation. The king to find an answer to all the apprehensions of the reformers, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation act, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, and endeavored to meet together in any place to prevent the execution of the laws and their authority, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. § XVIII. When the king went to the House of Peers, on the twentieth day of July, to give the royal assent to this, and some other bills, he told both Houses that a rebellion was actually begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He, therefore, expected that the Commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities: but that of Oxford was received in the most gay and public manner. The House of Lords met forthwith passed a bill, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the habeas corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money bill, offering a reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretended dead or alive. Sir George Bung was sent to take the command of the fleet: General Earl repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were placed on the highest alert: the House of Lords was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton, who, together with Lord Windsor, the Generals Ross, Welb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising three regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the Commons added six articles to those exhibited against the Earl of Oxford. Lord Holings bore was appointed governor of Carlisle, and Sir Thomas Walpole. Bills being brought in to summon him and the Duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the tenth of November, or, in default thereof, to attain them of high treason, they passed the late House of Lords, and the Commons. On the last day of August, the Commons agreed to the articles against the Earl of Stratford, which being presented to the House of Lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unpremeditated manner. He said, if he had in his letters or discourse dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British House of Peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee, or in danger of being by the government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other parties, until the Earl of Hyde represented that, in all cases of judgments, except the acquisition, allowed the persons assigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the House of Peers of Great Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression on the House, which resolved that the Earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence. § XIX. On the twenty-fourth of August Oxford's answer was delivered to the House of Lords, who transmitted it to the Commons. Mr. Walpole, having heard it read,
said it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry: that it was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his head the treachery and perfidy which he had practised against all the persons necessary to the public service; that he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of her country: that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons whom he had confessed to be his tools. After a long debate, the House resolved, That the answer of Hobart Earl of Oxford should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence of the impeached Earl, and that the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the Lords. Then the committee reported, that Mr. Prior had greatly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the House of Lords ordered the earl-marshals to raise out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievement, as knight of the Garter, was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor. A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the misfortunes of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his sovereign. About this period, the royal assent was given to an act for enrolling the names of such as were implicated in the Jacobite risings in Scotland. But this continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority; and that all entails and settlements of estates, since the first day of August, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law by the defection of high treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh: and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

§ XX. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of the kingdom against the union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Lords of the Treasury encouraged this averse feeling. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favour of the pretender: but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and, indeed, the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced the apprehension. They promised to come over without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the pretender should join him at his first landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Jacobites availed themselves of this advantageous proposition. He had recourse to the French king, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of making him the great leader of the nation. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to procure a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Amicaut; and without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the Earl of Oxford might manage his attachment to the House of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the torments of England.

§ XXI. All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, prudence, and address. He detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great Britain to take effectual measures against the dangerous consequences of his design. The interest in France expired with Louis XIV, that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to its insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the king of Spain lost his king, and the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the pretender, he urged his agents with mysterious and equivocal representations, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and that he would aid them. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

§ XXII. The partisans of the pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine; the Earls Marischal and Southesk, and General Hawke, and the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. They then assembled three hundred of his own vessels; proclaimed the pretender at Caithness, and set up his standard at Braemar, on the sixth day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wigtown, and the General Hamilton, with the lords and gentlemen of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these proceedings were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar, that the pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV, struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the meantime, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, enumerating the Jacobite grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigour and activity of Colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of Argyll set sail for Scotland, with a considerable number of Jacobite forces in North Britain: the Earl of Sunderland set sail in the Queensborough ship of war for the north, where he proposed to raise his vessels for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to King George.
§ XXIII. In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate-house for entertaining men in the service of the pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was arrested; John Paul, Lord Combe, who had been taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The king desired the censure of the lower House to cease and let Sir William Wyndham, John, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr. Harvey, forthwith, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposals. They told the king that the tide was rising. Harvey and Astis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some papish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the council, was dismissed with want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was sent to his own house in Somersetshire by Colonel Iluske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as a bail, examined as an accessory, and then warned, that the king thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the twenty-first day of September, the king went to the House of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then the council delivered to him the copy of the majesty's speech expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction, in consequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received: and the parliament adjourned to the sixth day of October.

§ XXIV. The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol: but they betrayed their design by the emissaries of the government; which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The university of Oxford felt the rod of power on this occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He apprehended two persons, among whom was a mailer, a coffee-man; and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to Colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handseal's regiment of foot was afterwards ordered to take the town, and appeared to the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemens from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels returning northward to Woolsor, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under Sir John Vincent Kermain, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelson, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of highlanders.

§ XXV. By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of five thousand Highlanders, and had a pass of the Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the Firth of Forth. He raised one hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled for this purpose: and notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the king's ships in the Firth, to prevent the design, above fifteen thousand men, with some considerable baggage, and their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the king's cruisers, would be better conceived or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprise. They amused the king's ships with marches and counter-marches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not put the boats to land where the tide was blames. The Earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumbarton, as if he had intended to cross the Firth at Stirling bridge; but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The Duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partian had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-Pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained, until he received intelligence from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmure and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the marcher's approach. § XXVI. The Lord Kenmure, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland and join General Gordon, who commanded a strong body of highlanders in Ar- range, and attacking General Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the Earl of Wintoun. Means, however, were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the Earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Newcastle, where they were assisted by a detachment of the Bishop of Carlisle, who had assembled the whole posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with five regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to pursue the insurgents, and put the place in a posture of defense. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or be comprehended; but they were overpowered. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the general would not treat with rebels; but in consideration of his services and valour, he presented his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to
consider till next morning, upon their delivering the Earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this highlander declared he could not promise he would surrender in that manner. The general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut to pieces. The Scottish noblemen did not choose to accept this; and persuaded the highlander to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard.

All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaffoe, and Ensign Erskine, with twenty-five horsemen, were taken, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

§ XXVII. The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumbarton. fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, where he understood the Duke was encamped from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the forces of Kilmarnock, and Fladensburg, and those of the west commanded by General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to complete this army with that of the French, and then to carry it further into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The Duke of Argyle, apprized of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his army near the village of Dumbarton, and his right towards Stirling. There the Duke of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumbarton: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clannmall at their head, charged the left of the king's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes and forty-five seconds they were completely slaughtered; and General Wetheram, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stan's and Evan's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan: yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Wetheram a considerable distance, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had formed two lines of battle. They took possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this position both armies faced each other till the evening, when the duke drew off towards Dumbarton, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day the duke marched back to Dumbarton, and the battle, curtailed by the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be above three hundred. After the taking possession of each army, the battle was renewed. This battle was not so fatal to the highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Fraser Lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the pretender's forces were crowded in a body of vassals. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Seaford were obliged to quit the rebel army in order to defend their own territories: and in a little time submitted to their fate. Lord Dundas, a great nobleman of the Freeholders, declared with their chief against the pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country: and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.
stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Grevena. General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl Marschal, procured the necessary relations to secure the provision of vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdon, till they arrived at Badenoch, where the common people were greatly dispersed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marschal. Such were the circumstances of the exportation to enable the noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partisans of the pretender to hazard a revolt.

§ XXX. The parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration. They passed bills for recognising the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies about six thousand pounds, for six months. All the eyes were fixed on the late queen in favour of Sir Constantine Fitzhugh, then lord chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees, and ensured as guilty of a breach of privilege. The lords, on the other hand, proclaimed a mortal war against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitation signed by King William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other states. They engaged, in an association against the pretender, all his adherents. They voted the Earl of Anglesy an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he advised the queen to break the army, and prostrate the late parliament; and they addressed the king to drive him from his council and service. The lords and justices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Westmoreland, the Lords Netville, Caher, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the two Houses.

§ XXXI. The king, in his speech to the English parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the pretender was landed to Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in the west, and the concluding of the last and barter treaty between the emperor and the States-general, under his guarantee: on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the power of France and the Dutch; and on the advantage he had secured in consequence of the late treaties. He likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great Britain and the States-general was almost concluded; and he assured the Commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expense incurred on this occasion. The Commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive councils which had drawn down such miseries upon the nation. Their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster from the House. They forthwith impeached the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; Lords Widdrington, Kemmuir, and Nairn. These with him were brought before the commission of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower House ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act: then they prepared another to attain the Marquis of Tallbar- dine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first day of January, the king gave them a bill for suspending the commission of the giver's soldiers: the chamber of the House, being unable to grant it, the pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of common pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their commons associates. Forcibly resisting the commission, and the continent in safety: the rest pleaded not guilty, and were
indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges, appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high treason. Two-and-twenty were convicted, and MacKenzie and MacLeod, two thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newcastle, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have redoubled the vigilance of the jailers, Brigadier Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newcastle, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and escaped the sentence. The court pronounced that those remained; and a great number were found guilty: four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: and among these was one William Paul, a clergymen, who, in his last speech, professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution schismatic church, whose bishops had abandoned the king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay deprivations authorized by the Prince of Orange.

§ XXXIV. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage; and the severity exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent: for now the violence of their humane passions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in their most dreadful form, prepossessed mankind against the favor of the unhappy victims were animated. In a word, perseverance, as usual, extended the heresy. The ministry, perceiving this universal disaffection, and dreading the revolution of a new parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own measures, formed a revolution equally odious and effectual to establish their administration. This was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to enable every member of parliament to remain in office twenty years. On the tenth day of April, the Duke of Devonshire represented, in the House of Lords, that triennial elections served to keep up party divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expenses, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly, to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion still remained unconquered. He, therefore, proposed a bill for limiting the continuance of parliament. He was seconded by the Earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the Lord Townshend, and Lord Bute, members of that party. The motion was opposed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet. They observed, that frequent parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages; that the members of the lower House were chosen by the body of the nation, for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the parliament's proclamation of its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who, through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them; that the reasons in favour of such a bill were weak and unsatisfactory; that it would tend to encourage the prince or state could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported: on the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the papish faction has the power to form a new or mischiefous system to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety: that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the government was restrained within the limits of the House of Commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expense of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every species of corruption; for the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a parliament. Lord Townshend about a thousand pounds. He contended that a long parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the parliament shall be frequent; that the same reasons urged for passing the bill would authorize a parliament for seven years would be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating the system with which they were charged for the preservation of the third estate of the realm. This arguments served only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for septennial parliaments passed by a great majority; though twenty peers entered a protest. It met with the same fate in the House, where many strong objections were stated to no purpose. They were represented as the effects of party spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spirit of action on both sides. The question for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

§ XXXV. The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the king resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the Elector of Hanover, for having entered into the confederacy against his father. The latter having purchased the dukedom of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the King of Great Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the king now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was restricted from leaving his British dominions, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, this clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both houses, and became an act. On the twenty-sixth day of June, the king closed the session with a speech upon the usual topics, in which, however, he observed, that the numerous instances of mercy he had shown, served only to encourage the faction of the pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world that they were not to be restrained by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave notice, that he should leave his beloved son, the Prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period, General Macarthur, who had returned to England at the accession of King William, was restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The king's brother, Prince Ernest, Bishop of Osnabrick, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster. The Duke of Argyile, his brother the Earl of Ilay, to whom his majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments. General Carpenter succeeded the Duke in the chief command of the forces in North Britain; and in the government of the foreign alliances. The Duke of Hamilton was appointed lord register of Scotland in the room of the Earl of Ilay.

§ XXXVI. On the seventh day of July, the king embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, by which passage he passed incognito to Hanover, and thence set out for Pymouth. His aim was to secure his German dominions from the Swedes, and Great Britain from the pretender. These two princes had already begun to form a new and most dangerous system to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety: that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the government was restrained within the limits of the House of Commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the
by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The King of England sounded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in such an association. The negotiation was carried on by General Can- dogan for England, the Albr. du Bos for France, and the Prince of Orange for the United States; and the treaty was readily completed with all their demands. He engaged that the pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Louis XIV.; France on this point was explicit; but the refusal of the rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom; and that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demarcation of Dunkirk, should be fully and faithfully executed. In this transaction of his Britannic majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as of that of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be distur- bed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty. They said an unnecessary union was made, with which all nations were great commercial connections; and that on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

XXXVIII. When the parliament of Great Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the King informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which he had received from the ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the Commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared that the scheme projected by the German party to the duchies of Verden, Duynna, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxil- iaries sent back to their own country. The letters being laid before an parliament, present to the disavowal of his Britannic majesty. The King'ssend the plans for designing a new armament, which they ostent the king's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences, of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonourable peace; and they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He like- wise received an address of the same kind from the con- feredacy. These were resolutions on the side of the university; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments. At a meeting of the vice- chancellor and heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the King, on the subject of the late unnatural rebellion, his majesty's safe return, and the favour lately shown to the university, in addressing, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the Pope, the pretender, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Oxford, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession. Dr. Smallridge, Bishop of Bristol, observed, that the rebelli- on had been long suppressed; that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented every time his majesty returned from his German dominions. The university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard paid to their remon- strance, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniversary of the prince's birth-day had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings. Affidavits had been sent up to the court, which seemed to favour the officers of the regiment. When the House of Lords deliberated upon the mutiny- bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts, of their own finding, the petition was presented at Oxford; and a good deal was made, that they should in- quire into the riot. The Lords presented an address to the queen, desiring that the papers relating to that affair might be laid before the House. These being passed, a motion was made for obtaining a return of the names of the soldiers, and of the officers of the regiment. A warm debate ensued, during which the Earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor of the university, the mayor and magis- trates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One of the court members observing that it would be irregular to re- ceive a petition while the House was in a grand commit- tee, a motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair; but this being carried in the negative, the de- bate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the follow- ing resolutions: That the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make public rejoicings on the prince's birth-day; that the officers having met to cele-brate that day, the house in which they had assembled was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rab- ble; that this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued; that the conduct of the major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part; that the printing and publishing the deposi-tions, upon which the complaints re- lating to the riots at Oxford were founded, by a person not directly concerned in the affair, while that matter was under the examination of the court of admiralty, before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending to sedition. An inquiry of this nature, so managed, did not much reduce to the honour of such an august assembly.
§ XXXIX. The Commons passed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand subjects. They voted the money for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land- forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The House likewise voted four-and-twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munsters part of Spain. The king took the bill into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the States-general to the assistance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. It was weighed against as an imposition, seeing no troops had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties might be laid before the House; but this was overruled by the majority. The supplies were raised by a land tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt tax. What the Commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expense of the year; therefore, Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a message from his majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdom against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a supply should be voted to his majesty as a necessity. Mr. Shippen observed it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country: that the message was absolute and unqualified; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he said he had been often told that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade; but that the solicitude demanded time to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for so great an imposition; much less that it should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprise that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderate an enemy as the King of Sweden. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscowen, Sir Gilbert Heathcock, and others; but some of the whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, opposed this unconstitutional way of demanding the supply: the former insisted, that a part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several successive debates, the resolution for the supply was carried by a majority of two. § XL. The ministry was now divided within itself. Lord Townshend had been removed from the office of secretary of state, by the intrigues of the Earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his post of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen, secretary of state. When the affairs of the supply were resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he could not now act with the freedom of an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply, as unconstitutional and unprecedented. He said he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the House in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith, in a very angry speech; he affirmed that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relating to affairs abroad was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. "Was it not a mistake (said he) not to preserve the peace at home, after the king had ascended the throne with the universal applause and professions of loyalty?" 2 All this was, said he, upon a mistake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation, to offer pardon to such as should return home peaceably, according to the custom on former occasions? He asked if it was not a mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to despair, by not passing an act of indemnity, by keeping so many persons under hard and tedious captivity? The demand would not be made without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake, not to trust a vote of parliament for making good such engagements as his majesty should think proper to enter into; and instead of that, to insist on the granting this supply in such an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake, to take this opportunity to create divisions, and render some of the king's best friends suspected and obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in order to fortify and calais, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act of occasional conformity? A great number of members had agreed to this measure in private, though at this period it was not brought into the House of Commons. After a long debate, it was carried by a majority. These were the first fruits of Britain's being wedded to the interests of the continent. The Elector of Hanover quarrelled with the King of Sweden; and England was not only deprived of a necessary harbinger of alliances; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he said he had been often told that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade; but that the solicitude demanded time to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for so great an imposition; much less that it should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprise that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderate an enemy as the King of Sweden. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscowen, Sir Gilbert Heathcock, and others; but some of the whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, opposed this unconstitutional way of demanding the supply: the former insisted, that a part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several successive debates, the resolution for the supply was carried by a majority of two. § XL. The ministry was now divided within itself. Lord Townshend had been removed from the office of secretary of state, by the intrigues of the Earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his post of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen, secretary of state. When the affairs of the supply were resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he could not now act with the freedom of an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply, as unconstitutional and unprecedented. He said he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the House in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith, in a very angry speech; he affirmed that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relating to affairs abroad was to be made from a comparison and fifty thousand, commanded by the grand vizzir, who was mortally wounded, and the Turkish imperial army which interrupted the battle he fought on the fifth day of August. The Turkish army did not exceed thirty thousand men, of those all affidavit attributed to one hundred and
speaker took their word and honour that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the House came to certain resolutions for the whole proceedings for the first time, passed into laws, under the names of "The South Sea Act, the Bank Act, and the General Fund Act." The original stock of the South Sea company did not exceed one million five hundred thousand pounds; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent. the company made up that sum to the government, for which they received six hundred thousand pounds, and a commission, and the management of the funds for the first year, for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive five hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand for management. It was enacted, that the company should continue a corporation until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four loans of the sixth and tenth years of Queen Anne. By the bank act the governors and company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence, to which was added an interest of one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand twentyseven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, in lieu of the present annuity, amounting to one hundred and one shillings and five pence halfpenny, to be paid by the company, and five shillings, and five pence. They likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent, redeemable after one year's notice; to erect the remaining exchequer bills at three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, that the former allowances should be continued to Christmas next, and the bank should have the use of the two millions five hundred and sixty-one thousand and twenty-five pounds remaining exchequer bills, an annuity of seventy-six thousand eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a day for interest. By the same act the bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that the bank should have the use of it for as long a time as they might advance, redeemable by parliament. The general fund act recited the several acts of parliament, for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne, and for the management of the several funds, amounting in all to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten pence one-fifth. This was the general fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the firsts aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, that all the duties and revenues mentioned therein should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual should be subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, that all the moneys from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South Sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debt as was incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the years, and to the interest due at the end of said year, and appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

§ Next. The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years in the Tower, presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory lords affirmed that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of parliament, which superseded it, and that the committee appointed to consider it was of considerable majesty. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the House of Commons made acquaintance with this determination. The Commons appointed a committee to the state of the earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the Lords, demanding longer time to prepare for trial. Accordingly, the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June, and the Commons appointed the chairman, with five members, to go into a committee, making the good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time, the Peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where Lord Cowper presided as lord steward. The Commons were assembled as a committee of the whole house: the king, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity: the Earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the repudiation of the Commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article, Lord Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own house. There he represented, that a great deal of business had been got through the Commons, in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that if the Commons would make good the two articles for high treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there was not the most light to imagine that the Commons, to proceed on the method proposed by the Commons, would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He therefore moved that the Commons might not be permitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given upon the articles of high treason. It was supported the same day by Mr. Fox of Anglesey and Nottingham, the Lord Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Coningsby and Parker, the motion was carried without disserting the dispute between the two houses. The Commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for treason or for high crimes and misdemeanors; or, should they see occasion, to mix both in a single accusation. The House of Lords insisted on their former resolution; and in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice to impeach a peer. The Commons insisted that such proceedings as they thought fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognizance. The Commons demanded a free conference, which was refused. The dispute grew more and more wide, so that both houses sent their committees to the lower House, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the Earl of Oxford. The Commons paid no regard to this intimation, but adjourned to the third day of July. The Lords, repairing to Westminster-hall, took their places, entered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own house, where, after some debate, the earl was acquitted upon a division; then returning to the hall they voted, that he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the ministers, and to the late change in the administration. In consequence of this he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the Earls of Nottingham and Hail, and Lord Townshend. The Commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an address to the king, desiring he might be excluded out of the intended general grace. The king promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the earl to appear at court. On the fifteenth day of July the Earl of Sunderland delivered the Earl of Oxford to the House of Peers, and the commons, who proceeded through both Houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore, Crisp, Nodis, Ollivran, Redmarne the printer, and Thompson; as also the assassins in Newcastle, and the clauk of Macgregor.
in Scotland. B. virtue of this act, the Earl of Cam'wath, the Lords Waddington and Nairn, were immediately discharged, together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those who were confined on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons. The act, however, was not put in force, and for the royal assent, the king went to the House of Peers on the fifteenth day of July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

§ XLIII. The proceedings in the convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoodley, Bishop of Bangor. One was entitled, "A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Presbyterians." In the other was a sermon preached before the king, under the title of, "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ." An answer to this discourse was published by Dr. Snape, master of Eton college, and the convocation appointed a committee to examine the bishop's two performances. They drew up a representation, in which the preservative and the sermon were censured, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ; to reduce his kingdom to a state of disorder and confusion: to impugn and impugn the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. The government thought proper to put a stop to these productions by proclamation; but, however, inflamed the controversy. A great number of pens were drawn against the bishop; but his chief antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the king removed from the office of his chaplains: and the convocation has not been permitted to sit and do business since that period.

CHAP. II.

§ 1 Difference between King George and the Car of Moscovy. § II. The King of Sweden is called at Fredriksstadt. § III. Negotiations for the quadruple alliance. § IV. Proceedings in parliament. § V. James Sheffield secured for a dinner against the king's life. Parliament procured. § VI. Nature of the quadruple alliance. § VII. Admiral Fargus wins the to the Mediterranean. § VIII. He destroys the Russian fleet of Cape Passaro. § IX. Remonstrances of the Spanish ministers. § X. Disputes on parliament teaching the admiral's attacking the Spanish fleet. § XI. Act for strengthening the protestant interest. § XII. War declared against Spain. § XIII. Congruity against the Receipt of France. § XIV. Entirely attacked by the Duke of Ormonde. § XV. Frederick of Mecklenburgh-promised to the count of the hereditary boy. § XVI. Count Mecri assures the command of the Russian fleet. § XVII. New treaty of Alliance. § XVIII. The Spanish troops evacuate Sicily. § XIX. Philip obliged to accept the treaty. § XX. Order for procuring the supremacy of Russia in the character of the crowns of Great Britain. § XXI. South Sea act. § XXII. South Sea Act. § XXIII. The same. § XXIV. Treaty of alliance with Sweden. § XXV. The Prince of Holstein-Sonderburg-Gottorp in possession of Belgrad. § XXVI. The sole power of the Baltic. § XXVII. The bubble breaks. § XXVIII. A secret commission of the Commons. § XXIX. Inquiry carried on by both Houses. § XXX. Death of Earl Stanhope and Sir C. Grange, before whom the commission of the Lords and Commons of the directorate of the South Sea company are confounded. § XXXI. Proceedings of the Commons with respect to the stock of the South Sea company.

[no page number]

A. D. 1717. § I. During these transactions, the negociations of the north were continued against the King of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced towards Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom. The car had sent five-and-twenty thousand Russian to assist the allies in the reduction of Wismar, which he intended to bestow upon his niece, lately married to the Prince of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin. The Russian troops arrived, the place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison, a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the King of Denmark. Nevertheless, he was so anxious for making a descent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltic, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the King of Denmark published a manifesto, renouncing his conduct on this occasion. In this time Baron Gosta had planned a pacification between his master and the car, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the empire. This monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whether he was followed by the envoys; and he actually resided at Fredricksstadt, where a great number of his dominions had been procured, before he was sent to the court of the English. When Charles of Hanover's letters were published to London, some passages seemed to authorize the opposition of the emperor to the conspiracy. His minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the king had caused to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He denied having the least connexion with the designs of Sweden. He charged the court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the car, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheless he expressed an inclination to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and to engage to vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the King of Great Britain, who assured the carar that he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding; in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the empire. Notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never effectually reconciled.

§ II. The carar made an excursion to the court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recall his troops from Schonen. When he arrived at Bremen, he had a private interview with Gotta, who, as well as Gyllebin, had been set at liberty. Gotta undertook to adjust all difference between the carar and the King of Sweden within three months; and he engaged to bend all operations against Sweden, until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland. By this convention, the carar obliged himself to assist Charms in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the King of Great Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were deceived against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gosta set out from Aland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace, but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, and he visited the treaty in November. Baron Gosta was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for King George. Sweden was now able to attack the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

§ III. Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover: an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when King William became guaranteed for the treaty of Travebdal: an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connexions with the continent. The king had not yet received the investment of the duchies; and until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interest of the emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle. The emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had already despised designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the King of Denmark published a manifesto, renouncing his conduct on this occasion. In this time Baron Gosta had planned a pacification between his master and the car,
george i.

5. On account of the great scarcity of silver coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver, and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil by lowering the value of gold specie. The Commons examined a representation which a bill was made to the treasury by Sir Isaac Newton, master of the mint, on this subject. Mr. Caswell explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburgers in and about the man of war. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coach-maker, and an enthusiast in Jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergymen, proposing a scheme for assassinating King George. He was immediately apprehended, owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewise the fate of the Marquis de Pellecote, an Italian nobleman, brother to the Duchess of Shrewsbury. He had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant; and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain. After he had received sentence of death, the king's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister, the duchess, and many other persons of the first distinction: but the common people became enraged at the thought of this act, which was punished under the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much heat and altercation in parliament during the last session, as did the subject of the law for regulating the land forces and punishing mutiny and desertion: a bill which was looked upon as an encroachment upon the liberties and constitution of England, inasmuch as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanors committed by the soldiers and officers of the army: a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the lowest terms by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the House of Lords, it was strenuously opposed by the Earls of Oxford, Stafford, and Lord Harcourt. Their objections were answered by Lord Carteret. The bill passed by a great majority; but divers Lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining

elaborate harangue, insisted upon its being reduced to a thousand thousand pounds from three hundred thousand, by Sir Henry Craggs, secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen, in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph of the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invidious against the king's person and government; and moved that he who uttered it should be recalled to the Tower. King George, upon excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men.

§ IV. On the third day of November, the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was performed by the bishop of London, in the presence of the Duke of Cumberland, in the chapel of the palace of Holyroodhouse, and that of the Duke of Cornwall, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Prince of Wales, with other noblemen and gentlemen. The Prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the Duke of York, should stand godfather. The king ordered the Duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of St. James. He retired with the prince to a house belonging to the Earl of Glamorgan; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peersesses, and all privy-councillors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince, they should avoid his presence; and that all who enjoyed places and posts under both king and prince were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the parliament met this session, as did those of the last, in the king's speech, told both Houses that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union of Spain and Savoy; that the succession to the duchy of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which theQueen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessions were, by the treaty of paix, dismembered by the partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The King of England and the Regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannic majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition.

4. The prince was accompanied by the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Onslow, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Cumberland, the Prince of Wales, with other noblemen and gentlemen. The Prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the Duke of York, should stand godfather. The king ordered the Duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of St. James. He retired with the prince to a house belonging to the Earl of Glamorgan; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peersesses, and all privy-councillors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince, they should avoid his presence; and that all who enjoyed places and posts under both king and prince were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the parliament met this session, as did those of the last, in the king's speech, told both Houses that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union of Spain and Savoy; that the succession to the duchy of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the Queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessions were, by the treaty of paix, dismembered by the partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The King of England and the Regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannic majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition.
the claims, and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers the rents and profits of the estates till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom.

The king having signified, by a message to the vice-admiral, a wish of knowing whether he had lately received such information from abroad, as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, might have given him a prospect of retrieving his deprivations; he therefore thought fit to acquaint the House with this circumstance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the service, the House would provide for such exceeding. The Commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his majesty that they would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquility of Europe. On the twenty-first day of March, the king went to the House of Peers, and having passed the hills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the parliament to be prorogued.

A.D. 1718.

Chapter III.

The king of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime minister, Cardinal Albemont, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, set sail from Barcelona towards the destination of which he was not known. A strong squadron having been fitted out in England, the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing that so powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give uneasiness to the British admiral, and disturb the good intelligence that subsisted between the two crowns. In answer to this representation, the ministers declared that the king intended to send Admiral Byng with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the British interest in Italy. Meanwhile, the negotiations between the English and French ministers produced the quadruple alliance, by which King George and the regent prescribed a peace between the emperors, the king of France, and the king of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to submit to such conditions as they had concerted with his imperial majesty. These powers were allowed only to England to consider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or accept in the partition. Nothing could be more contradictory to the true interest of Great Britain than this treaty, which destroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing such an accession of power into the hands of the French admiral. It upset the commerce with Spain, involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy, and gave rise to all the quarrels and disputes which have arisen between England and Spain in the sequel. The Sicilian general did not approve of such violent measures, and for some time kept aloof; but at length acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expensive compliment to the emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

Chapter VII.

The king of England had used some endeavours to compromise the difference between his imperial majesty and the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon. Lord Stanhope had been sent to Madrid, with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip as partial and inglorious, the king determined to support his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the fourth day of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, and despatched his vessel with a letter to the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most catholic majesty of the admiral's arriving in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions:

"I have no further instances of his Majesty's wishes, beyond what I have been able to collect from any further articles of hostility: but in case the Spanish admiral do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the emperor's territories, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should undertake to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be the consequence, should they maintain their designs, in which case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that, at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, and in the same day, the Spanish admiral shall have attacked Italy in order to invade the emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance, to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hostility. But in case these your friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy; or if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the emperor's territories from any further attempt." When Cardinal Albemont perused these instructions, he told Colonel Stanhope with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than see the Spanish arm strengthened by the addition of British assistance. Mr. Stanhope presenting him with a list of the British squadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion. He promised, however, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his majesty's resolution. Sir George Byng, having delivered the despatch relative to the Spanish ministry, who had laid his account with the conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament, which was altogether surprising, considering the great numbers he had acquired, and the small amount of his army, it seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the commander Byng would execute the orders he had received from the king his master.

Chapter VIII.

The admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by Vice-Admiral Cornwall, with two ships. He proceeded to Marseilles, where he received the garrison of Port-Mahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer; for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the British minister, that the Spanish fleet, with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish arm, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Ledy, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then encamped on the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city; that the Pedemontese garrison would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved; that an alliance was upon the point between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Messina. The Spanish admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and took under his own a reinforcement of two thousand Germans for the citadel, under the command of Count Saldana. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth day of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He despatched his own captain with a white message to the Marquis de Ledy, proposing a cessam of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, with the support of a few ships of war, give way to further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish general answered, that he had no power to treat, and consequently could not agree to any of the instances to contain by which Sir George Stanhope directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the King of
Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, order to encourage and allay the spirits of the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying near the point, and had seen a warlike appearance on the seven-and-twenty sail, large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven galleys. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castamalta, under whom were the four rear-admirals, Chacon, Marin, Guerra, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, Rear-Admiral de Mars, with six ships of war, the galleys, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached Captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself commanded to chase the main fleet; and about ten o'clock the rear-admirals of Spain disengaged from them, and took to the coast. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Passaro, Captain Haddock, of the Glatton, signified his courage in an extraordinary manner.

On the eighteenth the admiral received a letter from Captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel. Had the Spaniards followed the advise of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory. That officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them; for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas further out the currents are so various and rapid that the navigation could not have ensured a secure anchor, or lie near in order of battle; besides, the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. These were all reasons that might be urged against this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy, as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the king's royal grant to the officers and seamen, of the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September; A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be brought to hand, he continued that the emperor would co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the imperialists in Sicily during the best part of the winter, by scouring the coast and the main, particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the same, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the common enemy. He declared that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of

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*This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the latter style.*

Sir,

We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which

acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the Viceroy of Naples and the other imperial generals about the operations of the enemy, and his majesty's instructions for the campaign. He returned to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their deliberations; then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where the ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

§ IX. The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. The Margravine of Montefelone wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with him upon such an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base unworthy action. He said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been an end; and that the prince's guarantees of

the treaty of Utrecht were entirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but also because the guarantee was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed that Britain, in his majesty's name, had supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless it must be owned, that the conduct of the French on this occasion, was irregular, partial, and precipitate.

§ X. The parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the course of Spain had rejected his majesty's amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements, for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate, therefore, the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress; that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West Indies to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded, that a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them that his good brother, the Regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both Houses to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation proposed by Lord Carteret. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, an insult to the French nation, which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the laws of nations or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and mature deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour, as well as the interest, of the nation were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the House. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his majesty's command he had already laid before the House the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a particular part. Particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the same, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the common enemy. He declared that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of

were upon the coast: the number as per margin. I am, etc.,

G. WALTON.
his journey to Spain, and his negotiations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects which had been violated apples. Scarcely had he said this when a motion carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the House of Commons, where Lord Ilchester broke out, that in these days, far from thanking they should declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquility in Europe. The members in the opposition, declared, that it was on this preliminary procedure, on the first day of the session, to enter upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reasons on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction, in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the parliament’s war. He observed, that instead of an entire satisfaction, they ought to express their entire dissatisfaction, with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nature, and the breach of the undertaking. Mr. Secretary Cragsgcr, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by Mr. Pitt, was agreed to, and presented to his majesty. Then the Commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land service. The whole amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred eighty-one pounds, unshewn shillings. The money was raised by a land tax, malt tax, and lottery.

§ XI. On the thirteenth of December, Earl Stanhope declared, in the House of Lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well-affect ed to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of “An Act for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms.” It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the corporation and test acts. This had been concurred by the ministry in private entries with the most eminent dissenters. The Tory doctors were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they were strenuous in their opposition. They alleged that the bill, instead of strengthening King and church, certainly weakened both the church and country. By blunting off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the test and corporation acts were repealed: because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, which ought to be inviolably preserved. The Earl of Illy opposed the bill, because, in his opinion, it infringed the pacific convoca of the treaty of union, by which the bounds, both of the church of England and of the church of Scotland, were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the union were broke with respect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other. The Archbishop of Canterbury said the acts which by this bill would be repealed were the main bulwark and supports of the English church: he expressed all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning conscientious dissenters: but he could not forbear saying, some among that sect made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence shown to them at the present time. He observed, that though they had much reason to be happy, it was, therefore, thought necessary for the legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity. He added, that it would be needless to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage had been taken of it to the prejudice of the dissenters. Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, endeavoured to prove, that the occasional and schism acts were in effect persecuting laws; and that by admitting the principle of self-defence and self-preservation, in matters of religion, all the pernicious consequences of the measures against the professors of Christianity, and even the popish inquisition, might be justified. With respect to the power of which many clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous, he owned the desire of power and riches was natural to all men; but that he had learned, both from reason and from the gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrude upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures. In the Senate, the House agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the test and corporation acts: then the bill was committed, and afterwards passed. In the lower House it met with violent opposition, in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

§ XII. The king, on the seventeenth day of December, sent a message to the Commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the King of Spain having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the king they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said they could not, in the present condition of the nation in a war, on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained, as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the House, that he could not say he had not regarded the difficulties of the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methwax accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry had paid very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation; inasmuch as it appeared by the answers from a secretary of state to the letter of the Marquis de Monte¬sole, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance; for it was there expressly said, that his majesty, the King of Great Britain, did not seek to aggravate himself by any new acquisitions, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquility of Europe. A member observed, that nobody could tell how far it was that such a sacrifice would be of advantage to the commerce of the country, because it was a very uncommon stretch of concession. The House was told to the cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which the Regent of France had offered to the King of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. It was thought that there could be no objection in the matter of the emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the upper House without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

§ XIII. Meanwhile Cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, for the gratification of his revenge. He continued his efforts to be put in a posture of defence, success to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia. He, by means of the Prince de Celhamaire, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, embodied with the contents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the king. The Duke of Orleans owed the first intrusion of this plot to King Carlos of Spain, whom he felt to hold a countess but a share in the manage-
the Marquis de Monteleone. These emissaries set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overtaken. The postilion overheard Portocarrero say, he would not have lost his portmanteau for a hundred thousand pistoles. The money thus saved was levied by order of the government of what he had observed. The Spaniards, before pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The Prince de Bayonne, who had been conducted to the frontier; the Duke of Maine, the Marquis de Pompadour, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The recent declared war was compensated by the Duke of Ormond, who directed an army of six-and-thirty thousand men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the Duke of Berwick.

§ XIV. Cardinal Albemarle likewise formed a scheme in favour of the pretender. The Duke of Ormond, repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his emissaries; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great Britain. The Chevalier de St. George quitted Utrecht, and embarked at Nantes, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordially, and treated as King of Great Britain. He arrived here, as in all cases of great ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the Duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his most catholic majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to King James. His Britannic majesty, having received from the regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the Duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north, and in the west of England: two thousand men were demanded of the States-general: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the Duke of Orleans made a proffer to King George of twenty battalions for his service.

§ XV. His majesty having communicated to both Houses of parliament the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support himself. It was published on both sides, that the king had committed his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expense. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Duke of Cumberland, with thirty thousand men, was ordered to proceed to Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the Earl Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Doon castle. Against these adventurers General Wright marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness. They had taken possession of the pass at Glen shield; but, at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the pass at Strachull, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the highlanders dispersed; and next day the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent.

§ XVI. On the last day of February the Duke of Somerset represented in the House of Lords, that the number of peers sitting was much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms; and absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniences that might attend the creation of a great number of peers, to serve a present purpose: an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He therefore moved that a bill should be brought in, to settle and limit the peerage, in such a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by the next of kin of the sovereign; and that twenty-five peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of the heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage. This bill was intended as a restraint upon the Duke of Ormond, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the Duke of Argyle, now lord steward of the household, the Earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was resisted by the Duke of Oxford, who maintained, that he expected nothing from the crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the king to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second day of March, when Earl Stanhope delivered a message from the king, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation, as might secure its security for all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question was, whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the tory or the whig interest should predominate in parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part. He observed, that the Scottish peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five, stood in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor repre sented. These objections were overruled: several resolutions were taken agreeably to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. This measure alarmed the generality of Scottish peers, as well as many English comminators, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them: and they did not fail to explain against it, as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were written and published on both sides, full of the most desperate, and the most subversive, arguments. A national clamour began to arise, when Earl Stanhope observed, in the House, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to postpone the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly put off to the session following. The following was the eighteenth day of April, on which occasion his majesty told both Houses, that the Spanish king had acknowledged the pretender.

§ XVII. The king, having appointed lords justices to rule the kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrice, the new Queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral house of Brunswick, the duchies of Brunswick and Verden, with all their dependences: King George obliged himself to pay a million of rix-dollars to the Queen of Sweden; and to renew, as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom. He likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes and Prussians, and the Poles. The czar, however, refused to give up his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Schonen or Bateas of Sweden, where his troops landing, to the number of fifteen thousand, committed dreadful outrages: but Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the northern Allies, the czar might be committed, the czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recall his fleet. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Byng acted with unwavering vigour in assailing the imperialists to finish the conquest of
Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed upon the Count de Merci, with whom Mr. Pitt, now in his life, was acquainted at Naples. This admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish provs. He took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand infantry. Count Merci thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the Marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franco-Villa: and was repulsed, with the loss of five thousand men, himself heavily wounded in the action. Here his army must have perished for want of provision, had not they been supplied by the English navy.

§ XVIII. Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of Franco-Villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Schesoli, in order to reinforce the imperial army. He afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Messina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to Count Gallais, the new vicerey, that the troops which had conquered or could be stormed should be disembarked in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conquest of that island. The proposal was immediately despatched to the court of Vienna. In the mean time, the admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted at the siege of Messina. That action is considered as the beginning of the expedition; and the remains of the Spanish navy, which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had despatched orders to the governor of Milan, to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. The admiral executed that part of the scheme; and having furnished the imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties, started by the jealousy of Count Bonveral, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, Admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and conveyed them to Messina, and detached the detail of which surrender was made. He gave them up, with all the effects of this surrender. Having furnished the imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties, started by the jealousy of Count Bonveral, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, Admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and conveyed them to Messina, and detached the detail of which surrender was made. He gave them up, with all the effects of this surrender. Had Count Merci been despatched to the court as much as to the emperor, that man of the imperial court, in the centre of the island; and cantoned his troops about Adorno, Palermo, and Messina. The imperial admiral, in the hope of attacking him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would, therefore, have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the imperial admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprise, but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvest of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

§ XIX. The Marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo; but the general in command of the marshall-de-camp to Count Merci and the English admiral, with orders for evacuating Sicily. The proposals were not agreeable to the Germans; but Sir George Byng declared that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed against France or England. He agreed, however, with Count Merci, in proposing that, if the Marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the island, the French and Spaniards might be contained for four weeks, until the sentiments of their different courts should be known. The marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but Sir George Byng declining this proposal, he received advice from Madrid, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheless, he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a secret order for that purpose. The King of Spain hoped to obtain the restitution of St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the treaty of Addiscombe. But the Marquis de Lede, who last gave the admiral and imperial general to understand that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities. They assisted upon his delivering up Palermo; and when the French and Spanish masters were in treaty, for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorized to agree to a cessation, except on condition that each party should remain on the ground they had conquered, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the imperial general resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the Marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo: but Count Merci, with indefatigable industry, succeeded in forcing the坚守. The English admiral coasted along shore, attending the motions of the army. The Spanish general receiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retied under the cannon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with strong entrenchments. On the second day of the siege, the admiral's redoubts by surprise, and the Marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging, when a courier arrived in a felucca, with a packet for the Marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the transportation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army; and about a thousand of his troops, of this sort. Having established the imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties, started by the jealousy of Count Bonveral, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, Admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and conveyed them to Messina, and detached the detail of which surrender was made. He gave them up, with all the effects of this surrender. Had Count Merci been despatched to the court as much as to the emperor, that man of the imperial court, in the centre of the island; and cantoned his troops about Adorno, Palermo, and Messina. The imperial admiral, in the hope of attacking him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would, therefore, have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the imperial admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprise, but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvest of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

§ XX. The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated to the last man: and he had executed between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy; in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and the island embark; but the English admiral had to look after the general evacuation of the island. In a word, Admiral Byng bore such a considerate share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The king told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honourable terms, with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessary means for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppression. He was appointed treasure of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain: in a little time the king ennobled him, by the title of Viscount Travers, and he was declared a French ambassador; and afterwards made Knight of the Bath, at the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the Duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Port-Plans and, destroyed a great number of vessels that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the bay of Bescay. In this last exploit the Spanish admiral, the Duke of Berwick, and the Spanish general, the Duke of Trapani, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The King of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expense of the war, projected the conquest of Coromina in Bescay, and of Ferri in South America. Four thousand men and a command were collected there; and Colham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed
on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by Admiral Mignes. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Point-a-Vedra submitted within a short time. This was a very important event for the navy, the seas, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the meantime, Captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeso, to the eastward of Cape Ortegal; so that the loss was both great and serious. The expedition to the West Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification, and, indeed, was unable to resist the influence of his ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the emperor, the King of England, and the Regent of France, who had declared they would hear to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment, and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The Marquis de Heretti Landi, minister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the House of Lords: but it was rejected by the allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

§ XXI. On the fourteenth day of November, King George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the first session of Parliament in which he was to be tell’d, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhibited the state of the country, courting the discharging the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyric upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigour and deliberation in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both Houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in behalf of the protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the prerogatives of the Spanish clergy, and presented to him memorials, containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other protestant powers warmly interceded in their favour; but the grievances were not redressed. The peerage bill was now revived by the Duke of Buckingham; and in spite of all opposition, passed through the House of Lords. It had been projected by Earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the Earl of Sunderland; therefore, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the House of Commons. But there was a debate in which he was opposed by a considerable number of whig members; and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engaged the attention of the parliament was the present state of the nation, and the attempts that had been made upon the crown of Great Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the House of Peers in England, from a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which was reversed. The British Peers ordered the haunts of the exchequer in Ireland to be ransacked in the hands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barrons obeyed this order; and the Irish House of Peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the king’s prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof; they, likewise, ordered them to be taken into custody of the usher of the black rod; they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes: and the Duke of Leeds, in the upper house, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish Peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the House of Lords in England resolved that the haunts of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty’s prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. They addressed the king to confer on them the privilege of their arms, as a compensation for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish House of Lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree given by the peers in the court of that kingdom. In the House of Commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Humberford, Lords Molesworth and Tyrconnel; but was carried by the majority and received the royal assent.

§ XXII. The king having recommended to the Commons the consideration of the proposed scheme for reducing the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and injustice. The scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausible, and sly artifices which would be necessary to an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aslamb, the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state. He answered all their objections; and the project was accepted. All through it, there was a private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted in the name of the South Sea company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The bank and South Sea company outbid each other. The South Sea company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to government, that the proposals of the bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the House of Commons, formed on the plan presented by the South Sea company. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in consequence of the conduct of the Commons, who had rejected a motion for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in the stockholders; but all the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years’ purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors. In the House of Lords, the bill was opposed by Lord North and Grey, Earl Cowper, Earl Annesley, Duke of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number; that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry; that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great Britain would be drained of its gold and silver; that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South Sea stock was a dangerous blast, which might destroy many unwary people to their ruin; and, besides, by which the nation was to be deprived of the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches; that the addition of above thirty million capital would give such power to the South Sea company, as might destroy the liberties of the nation, and render all further liberty hopeless. For by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most if not all the elections of the members; and consequently overrule the resolutions of the House of Commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the individuals in the administration ought to take care, that they should be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South Sea company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties; and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stocks at a high price, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end gain any by the project. The Earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared that those who countenanced the scheme, the South Sea company, and the nation by its vote, but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, either the one or the other could foresee that the stock would have risen to such a height; that if they had con-
continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable that the South Sea company should engage such a sum as procured to it, as a premium and inducement to the wise managers and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bull passed without amendment or division; and on the seventh day of April, received the royal assent. A committee was thus act the South Sea company authorized to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty-six thousand four hundred eighty-two pounds, one shilling, and as they should find it convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorized to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present, and to be increased, annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, and reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such subscriptions to the receipt of the exchequer as was specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the irredeemable debts, four years and a half’s purchase for all long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year’s purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock: to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company’s annuities, public or out of the public duties. It was enacted, that out of the money arising from the sums paid by the company into the exchequer, such public debts, carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, and any debts that were then, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be discharged to the first place; that then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided, that after Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be paid off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

§ XXIII. The heads of the Royal Assurance and London Assurance companies, understanding that the civil list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the king’s charter, with a parliamentary sanction, for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the king communicated it in a message to the House of Commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to two companies; one for the Royal assent: and, on the eleventh day of June, an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of adventure, the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profusion, which the unforeseen combinations had in others the most unfavourable era for an historian. A reader of sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, no embellishment; a detail which serves only to exhibit an inanimate picture of tasteless vice and profligacy, without the vigilance of government. § XXIV. By this time an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Stockholm between King George and the Queen of Sweden, by which his majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, to act against the Czar of Muscovy and the states of the Northern Union; and the Queen of Sweden promised peace. Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposition of King George, alleging that he had failed in his engagements, both as Elector of Hanover and King of Great Britain. The King of Denmark, at such a time, was still anxious for the preservation of peace without a mediator. At the instances, however, of King George and the Regent of France, a treaty of peace was signed between the Queen of Sweden and the King of Prussia, to whom that princess ceded the city of Stettin, in the district between the rivers Oder and Pehnne, with the isles of Wolin and Usedom. On the other hand, he engaged to join the King of Great Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition of the King of Denmark having the same terms of peace at Ulrice that part of Pomerania which he had seized; he likewise promised to pay to that queen two millions of rixdolls, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the King of Great Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane’s keeping possession of Sleswick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, the Danish dominions, and all that part of Pomerania which he had seized from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden’s renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two belts and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rix-dollars.

§ XXV. Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to give weight to the king’s mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to Prince Dolgorouki, the czar’s ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying that he and the king’s envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The prince immediately opposed nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and in case his Britannic majesty had any proposals to make to that prince, he hoped the admiral would excuse him from receiving them, as it was not the wish of parliament to meddle with any compeansoua way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrice, Queen of Sweden, and sister to Charles XII., had married the Prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the states, desiring they would confer on him the regency; and after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually elected King of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne; this was the beginning of the negotiation which ended in peace, and in establishing the tranquillity of the north. In the midst of these transactions, King George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great Britain, he was reconciled to his marriage by the mediation of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with Earl Cowper, Lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pelham, were received into favour, and, not long after, were taken into the king’s counsels. Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of dukes: Lord Viscount Castletown was made an earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a baron, and Viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop, baron, and Viscount of Lyne, were created earls.

§ XXVI. While the king was involved in a
labyrinth of negotiations, the South Sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in the English dominions. Blunt, the projector, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and in the number of the subscribers of that country. In the kingdom. In this scheme of Law, there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage: though the design was defeated by the principle, it was not abandoned. The idea became the dupe of the regent, who transferred the burden of fifteen hundred millions of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subject; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South Sea scheme exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the ... that all was not as it seemed, or that the faith of the country was to be purchased with the stock ...ing millions of the South Sea stock, occasioned such a run upon the bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscribers. Then the South Sea stock was again at its height; and the directors of the bank, finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which, indeed, they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in such a manner, as to be no more than the rough draft of a subsequent agreement, without due form, penalty, or clause of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expressses were despatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and imploring the king to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November. § XXVIII. The parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home; he earnestly desired the Commons to consider of the most effectual, speedy, and lasting measures to restore public credit, and fix it upon a sure and lasting establishment. The lower House was too much interested in the calamity, to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, that a select committee might be appointed, to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protect the inquiry while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the House he had for some time been in the habit of communicating this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and encumberances, money subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South Sea company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South Sea company, or set aside in due course of law," the petition of the South Sea company, to engraft nine millions of South Sea stock into the bank of England, and the like sum into the East India company, on certain conditions. The House voted, that proposals should be received from the bank, and those two companies, on this subject. These being de-
liered, the Commons resolved, that an engrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South Sea company, into the capital stock of the bank and East India company as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the public credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountant of the South Sea company, from quitting the kingdom, till the end of the next session of parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of seven was appointed by each House to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South Sea act.

§ XXIX. The Lords were not less eager than the Commons to prosecute this inquiry, though divers members in both Houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repress the public losses. He was seconded by Lord Cartarec, and even by the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore, he expected the House would punish the offenders severely, without respect to persons. The sub and deputy governors, the directors and officers of the South Sea company, were examined at the bar of the House, where a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East India company, or in the bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South Sea company, who had been entrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period the secret committee informed the House of Commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever conceived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the House: in the meanwhile, they thought it necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South Sea company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir George Caswell, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellowes, and Mr. Grisby were taken into custody. Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplin, and Mr. Eyles were examined on similar charges, and had been dismissed by the House. The committee of the Lords, having received an account from the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Crags, senior, the Duchess of Kendal, the Countess of Platen, and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Crags, and Mr. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, in consequence of the committee's report, the House came to several severe though just resolutions against the directors and officers of the South Sea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, charged in the report with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three votes. The great part of his accusations was corroborated by Mr. Aislabie, who declared that he had been employed by Knight for the use of the Earl of Sunderland. Great part of the House entered eagerly into this inquiry; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority declared it to be an immoral and improper question, as an abuse of the House, and an injury to the country. He resigned his place of first commissioner in the treasury, which was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislabie, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the Commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the House, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Crags, senior, died of the leprosy, before he underwent the censure of the House. In contempt of the laws and practices, they resolved that the first document should incorporate with Robert Knight, and some of the directors in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December in the preceding year, should be applied to the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South Sea company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the House, delivered in inventories of their estates, which were confiscated, and taken against the public, for making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

§ XXX. The Lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and House of Commons, for promoting the passing of the South Sea act. The House immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption: that the directors of the South Sea company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock, and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust, and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit, and rendered the South Sea company an infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt, refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose; and was still pending in which the Duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope considering this reflection was made at a time when himself was employed to vindicate the ministry, and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ache, which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and was removed to the Great House; but next day his life was in danger. He was then sent to the Tower. The Duke of Buckingham was concerned the House was survived but a few days by the other secretary, Mr. Crags, who died of the small-pox on the sixteenth day of February. Knight, the cashier of the South Sea company, being seated at Trelimont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered to such persons as might be appointed to receive him: but he had found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant should be tried in any other nation. They therefore released him, and dismissed his indignation at this frivolous pretence; instances were renewed to the emperor: and in the mean time Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.
the mischief which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South Sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expense of others. Sometimes personal passions, and sometimes interests, pressed with an address to the king, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July the parliament was protracted for two days only. Then his majesty met the Lords and the House of Commons, and was now called together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The Commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year one thousand millions, and twenty, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South Sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that portion possessed by the company in their right; it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to eight million four hundred thousand pounds; it raised the capital stock of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed; of which the parliament deducted all that part of their paying six per cent. Upon this article the company’s loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the parliament in the sequel revoked that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the House, crying for justice against the villany of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. Nevertheless, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of the House, the South Sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with regard to the ferment of the people subsided; and the credit of the nation was restored.

CHAP. III.

proposed it should be replaced to the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, as well as from the pensions and other payments from the crown. A bill was prepared for this purpose, though not without warm opposition; and, at the same time, one for a general pardon. On the twentieth day of August, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South Sea adventure. The professions of the persons judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connexions with the project; and that the emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight; and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices.

§ 111. Lords Townshend and Carteret were now appointed secretaries of state; and the Earl of Illy was vested with the office of lord privy seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects wrenched and confiscated on both sides. In particular, the King of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were sold. He likewise promised, in a secret article, that he would not interfere in the affairs of Italy punishable by the King of Spain, made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. At the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambrai, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the emperor and his catholic majesty. In the mean time, the powers of the King of France, Spain, and England, engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the Duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity. It was also stipulated, that the States-general should be invited to accede to this advantage.

The congress at Cambrai was opened; but the demands on both sides were so high, that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded on condition that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingeria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyborg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rix-dollars to the King of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between King George and the Czar, and the secret, personal interest at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar published a declaration at Petersburg, complaining of this outrage, which, he said, had endangered the crown itself; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a piece of injustice in which they had no share. He therefore granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tissue of negotiations, King George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Africa, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

IV. In the course of this year, Pope Clement XI. died; and the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptized by the name of William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England, from any part of France between the Bay of Hossey and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard against contagion. An act of parliament had passed in the preceding session, for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all the infected persons, and all persons of an infected state, should be carrying trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The king, in his speech at opening the session of parliament, on the eleventh day of October, intimated the passage of the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden. He desired the House of Commons to consider of means for easing the duties upon the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom. He observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North America; and that their being employed in this useful species of trade, would prevent their being taken from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate advantage; and that they might be permitted to carry the produce of their labours abroad: and he earnestly recommended to their consideration means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.
nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long, expensive war. He, therefore, moved for an address to his majesty, desiring that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now Lord Torrington, should be laid before the House. This motion, although it was made, and the question taken, no protest was entered. They voted an address, however, to know in what manner the king had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Duties were also fixed on the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper represented, that the number of public houses, a tavern, or post-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution; inconsistent with the liberty of a subject such as could not be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious, because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion. These clauses or accusations were accordingly repealed, though not without great opposition. Indeed, nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities. Such restrictions, instead of favouring the liberty of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be laid on a free people, as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society, which is the preservation of the individual. § VII. The quakers having presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting, in their solemn affirmation, the words, "...the king's most odious..." with their request: but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indigulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. He was supported by the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Stratford, and Lord North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be prejudiced against such measures as those that were immediately to be debated. They deplored the establishment of a free trade, and the chances of the French nation; and, in their opinion, the king was not justified in acting on such principles. They argued that the House should not consent to such a measure, unless it was convinced of the necessity of the thing. The House resolved that such lords as might enter protestations with reason should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting day, and sign them before the House rises. The supplies being granted, and the business of the House concluded, there was no time to be lost, and the House rose.

Annals.
H. C. Deb., in Parl., Part II, p. 179. Ind.

§ VIII. In the beginning of May, the king a D. 1721. is said to have received from the Duke of Or- leans full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-General Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were imprisoned in Scotland; the States of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guarantee troops in readiness to be embarked; and Colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The ap- proach of this royal army greatly increased the credit. South Sea stock began to fall; and crowds of people who called from the bank. Lord Townsend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, signifying his majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with French agents abroad, for raising a rising in favour of the pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other towns and boroughs. The king had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the Prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aside; the crown was restored to the king, and the prince retired to Richmond. The Bishop of Rochester having been seized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high treason. The Earl of Ortery, Lord North and Grey, Mr. Cockran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place. Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Collins of Hunting- donshire, Mr. Bengley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neumon, a priest, and several persons, were taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched. After Bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Constan- tine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Athers, that plumber's daughter, praying, that, in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, or else, if there were no cause of the change in the king's opinion, that he be restored to Kingston, and churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a bishop, which they said was an outrage upon the church of England, and the national custom of persons who were near the king's person. The clergy ventured to offer up public prayers for his health, in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster. In the meantime the king, attended by the Prince of Wales, made a summer progress through the western counties. § IX. The new parliament being assembled on the ninth day of October, his majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. He said the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for success from foreign powers; but were disappointed in their expectations. That, nevertheless, in confining in their numbers, they had resolved once more upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government. He said they had been enabled considerably to increase the number of the guards and to engage great number of officers from abroad; secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in a state of blood and confusion. He expressed the nation's agreement with the laws and measures of the king; and, in the meantime, to continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both houses as the fears and attachment of the majority appear to have been determined on such an occasion. A bill was brought into the House of Lords, for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspending the habeas corpus, the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

§ X. The opposition in the House of Commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the per- former on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being in- flamed by this new information, the house passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The Duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before time greatly impaired. He was interned in Westminster abbey, with such professor of funeral orations, as excelled the pride and oratorical, much of the manner and eloquence of the orator, of whom the oration, which was pronounced as master of orations, and colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, by Earl Cadogan.
the council, and committed to the Tower, on suspicion of high treason. On the sixteenth day of November, the king sent to the House of Peers the original and printed copy of a declaration signed by the pretender. It was dated the twenty-third of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the Chevalier declared himself to be King James in right of his mother, the queen of Great Britain, and the throne of Ireland, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the Prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne. This declaration, and the great invasions of the natural rights of mankind, and the state of proscription in which he supposed every honest man to be, very gravely proposed, that if King George would refuse to grant him the throne of Great Britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it; he likewise promised to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the royal exchange. The Commons concurred in these resolutions. Both houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender; and assuring his majesty, they were determined to support his title to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland. They prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the papish religion, towards defraying the expenses of the late and present invasion. This bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members, as a species of persecution, was sent up to the house of lords, together with another, obliging all persons, being papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the upper house without amendments, and received the royal sanction.

§ XI. Mr. Layer, being brought to his trial at the king's bench, on the twenty-first day of November, was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons: but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy, so that he suffered death at tyburn, and his head was fixed up in the fields. Mr. Fullemey, chairman of the common council committee, reported to the house, that, from the examination of layer and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors in the colonies, to raise and proclaim the duke of orrery, lord north and lord rochester, as his majesty's. that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disapponted in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the king intended to go to hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into england unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late duke of ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in spain for that purpose; at which time the tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the meantime, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the late duke of ormond, the duke of norfolk, the earl of orrery, lord north and lord rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy; that their acting agents were christopher layer and john plunket, who travelled together to home; dennis kelly, george kelly, william carter, john powell, and the irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river thames, in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, mrs. spilman, also yallop, and john spilman.

§ XII. This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood, extended no further than the first rudiments of a design that was never digested into any regular form; otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy: for they were charged with the king's military committee in september, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of great britain and ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the chevalier declared himself to be king james in right of his mother, the queen of great britain, and the throne of ireland, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the prince of wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne. this declaration, and the great invasions of the natural rights of mankind, and the state of proscription in which he supposed every honest man to be, very gravely proposed, that if king george would refuse to grant him the throne of great britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it: he likewise promised to leave to king george his succession to the british dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel: and ordered it to be burned at the royal exchange. The commons concurred in these resolutions. Both houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender: and assuring his majesty, they were determined to support his title to the crown of great britain and ireland. They prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the papish religion, towards defraying the expenses of the late and present invasion. this bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members, as a species of persecution, was sent up to the house of lords, together with another, obliging all persons, being papists, in scotland, and all persons in great britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the upper house without amendments, and received the royal sanction.
had been raised. He said the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, which he thought ought to be constantly borne in mind, ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both Houses of Parliament, till altered by the legislature; that the admitting of the presence of the imprisoned lords and gentlemen to bail; that granting a pardon to Lord Bolingbroke; and ordered the Bishop of Rochester to be considered a friendly act, and that he might have been the occasion of many apprehensions; and Lords of the Privy Council, where the office was a very dangerous precedent. In former times, (said he) it was thought very grievous that in capital cases a man should be affected by sultanates of hands; but here the case is much worse, since it is allowed that the clerks of the house are as capable as any exercising the same by their own hands in months in their minds. He applauded the bishop's noble department, in declining to answer before the House of Commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner against a lord of parliament, was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the people, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question, when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the whole year, which was a confidential act, he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, was a member of the House, and had everywhere been entertained, was now taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices.

§ XIV. The next object that excited the resentment of the Commons was the scheme of a lottery, to be drawn at Harbou, in the king's German dominions. The House appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries at that time on foot in London. The scheme was published, on pretense of raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great Britain and the king's territories on the continent. It was a mysterious scene of inquiry, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous, fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unhappy persons had been drawn in, to their great loss: that the manner of carrying on it had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom; that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to suppress this lottery, and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had obtained by their knavery; but the House resolved, that John Lord Viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking; for which offence he should be imprisoned, and his banishment was urgently pressed. The House at last erected an East India company at Ostend, upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook, an English merchant, Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the House of Commons the great detriment which the English East India company had already received, and were likely further to sustain, by this Ostend company. The House immediately resolved, that for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned, in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanor; and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprise. By another act, relating to the South Sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the mint, where a great number of debters had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh day of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyric, acknowledgment, and affection to a parliament which had composed their minds on all his majesty's business.

§ XV. His majesty, having emboldened the son of Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church promotions. He admitted the unjustified lords and gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to Lord Bolingbroke; and ordered the Bishop of Rochester to be considered a friendly act, and that he might have been the occasion of many apprehensions; and Lords of the Privy Council, where the office was a very dangerous precedent. In former times, (said he) it was thought very grievous that in capital cases a man should be affected by sultanates of hands; but here the case is much worse, since it is allowed that the clerks of the house are as capable as any exercising the same by their own hands in months in their minds. He applauded the bishop's noble department, in declining to answer before the House of Commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner against a lord of parliament, was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the people, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question, when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the whole year, which was a confidential act, he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, was a member of the House, and had everywhere been entertained, was now taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices.

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 assay and trial of Wood's half-pence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared the coin to be extended in the value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined in Ireland, in the reigns of King Charles II, King James II, King William and Queen Mary. The privy council likewise demonstrated, that his majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undisputed prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons that none of these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had made use of it in an unprofitable manner, but that he had not referred the attorney and solicitor-general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular; finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was such a real want of money in Ireland. Notwithstanding this decision, the fermten of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clannish, pamphlets, papers, and pamphlets, written by Dean Swift and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thousand to that of forty thousand pounds. Thus the noise was silenced. The Commons of Ireland passed an act, for accepting the affiliation of the quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds as the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

§ XVII. In the month of October, England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of Earl Cowper, who had twice been a member of his lord chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was a man profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence; his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who, since the decess of Louis XIV, had ruled that nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and learning, endowed with the genius for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived laides of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the Duke of Bourbon as prime minister. King George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French court to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great Britain. The convention was signed in English and French, on the nineteenth of December; and on the ninth day of January the parliament was assembled. His majesty, in his speech, recommended to the Commons the care of the public debts; and expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund instituted, and determined to put the device of that system into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

§ XVIII. This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which, unhappy for the subjects, was never reduced to practice; not but that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in this very session, by an act for lessening the public debts. This law provided that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South Sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, should be paid off at Lady-day of the year next ensuing, with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry, however, did not persevere in this path of prudent economy. The Commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand scoters; and the bill for the act was not without some opposition, even to maintain four thousand additional troops, which had been raised in the preceding year; so that the establishment of the land forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred. The expenses, necessary for the public charge, were defrayed by a land tax and malt tax. The Commons having despatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, under which Protestant persons used to screen themselves from the execution of their just creditors. The Commons resolved, that all protections granted by members of that House should be declared null and void; and the Lords made a declaration to a similar purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers.

On the twenty-fourth day of April, his majesty closed the session in the usual manner, made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state, and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as ambassador- extraordinary to the court of France.

§ XIX. In the beginning of this year, Philip King of Spain, retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the Marquis of Grimadl, his principal secretary of state, to his son Louis, Prince of Asturias, with a solemn resolution of the debt of the kingdom, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion; and put himself and his kingdom under her protection. The resolution was published through the whole of Europe; and the council of Castile resolved, that Louis might assume the reins of government without assembling the Cortes. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose in behalf of the French protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect. England, in the meantime, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history. The government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition; and the greater part of all the three branches, or rather of all the three branches, were flourished even under the load of grievous impositions.

§ XX. The next parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expense of the ensuing year; yet the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident; namely, the trial of the Earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of senators deposited with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great seal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the ensuing month, he was indicted for ten various, importing, that his majesty, having reason to apprehend that the senators in the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insolvency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged, in justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow for inquiring into the state of the masters' accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his majesty having had several reports laid before him in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the House, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit.

§ XXI. These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of chancery, that the utmost names and insignifications of the said chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embarrassed the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lornatics; that he had raised the offices of masters in chancery to such a height of inflating their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that

\[\text{HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [A.D. 1724.—BOOK II.} \]

\[\text{b The Duke of Newcastle was now appointed secretary of state, the Duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain, and Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.} \]

\[\text{The king instructed a professorship for the modern languages in each university.} \]

\[\text{In the month of May died Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl of Oxford, who had left an immense amount of manuscripts and literature; and compiled a valuable collection of manuscripts.} \]

\[\text{The practice of inoculation for the smallpox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two Princesses Alice and Charlotte, the Duke of Berwick, and many others of the royal family subjected themselves to the practice of inoculation, under the able direction with success.} \]

\[\text{Mr. Hervey, bishop of Sodor, died in June, leaving bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late Bishop of Rochester.} \]
they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, that Thomas Earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Pulteney moved, that this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee. Sir

Annals, 11st. William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding, New, Feb. 19, by way of impeachment upon reports to the House, the highwaysiders of Southwark engaged in precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state criminals. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment.

The word was, that the king had in the last time, or any other time, upper House; a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what consideration they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The bill lasted twenty days: the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but upon producing the money he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, now created Baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

A. D. 1723. April was so memorable in the eighth day of April gave the House of Commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expenses, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum which would defray the interest of the money already established for the payment of the civil list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the House of all sums which had been betted by the counties, from the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, and to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year. This address being voted on, the earl of Sunderland, under the consideration of his majesty’s pardon, without an act of parliament. Lord Finch moved that a bill might be brought in for this purpose, and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, controller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His resolutions were supported by Lord William Paulet, and Mr. Onslow; nevertheless, the bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the highwayiders of Southwark, several persons were arrested within the city of London; a third for reducing the interest of several bank annuities, together with some bills of a private nature; the parliament was prorogued in May, after the permutation of the Act. His majesty’s resolve was, expressed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed lords justices to govern the nation in his absence: and set out in June for his German dominions.

§ XXV. The tide of political interests on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render ineffectual the mounds which his Britannic majesty had raised by his multiplicity of negociations. Louis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his queen, who was a princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiable ambition. The infanta, who had been married to Louis XIV, was not favorable to her husband’s plan, and the whole French nation began to apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue; he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to have the nuptials hurried through; and he was summoned: and she was attended to Madrid by the Marquis de Montaleone. The Queen of Spain resisted this insult offered to her daughter; and in revenge, dismissed Madame Rolande de Beaujouens, one of the regent’s daughters, whom she had betrothed to her son Don Carlos. A congress at Cambrai had proved ineffectual, she offered to adjust her differences with the emperor, under the sole mediation of Great Britain. This was an honour which King George declined; he was aware that his own state was such that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the emperor’s refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden except upon terms which he did not choose to embrace. The peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which he refused to mediate was effected by a private negociation, under the management of the Duke de Ripperta, a native of the States-general, who had released from the protestant religion, and entered into the ship of his catholic majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as King of Spain and the Indies, promised that he would not molest him in his possessions; and that the annuities which his majesty’s command, that, seven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity; that, from his behaviour since that time, his majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and consented to his petitioning the House. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied, that the petitioner had observed all his engagements; and therefore deserved the favour of that House, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his

On the fifth day of December the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince. Mr. Pulteney hinted, that it might not suit the King of Denmark. She died December the sixteenth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty one.
defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negociated and concluded at Hanover in the month of September. It supposed the extension of the common provisions of the treaty of commerce, and of the mutual engagements for the protection of the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the catholics, contrary to the treaty at Oliva. The king, having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed without any loss at Rye, from whence he proceeded to London. The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand that the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs upon them, that their engagements were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of their pretended grand design. One event in particular, the revolution of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to secure the approbation of Great Britain, upon which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever since, like odes. It was now that the danger seemed to have grown into a very dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They hurried, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of rubric with every person of common sense and reflection. The people were told, that the emperor and the King of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vimeiro, had entered into private engagements, impeding that the imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port-Mahon by force of arms, in case the King of England should refuse to restore them amenable for the prince of Orange. What was more, this double marriage should take place between the two Infants of Spain and the two Archduchesses of Austria; and that means should be taken to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

§ XXVI. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the House of Commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed, in derision, "the balance master," opened the debate with a long unmeaning oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the emperor, the other with the most christian king and Holland, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty at Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the emperor and Spain, was to countenance and support the East India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. It was in the teeth of the danger to the interest of power would be exposed, should the issue-make of this projected marriage between the houses of Austria and Spain ever possess the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Bohemia. The reader will recollect, as the contract was negociated, the marriage of the daughter of Pretender, and the marriage of the son of the Pretender, to the princess Anne. The Pretender was in the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to

very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which previded the power of those two houses from being immediately united in the person of the same person. It was a mistake; it was upon the pretended secret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca, and the king's pious concern for the distressed protestants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Richarson urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war with the defensiveness of the king; German dominions, contrary to an express proviso made in the act of limitation. These arguments had lost all weight. The opposition was so considerable, that the ministry were determined to propose no further engagements than they should propose. An address was voted and delivered to his majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the King of Spain: and promising to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain. An address of the same kind was presented by the House of Lords in a body. A bill was brought in, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to 100,000l. In pursuance of this bill, the deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South Sea scheme. The king recommended his petition; and the House complied with his request, in consideration of his great distress. He was, the famous John Hampden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

§ XXVII. The malt tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rifi-fed the house of Daniel Campbell, their representative in parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated some excisemen, who attempted to enforce it. The city of Glasgow had been encircled by the forces of the Spaniards. Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers, under the command of Captain Bushel, to prevent or appease a disturbance of this nature. That officer drew up his men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to disperse by firing among them without shot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with hail, and at a time when the magistrates were advancing to quench him in a body, at the suggestion of advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority. About twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion, and had made: the distaste and terror were exaggerated beyond all sense of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the Castle of Dumfries; and was pursued above three hundred men enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, took possession of Glasgow. The magistrates were Oldenlun, Arlindale, and conveyed prisoners to the Oldenlun, in Parliament. Mem. of the Tindal.
A.D. 1796.

King sent a message to the House by Sir Paul Methuen, desiring an extraordinary supply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary for the defence of the coast, until he heard their resolves; but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the upper House complained that the message was not sent to both Houses of parliament, and this suggestion gave rise to another declaratory act, which Lord Balthur and others made melancholy reflections upon the state of insubordination to which the peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little noticed by the House, for the greater part of his Majesty's officers were ruinous over all opposition. The supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask, and several bills passed for the regulation of civil economy, the king dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

§ XVIII. By this time Peter the Czar of Muscovy was dead, and his Empress Catharina had succeeded him on the Russian throne. The princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh, and to prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George, concluding that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir John Jernings, to intercept her projects upon his allies. The English fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Viborg, Cronstron, Rewi, and Riga. The French envoy, on the other side, made an address to the Swedish majesty, steered towards Revel, and sent thither a lieutenant, with a letter from the King of Great Britain to the empress. This was an expostulation, in which his majesty observed, that he and his subjects could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land. He complained that measures had been taken at her court in favour of the pretender; that his repeated instances for effecting a war had been attended with neglect; and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his admiral to prevent her ships from coming out of her harbours, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The empress, in her answer to the king, expressed her surprise, that she had not received his majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the dignity of his court, if it had been delivered between his dominions and the crown of Great Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer, before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him that neutrality would repair all the injuries that might happen between her and the British fleet. As to the design of disturbing the peace of the north; and with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and state accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the villainous steps lately taken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in this station until he received certain intelligence that the Russian galleys were laid up in their winter harbour; then he set sail for the coast of Denmark, from where he returned to England in the month of November.

§ XXIX. King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the north, had equipped two other squadrons; one of which was destined for the West Indies, under the command of Admiral Hosier; the other, which was stationed between Jersey and the Channel Islands, was under the command of Lord John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, sailed from St. Helens's on the twelfth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the Azores and Madeira, and the Canaries; and then to the coast of Africa; then to the coast of Brazil; and then to the east coast of South America, where he was ordered to take possession of the Cape of Good Hope, and to proceed in the direction of the Cape of Horn, from whence he was ordered to return to England, in the month of February. It was observed by the Courrier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he addressed the protestant religion, married a lady of the Queen of Porto-Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat which had the start of Hosier. This admiral lay inactive on that station, until he heard these developments. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews; then he stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South Sea ship at Lo, Ver-Cruz, together with all the effects belonging to that company. Hosier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas until the great part of his men-of-war were victualled over all opposition. The supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask, and several bills passed for the regulation of civil economy, the king dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

§ XXX. The Duke of Ormond and Wharton, and the Earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid; and the Duke de Rippenda, now prime minister of Spain, dropped some hints that he would establish a new anti-separatist design, which, however, the court of Madrid positively denied. Rippenda, as a foreigner, felt a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Spanish ministers. He was suddenly dismissed from office, and the king of Great Britain, who had entered into engagements in favour of the pretender.

§ XXXI. The seventeenth day of January, the British parliament was opened with a long, elaborate speech, importing that the proceedings and transactions of the emperor and King of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and daring interests and privileges of the English nation; which must either be fortified and sustained by the British empire; that the king of Spain purchased ships of war; began to make preparations for some important undertaking; and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on the confines of Portugal and Andalusia, under the command of the Duke of Albuquerque. The States-general and the King of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover; but the King of Prussia, though his majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements. The secret articles was, the placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and another the conquest of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. The emperor confined himself entirely to Russia; and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of those kingdoms. He exerted the Commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defense of that country, and for making Spain's best efforts, and obtained the rank and appointment of a first-rate-captain in the Spanish service. But the situation was not yet such as to require the exercise of the powers, which were now vested in his majesty's hands.
good his engagements with the allies of Great Britain. He told them, that the King of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial little short of a declaration, in which he hinted, that the restoration of Gibraltar did not fail to touch the energetic strings which always moved their passions: the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a papish pretender, the present happy establishment, the relations of possessions and properties of a Protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both Houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate: yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formed, though headed by influential characters and resolution. The Commons voted twenty thousand scamen, besides six-and-twenty thousand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land-service; and, to defray the extraordinary expense, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

§ XXXI. The House of Lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the accession of the States-general to the treaty of Hanover, a warm debate ensued. Lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the States-general to the treaty was upon condition that their act should be approved by the King of Great Britain, and the Most Christian King, and the King of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the ministry should, for the same reason, for itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see how just reason for a rupture with Spain; that indeed the Duke of Richmond might have dropped some indiscreet expressions; he was known to be a man of violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his catholic majesty; that, in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the King of Great Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which must he attended with dangerous consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would be impoverished. He observed, that in some papers laid before the House, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that in his opinion, it had been too easily submitted to English gold: he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long as he had the honour to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his country. He, therefore, desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said nothing could be gained by the war, should it prove serviceable: and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by Lord Townshend, who affirmed that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his majesty thought fit to take were honourable, just, and necessary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by solemn treaties, and for making the King of Great Britain the protector of Gibraltar, the Iberian possessions, and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Dissents of the same nature arose from the same subject in the lower House. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the House of Peers, that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the House of Commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be laid before the House; another member moved for a blank motion, and Mr. Pulteney moved for the King of Sweden, and for the secret offers and article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to address the king for such memorials and representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as inducing him to prevent any more violence being used on the part of the potentates of France and Spain, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged as an expense of the late war, for buildings, emoluments and expenses, and over above such as were specified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject; but each of these motions was rejected on a division: and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his majesty, for the great wisdom of his conduct. They expressed the most implicit confidence in his goodness and discretion, they promised to support him in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, as well as for consulting the honour and advantage of these kingdoms.

§ XXXIII. His majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the imperial resident at London, was ordered to return to his own court, to inform the king, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the king was charged with having deceived the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several years, for the same reason, for having himself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see how just reason for a rupture with Spain; that indeed the Duke of Richmond might have dropped some indiscreet expressions; he was known to be a man of violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his catholic majesty; that, in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the King of Great Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which must he attended with dangerous consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would be impoverished. He observed, that in some papers laid before the House, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that in his opinion, it had been too easily submitted to English gold: he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long as he had the honour to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his country. He, therefore, desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said nothing could be gained by the war, should it prove serviceable: and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by Lord Townshend, who affirmed that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his majesty thought fit to take were honourable, just, and necessary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by solemn treaties, and for making the King of Great Britain the protector of Gibraltar, the Iberian possessions, and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Dissents of the same nature arose from the same subject in the lower House. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the House of Peers, that no
his trouble, the King of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, detested his interest; and the States-general stood aloof. For the security of his German dominions, he sent his brother, the Dauphin, as a garrison to the most precarious ally; to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse Cassel: but none of these powers would contribute their assistance without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies, though the danger was common, and the effort to have been equal. Instead of allies, they professed themselves mercenaries. Great Britain paid them for the defence of their own dominions: she, moreover, undertook to maintain a powerful fleet, by which she might, if in extremity, be too weak to think, or so fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a British quarrel?

A.D. 1727. For the support of those expensive treaties, Sir Scroope, secretary of the treasury, moved in the House of Commons, that in the malt tax bill they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expenses and engagements which had been, or should be, made before the first day of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the minister move: the King of France united in advising, and granting supplies was unparliamentary: such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all parliaments had thought indispensable to the safety of a nation, which was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause: that great sums had already been granted: that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that such a confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved, but by keeping a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary: that such clauses, if not sensibly checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge to the crown and in the ministers, on absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried. Few were the consequences of this. Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the Crown in the last session, the interest of the hundred pounds should be raised by loans on exchequer bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of parliament, by which the proceeds of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking funds, it was carried by the majority.

A.D. 1727. On the fifteenth day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and despatch; and given them to understand that the dispute between the nations was wrought up by the treacheries opened before this fortress on the eleventh day of February, by the Conde de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old Earl of Portmore, who was then in command, and had been distinguished in the late convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four-and-twentie pieces of cannon. At the same time, the King of France, in the same garrison, had so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, plentifully supplied with fresh provision from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The besiegers, not being able to get leave to attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the king would hold in readiness the ten thousand auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty. These were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies. Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet from the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron: but the czarina dying on the seventeenth day of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was laid aside.

§ XXXVII. Meanwhile the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might agano embroil all Europe. The mediation of the French ministers was effectually conducted by the Duke de Richelieu, his ambassador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were proposed between the two crowns and the allies. At length, all the preliminaries necessary to a truce were signed in May at Paris, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. These importations, that hostilities should immediately cease: that the charter of the Osnaburg company should be suspended for seven years: and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Stouss, and a trinitarian of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. The court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South Sea ship, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the West Indies; so that Sir Philip soma. Charles Wager continued in his cruise on the coast of Spain; but these objections were removed in the sequel.

§ XXXVIII. King George, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich, on the third day of June, and landed in Holland on the seventh, set out for Hanover. He was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road: he forthwith lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabruck. There heexpired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign."—George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued, his own interest. Of his detail, we are not so well acquainted, though with less art and precision—Steele, who in his connoisseuses successfully ingrained modern characters on the asserted drama—Farquhar, who drew his pictures from nature rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable present and vivacity of his drollery— Addison, whose form as a poet greatly exceeded his talents as a satirist. The subject of these two characters, monarchical monarchy; was a cypher rather than a poet, and his natural dryness of manner gave agreeable vivacity to his drivel; he was a mean pedestrian, but a poet: he feigned his poetry, by adopting the extravagant language of Racine and Tasso— Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, epic, and the various species of composition, to whose vigour of invention, and who contrived to maintain the liveliness of language that is so difficult to be obtained in all whose works are a perfect system, and are equally admirable. All his works are true translations. The following is a correct estimate of him:—"In his familiar style, when his versification is tolerable, his ideas are not so luminous for strength of character and power of inspection, as for wit, elegance, and regularity—Vauhall, who wrote with more mature
posed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption.

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. George II. amend the throne of Great Britain. [A. D. 1727.] Book II.

4. Unnecessary armaments, unnecessary army, unnecessary votes of credit. § 7. Many councils, many cabinets, many administrations.

2. Tito, the Papal States. § 2. To the puppet army, to the Papal States.

8. Many states. § 8. To the puppet army, to the Papal States.

7. Tito, the Papal States. § 7. To the puppet army, to the Papal States.

16. Tito, the Papal States. § 16. To the puppet army, to the Papal States.

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the effect of personal animosity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

§ III. An expas was opened on the fourteenth day of November with an address on the kun's death, his late majesty King George II. removed from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester House; and the members of the privy council being assembled, were sworn anew. The king declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. At the same time, he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the union, which he was to be the advocate of union. Next day he was proclaimed King of Great Britain. The parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month.

All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury; and the system of politics which the late king had established underwent no sort of alteration. The king, in his speech to both Houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to mort the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the public debt, and to do all in his power to secure the happiness of his subjects. He said, he would permit: he observed to the Commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list revenues was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of the king and his family; lastly, he added, that it was not in his power to contract the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addressed of conduct and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the Commons, in a committee of the whole House, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of money one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds granted to, this last session, on the late king, had fallen short every year; and that his present majesty's expenses were likely to increase, by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very fugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, had declared, that the revenue would not be sufficient, though his majesty's family should be enriched, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of Prince Frederick would be much inferior to those settled on his present majesty when he was Prince of Wales; besides, it was to be hoped that many personal, many particular expenses in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and entirely cease. He observed, that the civil-list branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted to her late civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her pety and generosity. She gave the first fruits and tithes, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum out of the post-office, on the Duke of Marlborough; she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in the great war; the nation, although the nation, did not pay the expenses of the war, and the Jesuits annually to Prince Charles of Denmark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract; she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of her benefactions. In fact, she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expenses to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand pounds, and forty-one pounds. He affirmed, that a million a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expenses, so often and so justly complained of in the House of Commons, in addition to the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulf of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion; then the two insurance offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into friendship by the treaty of seventy-two, the public service was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown; four-and-twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded, and granted, for paying the debts of the civil list; and his majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expenses for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new encumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which Admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were to be paid the sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government amounting to two hundred thousand pounds. He took notice, that the extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue; that none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished that time, the greatest discoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such sums, and all such accounts; and that, a sufficient account should be given of such persons and such transactions: who had been the hired slaves and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glourours administration. He proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, 'in like manner as they were granted and continued to his late majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds.' To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aside as idle and superfluous. The House agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his majesty's house-hold. The Commons had passed a resolution to make the payment of the expense of the three persons, who had paid for the crown, a part of the public revenue; and for making it an act of treason to make the crown by any means, either emit a proclamation, or act against the crown, in any manner. The House agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his majesty's house-hold. The Commons had passed a resolution to make the payment of the expense of the three persons, who had paid for the crown, a part of the public revenue; and for making it an act of treason to make the crown by any means, either emit a proclamation, or act against the crown, in any manner.
usual solemnity. By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from continual alarms of war, and the English nation suffered no interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tinners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms and plundered the granaries and fifty thousand pounds, and half a million of pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the King of Sweden; and half that sum to the King of Brunswick. The expense of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt tax, and by borrowing of the Bank one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for which, amounts to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported in the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

§ VI. All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, presented a petition setting forth, that the House of Commons had already laid upon coals and cullen, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the interest and dividends of the funds of Great Britain was an encouragement to extravagance, and a hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The House had addressed the King for a particular and distinct account of the amount of the public engagements, and the sum of twenty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their request, but signified in general, that part of the money had been disbursed, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secrecy. Such a message in the reign of King William would have raised a dangerous flame in the House of Commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether insignificat, to cover embezlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The Commons having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers. A motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already charged to the interest, as debtors, and the interest of the debts, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to six millions six hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, five shillings, one penny, and in general, to the said ministers, and the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts; the motion was carried; and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts. In the particular account of these debts, upon which the House resolved to form a representation to his majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate was totally omitted. Thus exposing every omission being by the House, a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the public accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representatives, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the public credit. The draft, being approved by the House, was presented to the king, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen occurrence could prevent the national debt from being extinguished within the time that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without any necessity of incurring new encumbrances.

§ VII. This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the House, demanding a vote of credit to fulfill certain engagements entered into, and concerted, with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. Though a debate ensued upon this message, the majority resolved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the Commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his majesty to fulfill his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king submitted to their perusal; they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which, however, did not pass into a law; they considered the state of the national debt, subject fruitful of debates; they passed the mutiny bill, and those that were sent up from the Commons, touching
the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature. These bills having received the approbation, on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the Commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and, in particular, for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the soldiers in the provinces.

§ VIII. England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The king's uncle, Ernest Augustus, Prince of Brunswick, Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabruck, by the death of his father, succeeded in the bishopric by the Elector of Colzon, according to the testament by which Osnabruck is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswick and that elector.

In the beginning of December, his majesty's eldest son Prince Frederick arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided, was introduced into the privy council, and created Prince of Wales. Signor Comte, resident from the Duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master paid to the pretended the honors due to the King of Great Britain. The congress opened at Soissons, for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe,proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in the arrangements for peace that the Congress was discontinued, and the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and the Hessian princes, and which was to be continued in suspense: the English fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West Indies: the sailors perishing miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while the Spanish cruisers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened the power of that nation by the augmentation of its maritime family of Portugal. The infanta of this house was betrothed to the Prince of Asturias; while the Spanish infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now matched with the Prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese majesty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden house built over the little river Coya, that separates the two kingdoms, and there the peace was exchanged.

§ IX. The peace of Great Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first day of January, the king in his speech communicated the nature of the negotiations at the congress. He demanded such security as might ensure the future confidence of his allies, provided his endeavours to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry; and he hinted that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given of creating discontentments and divisions among the subjects of Great Britain. This suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition. Accordingly the hint was pursued, and in the address from both Houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both peers and Commons, in many and various quarters, accused those, who, by such base and unnatural artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniences which they themselves had occasioned. To these addresses, likewise, the parliament congratulated his majesty on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the Commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion. The house was examined in the usual form, the House voted fifteen thousand pounds for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a greater army in time of peace, were inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great viracity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. These, however, were answered, and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two stanch adherents of the ministry. It was, as it seemed, a novel practice to be employed in different negociations: he was blunt, awkward, and slow: an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plebeian without address. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; spoke with confidence; and in dispute was rancorous, sarcastic, peevish, and abusive.

§ X. The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfenbuttel, were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. John Jekyll, Mr. W. Pulteney and Sir Robert Walpole, who last observed, that as the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great Britain should defray no more than the expense of the additional forces which those powers had raised in consequence of their conventions with the King of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving that this remark made an impression on the House, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure. He explained upon the wisdom of the late king, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed, that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for the interests, to which the courts of Vienna and Madrid, were attached in suspence; that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overruled and his court allowed to have as many subsidies, and all other advances towards a pacification; that, therefore, they ought not to grudge an expense which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquility of Great Britain. Sir Joseph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloss might be put upon such measure, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad: that the navy was the natural strength of Great Britain—its best defence and its only interest by an engagement in war; they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were like never to see an end of such extravagant expenses. This gentleman, who exerted the office of master of the rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of whip principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land tax, the duties upon malt, cider, and perry, an additional impost on spirits and on dried fish, and by a new grant of annuities to the bank not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

§ XI. Petitions were delivered to the House of Commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies. These being considered, the House ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be had before the congress at Soissons; then they addressed his majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to Admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West India squadron. Mr. Ogilthorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by googlers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination of the evidence and with a request that those, who, by such base and unnatural artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniences which they themselves had occasioned. To these addresses, likewise, the parliament congratulated his majesty on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the Commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion. The house was examined in the usual form, the House voted fifteen thousand pounds for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a greater army in time of peace, were inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great
into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. When Huggins, Bagnall, and two others of the Fleet-prison, were subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The House presented an address to the king, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were parties to these enormities; to Newgate, where the bill was brought in, disabling Bankbridge to execute the office of warden: for another the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for the more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.

§ XI. Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The House, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction, and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The king assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his subjects in so much as he could, and the answer was, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. His majesty gave them to understand that the money had been issued and disbursed for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it passed through the House without opposition. It was employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the ministers. The Commons having made further progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaty subsisting between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of the ships belonging to Great Britain. They justified the instructions given to Admiral Hower, to seize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain; and satisfaction would be evident of it to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the king in use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

§ XI. Mr. Scroope, member for Bristol, moved for an address entitling his majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil-list revenues for one year to be laid before the House. The address was presented, the account produced, and the House in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The courtiers affirmed that they believed none but the high officers were then employed upon his majesty; and Mr. Scroope proposed that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the king, on account of those deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pultney and other members. They expressed their surprise that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and that the more extraordinary, because it did not appear in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the House, that the revenues of the civil list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pultney mov'd, that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the justice of the truth of the motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his majesty the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, so account of arrears due on the civil-list revenues.

§ XIV. The House of Lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly the positive demands made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded in a letter written by the late king to his catholic majesty. From a copy of the letter laid before the House, it plainly appeared that King George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing that for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty that the King of Spain should renounce all claims of property, interest, and pretensions, on both sides, and to maintain strong terms: a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, that the House did entirely approve of their majesty's grants of the whole sum to the nation, for honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the House examined the proposed relations of the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and the motion was made, to resolve that House's expedition was an unreasonable burthen on the nation: but this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest, which was read in the corn bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his majesty, pass through the House of Peers without warm opposition. Divers lords alleged, that, instead of a deficiency in the civil-list revenues, there was a considerable surplus; that this was a new grant, and a new burthen on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment, the sum designed for the civil list; and that at a time when the public debts were increased, when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was encumbered and diminished; when her manufactures were decayed, her poor multiplied, and she was surrounded by many other distresses, and insufficiencies, it would be evident of it to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the king in use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

§ XV. The king had, on the twenty-fourth day of March, given the royal assent to
five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May, the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent in the kingdom during his majesty's absence, without taking the oaths; and the bills were passed at the same time two-and-thirty private bills were passed: then the king expressed his approbation of the parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both Houses. His majesty was then informed, that a force of men was set out for Hanover, on the seventeenth day of May, in order to remove a petty misunderstanding which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some sums of money, which were previously voted, were voted into the service of Prussia: and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers, by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of Lord Carteret; and their parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the hopes of their country. They established funds for the charge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expense of government; they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and the ministers of the crown were employed in different branches of civil economy. Some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, Lord Carteret returned to England; and was succeeded by the Countess Dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of Marchioness of Somer- rive. Though the congress at Sissinghurst proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipo- tentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded for settling the debts of the crown, without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an imperial commission to the duchy of Parma, and the principality of Arenberg, to Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister de Chavigny. In October, Peter H. Czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I, died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the Princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederick William Duke of Courland. The following month was renowned remarkable by the death of Pope Benedict XIII, in whose room Cardinal Laurence Cecchi was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

§ XVII. The British parliament assembling on the thir- teenth day of January, the king gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them, that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free, unconditional treaty concluded by the states-general of Spain, that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations; that all rights, privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and confirmed; and that the nation, renouncing the right to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them that he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet: and observed that there would be a considerable saving in the expense of the current year. After both Houses had presented their address to the king, and the king, on the peace of Seville, the Lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass inquiry without severe amendment.

§ XVIII. The lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. They said this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake, much more to undergo, a journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more than the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipoten- tiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great Britain should be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement should be made between the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries; that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma without the specification of the terms on which they were taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance; that they should guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma, or the probability that it would involve Great Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was calculated to produce the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all interdicts. They complained that these alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. But the objections put on the peace of Nantes, in the form of the objections made to the peace: then Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, and the sending of Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to resolve that Great Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville: and that the stipulations in that treaty for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insufficient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatizing this transaction, resolved, that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and posses- sions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for re- pairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was ordered, but when a motion was made for an address to his majesty, that he would order to be laid before the House a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately re- solved in the negative. The大理 letto courtp the question of arose upon the ministry bill, the pension bill, and the mainte- nance of the twelve thousand hussars; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clouded with vigorous protest, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the peers; and the motion rejected.
House of Commons altogether pure, and free from exception and dispute. When the charge of the land forces fell under the consideration of the Commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham,secretary at war, advised that a fresh remit for the land service of the ensuing year should be fixed at seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine, Mr. Pulney intimated upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. Mr. Skippon affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion was a dot negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the House would immediately produce all the beneficial effects of the peace, and that the King was solicited from the apprehensions of inconveniences of a war. He said the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great Britain, which he hoped would never be so far Germanized, as to submit to a military government. He observed, that the motion could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. "They are not necessary (said he) to save Spain into a firm adherence to its own treaty; they are not necessary to force the emperor into an immediate accession; nor are they in any sort necessary for the safety of his majesty's person and government. Force and violence are the means of improper ends only; it is because they are, with good reason, distressful of the people whom they oppress; and because they have no other security for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion than what depends entirely on the immolation of their terminated strength." The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

§ XX. Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes or states, without having obtained licence from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some great authority. The minister pretended that this law was proposed to disable the English merchants, and to prevent a great sum of money from the English merchants, from raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquility of Europe. The bill contained a clause, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the attorney-general was empowered to compel, by English bill, in the court of exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath of any such bills; and it was enacted, that in default of an answer to any such bill the court should proceed against the person accusing the offender, Mr. Daniel Pulney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and abilities, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a violation of liberty, to which he conceived that the conduct of the English merchants, from raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquility of Europe, and the want of money to the nations of the continent. He said that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English merchants would be totally disabled from assisting these enemies at their best allies: that among others, the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money from the English merchants residing within his dominions; that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licenses would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a-year: that the bill would render the exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and potentates, and from being enabled to trade in their markets, it would render the exchequer a court of inquisition for their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, and particularly in the exportation of bullion, andupon all occasions steadily adhered to the interest and liberties of his country. After having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our dear liberties, and a very dangerous and very servile kind. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question: the bill was vandicated by

Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yong, attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the House, but was carried in a number of effusions, which had never before been. The measure was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the House mortified one million pounds towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of parliament to the British East India Company was extended to thirty years, to considerate merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the English, with the privilege of extension in strength. In consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East India Company. This proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company was, by the act of parliament, protracted to the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, upon the following conditions: that they should pay into the exchequer the sum of two thousand pounds during the last two years of the term of the previous act, without interest or addition to their capital stock: that the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable to them from the public, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds: that after the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years' notice, and repayment of their capital.

§ XXII. On the fifteenth day of May, A.D. 1730, the king went to the House of Peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the parliament was determined to hand over to the Hollanders their consideration; a circumstance which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of parliament. The emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war, and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with the intention of having his claim to the hereditary rights of the House of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much at invested him as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian dukedoms had been secured to the Infant Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance; and all that the emperor required was, that this prince should receive the investiture of them as fees of the empire.

§ XXIII. In Great Britain, that misfortune was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians, in America, were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cummin. Being to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made any noise, if the ministry had had the prudence, which has never been well ascertained, it would stick with the upper House, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without some opposition.
introduced to the king they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their companions. This was the last of parliament; and with the purpose.

They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave the present in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations: and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were reconveyed to their ships. A treaty of friendship, and a bill of trade to the Southern Carolinas. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, explaining that all true Mussulmen ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand, marched to the seraglio, and demanded the grand vizir, the kajta, and captain pacha. These unhappy ministers were immediately strangled. Their bodies being delivered to the insurgents, were dragged through the streets, and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this sacrifice, the revolted deputies grand Signor Aktials, and the sultan, who were allowed to live when they brought his nephew Machmut, and raised this last to the throne, after he had lived seven-and-twenty years in confinement.

§ XXVI. England was at this period infested with robberesses, assassins, and inconsiderate, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent this acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which, there is no other restraint on their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters demanding sums of money from certain individuals, by way of fines, for the number of years, or their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villany was practised in towns of the British dominions across the Channel, where it was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

§ XXV. In the speech with which the king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-first day of January, he told them, that the present critical juncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that real and violent war with which their houses to attempt and him and his engagements, must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed, before the suspension of actions, by an accommodation, to the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both Houses, in their addresses, promised to support his majesty, in all his engagements; yet the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdisty of promising to fulfill engagements, before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great Britain. Another bill was brought into the House of Commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of parliament, and with this the Lords concurred.

The supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Wolvenburg, which however were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expense of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the Commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceed- ings, and the expense of this mode of proceeding, and enacting that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on presence that it would render useless the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading: in spite of these objections it passed through both Houses and obtained the royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of deprecations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the American colonies, and in the East Indies, there was introduced another bill by which they brought his nephew Machmut, and raised this last to the throne, after he had lived seven-and-twenty years in confinement.

in consideration. A.D. 1731.

they read a bill for the free importation of woot from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed and had aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. They passed the bill for carving on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his majesty would give directions for discouraging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great Britain. On the seventh day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor. He said it was no less conciliated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the States-general. He observed, that the
conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and safety of the balance of power in Europe: and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

XXVIII. On the death of James I., the Duke of Parma died, after having made a will in which he declared his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entitling the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon her, and defer the execution of their projects until her consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still-born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and avowed estates to the Infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy. Notwithstanding this testament, a body of imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of General Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration entirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these dukedoms for the Infant Don Carlos, that in the deepest distress the king should not be defrauded of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the King of Great Britain had no intention of intervening in these-states-general interests, but he so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Hapsburg majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, that the King of Spain might take possession of these places in favour of his son Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Rastatt; he likewise signed, the second company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the free navigation, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless the States-general were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contractingparty to put an end to these hostilities.

XXIX. On the twenty-second day of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the emperor and the King of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former; and a treaty of alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the Duchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the elder duchess dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; General Stampa, with the imperial forces, took formal possession of the dukedoms of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the Great Duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convey Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the twenty-sixth day of August, in September he arrived at Barceloneta, where, being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leichon: from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish galley, arrived at the balance of the fleet in December, and imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milanese; and the infant took possession of his new territories.

X. During these transactions France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull Uniguisitque thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius; a bull which had produced a schism in the Gallican church, and created the most violent discontents and confusion. It was opposed by the parliaments and lay tribunals of the kingdom; but many bishops, and the Jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assurers. All the articles of the Edict of Nantes were on both sides inflamed the enthusiasm, and manage the superstition, of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of Abbe Pari, who had died without accepting the bull, which conspired to destroy the edifice of their constitution. On the other hand, the Jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists; in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity; and in inspiring a spirit of quietism among their members, who were transferring them only on both possessions, illumination, and supernatural converse. These arts were often used for the most infamous purposes. Female enthusiasts were brought up to such a violence of agitation, that nature fainted under the struggle, and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent. Such was said to be the case of Madameisselle la Cadene, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused of two priests, and in consequence, of one of the Gird, a noted Jesuit, who undertook a trial before the parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake.

XXX. The parliament of Great Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the king in his speech declared, that the party would not be his mediators, until the difficulties were disposed of, which were caused by the law of 1728, and established by the last treaty of Vienna; and Don Carlos was actually possessed of Parma and Placentia; that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the ducy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the great duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and commerce, and security of the Queens eldest son. Commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity: he observed that his government had no security but that he was equal and conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people: that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government. "Our safety, (said he,) is mutual, and our interests inseparable." The opposition to the court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. The minister's motions were attacked with all the artillery of eloquence. His principal emissaries were obliged to task the public mind to their full extent, in the perplexity where they could not demonstrate and convince, to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and to elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the House of Commons, Lord Hervey, had submitted the chamberlain of his majesty's household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their entire approbation of the king's conduct, acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government, express their confidence in the wisdom of his counsels, and declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. This member, son to the Earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, which, however, were more specious than solid. He was unacquainted to a minister, and appeared himself extremely active in forwarding all his designs, whether as a secret emissary or public orator: in which last capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilford Lawton, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Ogilvy-thorpe. They did not argue against a general address, but they apprehended a bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilford Lawton observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the nobility in that kingdom, little was said of the satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guarantors to the
pragmatic sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand signior: that they might be attacked when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war upon any foreign account: that it might always be found of more interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost England such immense sums of money. He insisted upon the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though they navigate the ship very well, yet took it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expense, at last by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Goglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that it must always be found of more interest of the nation and interest of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction. He said he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely raised and defended. But the minister could not promise complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain: that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose value the nation must chiefly depend, and that never concur in a treaty which had been shown to the oppressed protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash to govern each other, they were always in contention; and this he said was always been the case between France and Great Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the Duke of Newcastle, a man whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the measures of a corrupt ministry. In other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though erroneously mistaken in his notions of government. On this occasion he asserted, that it was no way inconsistent with the honour or dignity of that House, to thank his majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had done pleased to communicate in his majesty's throne: that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any ways mode of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursed, when the treaties should be laid before the House. He said, at the opening of the present parliament, they had nothing to urge against the greatness of Great Britain, and from the parliament's first resolves all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would enter between his majesty and the representatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or diffident of his majesty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states or potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false step that might have been made by his ministers. His arguments were reinforced by a long speech from Mr. H. Walpole. The question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

XXXI. The next subject of debate was the number of land forces. When the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strockland, secretary at war, moved that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. On the other hand, Lord Morpeth, having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the number should be reduced to twelve thousand. A debate was opened upon this important subject, the first motion by Lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip York, attorney-general. This gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, odious, and an orator in the House of Commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir William Yonge, one of the lords com-

missioners of the treasury: a man who rendered himself serviceable and necessary, by stooping to all compliances, running upon every scent, and haranguing on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, composed of assertions without vanity, conclusions from false premises, words without truth, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, whose open, honest speech, and warmly attached to the ancient constitution and hierarchy; he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision, and severity, by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pultney, and Mr. Stanley. He was of opinion that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be re-embroiled. They affirmed, the science of war was so much altered, and required so much attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies, and the security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great Britain was too considerable to excite the jealousy of the people even under the circumstances of that time; that his majesty's ministers entertained the least thoughts of infringing the liberties of his subjects; that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a treaty that would make the forces now in pay could not properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the parliament, which was the representative of the people. The gentlemen argued the members in the opposition replied, that the principles of time in peace was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous; that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance: that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country: that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army; and other such absurd arguments: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies: and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend upon a military force for security against encroachments of foreign courts: that the numbers in Great Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this provision was strengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which secured her dominion on the sea; and, if properly disposed, would render her paramount in all matters of war: that the land army of Great Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast, and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an inva-

sion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal designs, might arise, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, these might be easily discarded by the government, which was a quite different temper. By these means, practised in former times, an army had been new modelled to such a degree, that they turned their swords against the parlia-

dment, for whose defence they had been raised, and de-

stroyed the constitution both in church and state.

With respect to its being wholly dependent on the parlia-

ment, the people of England would have reason to com-

plain of the same hardship, whether a standing army

were or were not necessary. The ministry, on the other hand, had been voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry: that the sanction of the legislature, granted to measures in which they are unconstitutional, boundless

power, odious, and an orator in the House of Commons.
chains of national slavery, would be that of ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thousand to twelve thousand, was insisted upon as the natural consequence of his majesty's declaration, by which they were to understand that the peace of Europe was established; and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease of the people. It was suggested, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think that a less number would suffice when peace was preserved.

Whatever had upon the body of the nation, they made an converts in the House, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote in elections according to the direction of the minister. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the money raised for the subsistence of eighteen thousand men in England, would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that eighteen thousand of the English troops were maintained at less than two-thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number: but no regard was paid to these allegations.

§ XXXI. The next object of importance that attracted the attention of the House, was the state of the charitable corporation. This company was first erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven. Their profession intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of a better rank upon an indissoluble and irreclaimable. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, Esquire, member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds no equivalent was found; insomuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand pounds, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the House of Commons, represented, that by the most meticulous breach of trust to west persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been deprived of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress; they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the House would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation; and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners as to the House should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the inquiry. They soon discovered important fraud, which had been actuated by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the House of Commons, as having a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought into parliament for restraining them and altering the laws relating to the people, who was alienated from the kingdom, or altering their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signior John Angelo Belkons, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them an account, that Thompson's successor, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his cor- respondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an article to intimation a favourable opinion of the pretended, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his real for justice, and affectation for the common weal. On this occasion, the proposals of the House were concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The lower House resolved that an act of justice should be and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of those that had enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

§ XXXIII. No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest as did that of Sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties on salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprise at the grossness of the imposition. They observed that two years since the land tax was increased, and that the power of the crown, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off; but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinions so suddenly, and resolving to grumble the face of the poor, in order to set himself up upon the wrong side of the question. It was affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burdensome; that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes further than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public are the most convenient and easiest to the people; but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesman and manufacturer must be increased; and whereas these are high, the manufacturers will be undersold by those of cheaper countries. The trade must of consequence be ruined. They remember that a gentleman would choose to save a shilling in the pound from the land tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufacturers of his country, and decrease the value of his own fortune. They alleged that the salt tax particular, which they denounced the worst, they would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, which extending upon the ministry, whose influence in elections they would proportionality increase. They even hinted, that this consideration was one powerful motive for proposing the revival of an odious tax, which was imposed in an act of public iniquity; and that the measure would be deemed a step towards a general excuse upon all sorts of provisions. Finally, they demonstrated that the salt tax introduced numberless frauds and perjuries in different parts of the kingdom, and that the duty revivified: yet, before the bill passed, diverse motions were made, and additional clauses proposed by the
members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

§ XXXIV. The pension bill was revived, and for the third time was put in the House of Lords. For the encouragement of the sugar colonies passed through the lower House with great difficulty, but was lost among the Peers: another, for the better securing the freedom of Parliament, by further qualifying members to sit in the House of Commons, was the third time taken out upon the question. A committee had been appointed to inquire into a sale of the estates which had belonged to the late Earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, which had been framed: a bill prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, Esquire, and Serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of trust, and expelled the House, of which they were members: George Robinson, Esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session five members of parliament were expelled for the most solemn acts of knavery: a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonesty. All the supplies were granted, and among other articles, the King, by the act of the 21st of July, the 16th of the present year, received of the sum of twelve thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds seven shillings and sixpence, for the aiso or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the two kingdoms: but that bill was altered and carried without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majesty's displeasure: The King, on the first day of July, called for the council book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, Esquire, out of the list of privy councillors: his majesty further ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The severe and national resentment, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them: and the lord chancellor and secretaries of state directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

§ XXXV. Nor did the House of Peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces, and the Earl of Chatham argued for the amendment. The Earl of Oxford moved that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The Earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in their measures; and they might involve the people: schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The Marquis of Trewsdale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public; he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men, demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency. The Duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an army of this description, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and after all, acknowledged, that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered and refuted in an excellent speech by Lord Carteret: nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking-fund; and the Treasury, without the necessary encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king, on the first day of June, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both Houses that the States-General had accepted the peace of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the Electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

### CHAP. V.

§ 1. Remarkable instance of suicide. § 11. Affairs of the continent. § 111. Meeting of the parliament. § IV. Address to the king tending the serious decrease of the British Navy. § V. Speech from the commons. § VI. Address to the king. § VII. Bill for a new lease of the dockyard, chimney, and other unprofitable offices on the estate of the late directors of the South Sea company. § VIII. Double elections in a county. § IX. Speech from the commons. § X. Address to the king. § XI. The Prince of Orange writes to England. § XII. Alterations to be made in the Thirteen Amendments. § XIII. Debates about the removal of the Duke of Holstein to Lord's ancient Column from their respective regiments. § XIV. Motions for the repeal in the next session of the act. § XV. Conclusion of a remarkable speech by Mr. W. Wilton. § XVI. Speech from the king for giving title to and enacting the forces in the intervals between the two parliaments. § XVII. Address to the king. § XVIII. Parliament dissolved. § XIX. Election in the House of Commons. § XX. Election in Bavaria. § XXI. Election in Flanders. § XXII. Election in the Prince of Wales. § XXII. Election in Holstein. § XXIII. Election in Sweden. § XXIV. Election in the other parts of the empire. § XXV. Election in the several parts of Bavaria.

§ I. The most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide: an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them; and sometimes it is observed, that it may be generally termed the effect of luxury proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard South, a banker, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the king's bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the middle of April found hanged in a bed-chamber, at about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose name they had implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money, two or three hundred guineas, which they professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and benevolence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures; they, therefore, resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. These unfortunate suicides had been always indisputable and frigidly, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

§ II. Trustees having been appointed by charter to
succeeded a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general, and governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families to plant that colony.

The King of Spain having equipped a very powerful armed fleet, sailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alcantar, under the command of the Count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the month of August, where a large and considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The besiegers retired immediately with hisirezion and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thousand seven and eighty. The strong fort of Mazaguar was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first summons; so that this expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadeus, the abdicated King of Sardina, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to re-ascend the throne, his son, the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized at Montcaler, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escort. His wife, the Marchions of Spigno, was conducted to Serza. The old kings, confessors, his physicians, and eight-and-forty persons of distinction, were imprisoned. The citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the governors and officers of the colonies. The troops which had been stationed between the King of Prussia and the young Prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by King William III, as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berne and Uxem. The Dutch were alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the piles and timbers of their dykes. They prayed and fasted, with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those destructive animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the Elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Brunswick and Verden from the hands of the king.

§ 111. The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in parliament. Debates, in which the same points are annually virtually argued in the same subterfuges on both wide and narrow topics. When the session was opened on the sixteenth day of January, the king declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad, rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two houses any other reason for calling them together than the ordinary courses of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament. The motion made in the House of Commons for an address of thanks implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; that the British merchants had received no redress for the deprivations committed by the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily decreased; that no sort of trade threw but the traffic of 'Change Alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised; and further, that the House, in the present session, had opened a new scene of villany and imposition.

§ 11V. The pension bill was once more revived, and lost again in the House of Peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against it were renewed, and a reduction of the number instanced upon with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the pretender. Sir Archer Croft said a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, property was increasing very fast in the country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven poor priests; and that the danger from the pretender was the more to be feared, because they did not know but what he was then breeding his son a protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom: that no reduction had ever been made but what gave fresh hope to that party; and that such a measure would not only be against the interests of the country, but be highly dishonourable to the nation. His brother Hornick added, that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation entertained the hope of having a powerful and illustrious family on the throne. The futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions were properly exposed; nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address to the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants, it was after a minute consideration of the matter parliamen-
tially debated, and the king in answer to this remonstrance gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissioners of the two crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents, that they were not able to settle the matter before the preceding February; and that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission should be computed from the present day, they expected a perfect account of their proceedings could not be given before the House of Commons. A bill had been long dependent for granting encouragement to the sugar colonies in the West Indies; but as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have operated harmfully to the trade of the British settlements in North America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patronised and supported by the court of Versailles, all objections were overruled; and afterwards passed into a law. While the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be voted out of the sinking fund for the support of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barrard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the support of the arts and sciences. They shewed that the measure was nothing but a gigantic fraud; they shewed that the public business could not be conducted by the ordinary means of the ordinary course, because the proceeds of the House were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, they represented it as nothing else than the House of Commons in the preceding day. The session was frequent and full, and both sides appeared ready and eager for the contest when Sir Robert Walpole broached his motion. It was now repeatedly repeated that the fear of prejudicing the people against his plan before it was known. He affirmed that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public; and that these had been strenuously sup-
aided and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the importation and sale of tobacco, and the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become the associates of the American planters; the robbery and the loss sustained by the public with respect to the revenue. He asserted that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniences, prevent much expense, and give great revenue; and the tobacco, being put at two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealers in those commodities; he recited the several acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise: he endeavoured to abate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs: that the further subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco should be still levied at the custom house, and payable to his majesty's civil list as heretofore: that the court of admiralty should be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key: that the tobacco should be delivered at the warehouse, and the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find rent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom house, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without further trouble: that the portion destined for home consumption should, in presence of the warehouse keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of fourpence per pound to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the interest would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment; before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in cases arising in other courts relative to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majesty: and in the country, by the judges of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

§ VI. Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, in favour of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco should from and after the twenty-fourth day of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause. He was supported in his speech by all the other speakers, and other patriots. The scheme was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed lord chief-justice of the king's bench, and emblazoned in the course of the ensuing year. Sir Joseph Jekyll approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by Lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Wintonning, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme were supported by all the members who had represented the frauds, and made false calculations. With respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were said to labour, they affirmed that no planter had ever dreamed of petitioning for the excise; and from the examination of the petitions, it appeared that those planters did not exceed forty thousand pounds per annum, and might in a great measure be abolished, by a due execution of the laws in being; consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to the liberty of the subject, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression. They suggested that it would produce much misfortune from the destruction of the warehouses, and the great expense of clearing the warehouse keepers, appointed and paid by the treasury, so as to multiply the dependants on the crown, and enable it still further to influence the freedom of elections; that the planters would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse keepers, as they would be debared all access to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by those officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expense, and delay: and that should a law be enacted in consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be sometime or other used as a precedent for introducing other excises on other branches of the revenue; in which case the liberty of Great Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had besieged the house, and represented that it would be an easy task for a designing sedition person to raise a tumult and disorder among them; that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants: but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars: and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insurrection was resisted by Sir John Barnard, who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of requests, and lobby of the House of Commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce; that when he came into the House, he saw none but such as desired the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm debate, the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal: and to these the House agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to be read on the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within-doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution: but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the excise bill. The populace still crowded against Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the House of Commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on that occasion, and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear for his life. He, therefore, thought proper to drop the design by making that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth day of June. Then, complaint being made of the insolvency of the populace, who had maltreated several members, the resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds, and their abettors: these resolutions were communicated to the lord mayor of London, the sheriffs of Middlesex, and the high bench of the metropolis. The violent scenes were apprehended in the court of requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public festivities in London. The effigy of Sir Robert Walpole was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miscarriage of the excise scheme, the House unanimously
resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs; and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

§ VII. The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the House of Lords, where it was amended, in consequence of which it was laid again, and succeeded by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone several alterations in both Houses, and obtained the royal assent, the king, by a message to parliament, had signified his intention to give the princess royal in marriage to the Prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The Commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher, his majesty should be empowered to apply four thousand pounds, as a marriage dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund, for the service of the current year.

§ VIII. The opposition in the House of Lords was still more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension bill, the number of land forces, and the sinking fund, made by Lord Bathurst, in account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the directors of the South Sea company. The trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money, and the Lords in the opposition thought they had a right to demand a share in this sum; the ministry had reason to stifle this inquiry; and, therefore, opposed it with all their vigour. Nevertheless, the motion was carried, after a warm dispute, and the directors of the South Sea company were ordered to pay to the crown their account before the returning of the House. From this it appeared that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors by way of dividend, even before returns had been rendered for parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: Lord Bathurst, therefore, moved for a resolution of the House, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpose, and a violation of the act of parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. The Duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time and delay, moved that as the account was confused, and almost unintelligible, the committee for the sinking fund should be ordered to lay before the House a further and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the House divided, and the Lords by forty-six, and forty-sixers were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length Lord Bathurst wavered his motion for that time: then the House ordered that the present and former directors of the South Sea company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that Lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but the question being put, was carried in the negative; yet a very strong protest was entered by the Lords in the opposition. The next object of altercation was the bill for misappropriating parts of the produce of the sinking fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation, by the Earl of Strafford, Lord Bathurst and Catteret, and particularly by the Earl of Chesterfield, who had the short time resigned his seat of lord steward of the household, and renounced all connexion with the ministry. Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, importing that, in the opinion of the House, the sinking-fund ought for the future to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burthensome on the manufactures, and most oppressive on the poor of the nation. This motion was overruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the seventeenth day of June, the king gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had lately been made to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations.

§ IX. Europe was now re-involved in fresh troubles by a vacuous and wanton war, the effects of which were visible on the Rhine and in the Silesian; the French entered Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The Elector of Saxony, son to the late king, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French king, declared themselves candidates to the Polish throne. The emperor announced the ca'zarna, and the King of Prussia, espoused the interest of the Saxon: the King of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the diet, Marquis de Moni, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully that he soon gained over the prince, and a majority of the cadiote dietes, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king no sooner understood that a body of the emperor's forces was encamped at Silesia, than he ordered the Duke of Berwick to assemble a force on the Rhine, and take measures to enter Germany, in case the imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzic, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and the frontier was watched by the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of election approached, the imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers delivered in their several declarations, by way of protest against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, and a especial candidate, and invited France, the states of Silesia, those of Saxony, and the principal states of Italy, to associate themselves. The Russian general Lasczi entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual solemnity, and by the choice of the representatives of the Viscovas, chief of the Saxon interest, the crown of Poland was renounced to the prince of Stolak, with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheless, the prince proceeded to the elections. Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. The opposite party soon increased to ten thousand men; protested against the election; and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. King Stanislaus finding himself unable to cope with such adversaries, retired with the primate and French ambassador to Dantzic, leaving the Palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This great general, in a short time, entered Warsaw, and occupied the palaces belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus, as well as the hotel of the Russian minister, and the Palatine of Kiow, and both houses of the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kelo at Cracow, where the Elector of Saxon was chosen and proclaimed, by the bishop of Cracow, King of Poland, under the name of Augustus III. on the sixth day of October. They afterwards passed the river, and the Palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

§ X. During these transactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which those powers agreed to declare war against the emperor. Manifestos were published reciprocally by all the contracting powers. The Duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of Fort Kofi, which in a few days was surrendered to the Prussians. When he passed the river, and returned to Versailles. The King of Sardinia having declared war against the emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by Mareschal de Villars, and entered into service, and gave him large forces; the imperial majesty, dreadings the effects of such a powerful confedery against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the King of Great Britain; and Mr. Keen, the British mini-
ter at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgments to the King of England, declaring however that the armament was too late; and that his own resolutions were already taken. Nevertheless, he sent orders to the Count de Montijo, his ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannic majesty the motives which had induced him to take this resolution. At the same time he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the imperial fortress of Aula, the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republic of Venice, having no occasion to doubt the resolve of the powers of Europe to subdue the empire of Austria, declared war to the utmost extent with the Dutch and Spanish provinces of Italy: the States-general signed a neutrality with the French king for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the emperor or the King of Great Britain; and the king of England began to stir up the people in the provinces to make war. This action taxed the resources of the crown with the utmost severity; and for the recovery of its strength, Henry the fourth, the young Duchess of Marlborough, dying about this time, the title devolved to her sister's son, the Earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning his office of chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot, solicitor-general, together with the title of baron; a promotion that reflected honour upon those by whom it was advised. He possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the manner of a statesman. In the last week of January, the king told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the neutrals; and that he was convinced of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance. He said, he had thought proper to take this occasion of examining them in reference to the want of the council's of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, much more particularly with the Senate of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. In the meantime, he expressed his hope that they would make such provisions as should ensure his kingdom, rights, and possessions from all danger and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. He said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all respects be for the advantage of the kingdom, if they put his kingdom in a posture of defence. The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both Houses, which, it must be owned, appears to have been conducted with decorum, discretion, and temper, rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

§ XI. The House of Commons resolved to address his majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Holwell moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville, should be submitted to the inspection of the Commons; but, after a hard struggle, it was overruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance. He proposed that the House should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland, some years before the death of the last Duke of Ancaster, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being opposed by all the court members, a contest ensued, in which Mr. Pulteney compared the ministry to an empire, and the constitution of England to his patient. "This pretender in physic (said he) being consulted, tells the distempered person, there were been bad symptoms. When Mr. Pulteney asked him if he was afraid that none of them would succeed. A vomit might throw them into convulsions that would occasion immediate death; a purge might bring on a diarrhea that would carry him off in a short time; and he had been already bled so much, and so often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient, shocked at this declaration, replies, Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular doctor, but now I find you are an arrant quack. I had an excellent constitution when I first fell into your hands, but you have quite destroyed it; and now I find I have no other chance for saving my life, but by calling for the help of some regular physician." In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and indulge themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition treated the ministry as he himself was to treat the British nation; "If I am in plain clothes, (said he,) then they call me a slovenly, dirty fellow; and if by chance I wear a laced suit, they cry, What, shall such an awkward fellow wear fine clothes? He continued to sport in this habit of men to the merriment of the house. He compared the present administration to a ship at sea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our destined port, the word was, "Steady! steady!" but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to, "Thus, thus, and no nearer." The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by the members in the opposition. Sir John Hammond presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise laws, and impairing relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another on the thirty men of the garrison, which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole House. They were opposed by Mr. Wintington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry; but the engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth, was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the public revenue, was not without effect. Nevertheless, the motion in favour of the sufferers was rejected.

§ XIII. When the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of two millions for the support of land forces which had been continued since the preceding year. The members in the opposition disputed this small augmentation with too much heat and eagerness. It must be acknowledged, that they were by this time turned into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blameless for acting on this occasion. They drew up their protests from the confidence and councils of their sovereign, a man whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not, however, prevent the augmentation being passed; but it is clear, that it could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham had been de-prived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their submission, that Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either House of parliament. Such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture of time, it carried; yet it was moved with great vigour and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the king, desiring to know who advised his majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respectively commands. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham: but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried by the next vote. The next motion was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons. It was read a first and second time: but when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful opposition, and produced a warm debate that
issued in a question, which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in conversation that the minister himself, having for forty years received a pension from the ministry, the House took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he ought have dropped such a hint from hearsay. These and many of the prevarications to which the Honour, that he never did, or ever would, receive place, pension, gratuity, or reward from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accusers false and malicious, and the accused taken into custody: but in a few days he was discharged upon his humble petition, and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon salt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill passed for stock-jobbing.

§ XIV. But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in to repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial parliaments have already been stated. The ministry now insisted upon the increase of papists and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people since the septimeenial act, and they declared it was the most injurious malice to prove that his present majesty had ever endeavour to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hinde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the papists had already begun to use all their influence in favour of those candidates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing parliament. With respect to his majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word: but as to the grievances introduced since the law was enacted for septennial parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments. He asserted, that the septennial law itself was an infringement on the rights of the people; a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial. He observed, that the laws of treason with regard to trials were altered since that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alleged against him were said to be committed; but by an act of a septennial parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry, could find a jury prepared. He observed, when the minister attempted to bring any witness in his justification, without an expense which perhaps his circumstances would not bear. He asked, if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation.

Was not the fatal South Sea scheme (said he) established by the act of a septennial parliament? And can any man ask, whether that law was attended with any convenience? To the glorious catalogue I might have added the late excise bill, if it had passed into a law: but, thank Heaven, the septennial parliament was near expiring before that famous measure was introduced.

§ XV. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivalled orator, the uncorrected Briton, and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect: Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, no great family, and with a great fortune, raised to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence of many whimsical events: afraid, or unwilling, to trust any but creatures of his own making; lost to all sense of shame and reputation, possessed of his country's interest, true interest; pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites: in foreign affairs trusting none but those, who from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected. The country, to the prejudice of the public, rising in importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered: and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be chargeable, in the next session of parliament, with the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public; is not the party who would be made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or favours in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen: a prince upon the throne, unformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the independency of nations and states, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with instable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a prince on the throne, advised, protected, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws: the existence of such a prince or such a minister cannot be prevented by the laws of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent: as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force, than such an event could happen, or be to the nation's injury for its being repealed. Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic remonstrances in favour of the motion, the question was put, and it was suppressed by mere dint of number.

§ XVI. The triumph of the ministry was still more complete in the success of a message delivered from the crown in the latter end of the session, when a great many members of the other party had made their retirement: Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the House, importing that his majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require such an augmentation; the times were stormy, and the election of another. Such an important point, that was said to strike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but, on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardour. The motion for taking the message into consideration was carried in the affirmative; and an address presented to the king, signifying their compliance with his desire. In consequence of a subsequent message, they prepared and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to settle an army of five thousand men in the service of the princess royal, as a mark of his parental favour and affection.
solder lost his commission. Such a great majority of the
Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry,
since the accession of the late king, and so many of these
enjoyed places and pensions to which they were entitled,
that several attempts were made by the Lords in the
opposition to prevent the future the ministerial influence
from extending itself to the elections of North Britain.
Accordingly, a committee was appointed to write to the
Earl of Marchmont and the Duke of Bedford; and
sustained by the Earls of Chesterfield, Wintlesfield, and
Stair, Lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret.
The whole body of the peers met in council, and
Argyle, the Earl of Cholmodley, Earl Paulet, Lord
Hervey, now called up by writ to the House of Peers,
and Lord Talbot. The question being put on both,
they were of course defeated; and the Earl of Stair was deprived
of his command of the fleet, after having performed
the most signal services to the royal family, and exhausted his
fortune in supporting the interest and dignity of the crown.
Strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the
majority concerning the king's message, demanding a
power to augment his forces during the recess of parlia-
ment; as also against a bill for enabling his majesty
to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds
towards the expenses of the war that began about
the year. The business of the session being despatched,
the king repaired to the House of Lords on the sixteenth
day of April, and having-passed all the bills that were ready
for his royal assent, took leave of this parliament, with the
warmest acknowledgments for the support given to his
reign.

It was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another
convened by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth
day of March, the news of the Prince of Orange and the prince
royal's landing on the Dutch coast came to Europe.
And the same day, King William and Saxon auxiliaries,
invested the city of Dantzic, in hopes of securing the
possession of King Stanislaus. The town was strong, the garrison
numerous, and, animated by the examples of the French
and Spaniards, men a very которомish and fearless.
For some time they were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and ammunition.
On the eleventh day of May a reinforcement of
fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ships
of war and some transports, under Rear Admiral, which acted
with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratula-
tion to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

§ XVIII. The powers at war upon the continent acted
with a concert and diligence, which was amply demonstrated through the
whole strength of the empire; and were garrisoned
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fifteenth of February, he forced the river Seccaia, and surprised the quarters of Marschal de Brocho, who escaped with great difficulty. The French, struck with that precipitancy, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the morrow of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the imperialists, and a general engagement ensued. Königsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with extraordinary ardour, for six hours, and the field was covered with carriages. At length, the imperial general retreated to Lazzara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the Prince of Wurttemberg, the Generals Valperez and Colmenero, with many other officers of distinction: nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repulsed the Po, and took post on the banks of the Oglio. The allies crossed the same river, and the Marquis de Mailbois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola, but the imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprise; then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours, which were not yet arrived. So little did the French court pay to the British nation at this juncture, that in the month of November, an edict was published at Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not engaged in the army, to leave the country and go to Flanders, or to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prizes of France were crowded with the subjects of Great Britain, who were surprised and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The Earl of Winterton, who then resided at Paris, as ambassador from the King of Great Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry upon this unheard-of outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

§ XXI. While these transactions occurred on the continent, the King of Great Britain augmented his land-forces, and warm contests were maintained throughout the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new parliament. But in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the character of the ministry. The two Houses assembled on the fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onslow was re-elected speaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the preceding year; and the same contending parties were pursued in the same manner. The king, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the States-general of the United Provinces such measures as were thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe; that they had considered on one side the pressing applications made by the imperial court both in England and Holland for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the house of Austria; and, on the other side, the repeated professions made by the allies of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honourable and solid terms; that he and the States-general had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation; that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation for peace. They had told them, and had used the power vested in him by the last parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture. It was observed, that whilst several powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences; and as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events. He, therefore, expressed his hope, that his good subjects would be enabled to enjoy all the blessings of peace and universal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent upon him to take. The debate having its free course, the question ended with an acquiescence in the motion. The House, in a grand committee on the supply, resolved, that thirty thousand scudi should be employed for the service of the ensuing year; and that the land forces should be augmented to the number of two thousand five hundred and forty-four effective men. But these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division. The minister's opponents not only reproached all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power. They refuted those fears of external broils on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation; and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration in having contributed to destroy the balance of power, by assisting Spain against the emperor in Italy, so as to aggravate the house of Bourbon. § XXII. The minister did not estimate the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He expressed his surprise, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly expended in that branch of the service, and which had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some inconceivable articles in the account of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was seconded by Mr. Sundys, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney: but after some debate, the motion was carried in the negative. In the address relating to Denmark, a representation of that of a grand committee, Mr. W. Walpole moved, that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his majesty, as a subsidy to the Danes, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable. They observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be exposed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more, interested than the English, in seeing the existence of a mixed monarchism, the French being the most likely to be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable consideration from Great Britain; but should the English be always the first to act, they might take the measure of premiums to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that balance would fall upon Great Britain: every state would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation; even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless Britain should submit to make the grand pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the question was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons: but at the second reading it was rejected upon a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of Lord Polwarth, son to the Earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon purity, who argued with all the fluency and fervour of eloquence.

§ XXIV. The minority in the House of Lords were less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice or interest of their country. It might be observed, that the attention that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earls of Dun-
donald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing that undue influence had been used for carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland. The Duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the House, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to the next day it was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to contest the scotch peers' seats in the House, or to incite others of any, and which of them. This affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the House seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The parliam. of the ministry was not carried against the sitting of the sitting; but the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim to some notice, by the Earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the House, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the lord chancellor to the petitioner, they waited on him with a declaration, importing that they did not intend to interfere with the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous and pernicious, and that the elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the House, the Duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay their petition before the House; to instances of such undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be culpable. He was warmly opposed by the country party; and a long debate ensued; after which the question was carried in favour of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners. Next day their answer was read to the House to this effect: That as they had been commanded to lay their petition before the House, they confessed they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they would undoubtedly appear to their lordships upon a proper examination: nevertheless, they.did humbly acquaint their lordships, that the petition was laid before them upon information, that the list of the sixteen peers of Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by persons in high trust under the crown; that the election being about, they had in a list approved by the electors, and was called the king's list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they should concur to confirm: that particular persons had solicited a majority, of making any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums were given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown, were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: that on the day of election a battalion of his majesty's troops were drawn up in the Abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without any apparent cause but that of overawing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected. The question was, however, the resolution was cloaked with a vigorous protest.

A.D. 1739. § XXV. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the Earl of Abingdon moved, that although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The Earl of Huy declaring his belief that no such illegal methods had been practised, the other side was finally pressed, and at last a large number of noble lords, entered by them at the last election of peers for Scotland. Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, Lord Bathurst exhibited an authentic copy of those protests, extracted from the courts of Hanover, by the king, Sir John Greville, principal clerk, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. These were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of underdrappers to the ministry on this occasion. But all this demonstration, adored and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a protest was entered on which affair was contested in olition. Divers other motions were made successively by the lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them struggling as often as an opportunity offered. They disputed the continuation of the salt tax, and the bill for enabling the king to apply the sum of one million out of the sinking fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavours. They supported with all their might a bill sent up from the Commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scotch parliament, for preventing wrong imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials. This was all the natures of Scotland had in lieu of the habes corpus act; thought it did not screen them from oppression. Yet the Earl of Huy undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England, and the bill was carried by the House of Lords, after division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the king in his speech to both Houses declared, that the plan of pacification concertd between him and the States-general by the Dutch was produced by the Earl of Bathurst. He thanked the Commons for the supplies they had granted, with such cheerfulness and dispatch. He signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the queen regent of the realm in his absence. Immediately after the prorogation his majesty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover. § XXVI. By this time the good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon was restored by a remarkable incident. The Portuguese ambassador in London having allowed his servants to receive a criminal from the officers of justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison by the Spanish king's order, with circumstances of vigour and severity. The Portuguese majesty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. The two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective courts. The two monarchs were eluded to the treaty, by the substitution of Spain assimilated a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his Portuguese majesty had recourse to the assistance of King George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Albizeda was despatched to London to treat the liberties of the envoy extraordinary; and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the king's departure from England, Sir John Noris sailed from Spithed with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the British envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his catholic majesty the resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great Britain were deeply interested. Don Joseph Patiuho, minister of his catholic majesty's pleasure, represented that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandise in the fleet. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the King of Spain to listen to terms of amicability. § XXVI. The powers in alliance against the House of Austria, having been signed by the king of France and the king of England, were ratified and confirmed by the King of Great Britain and the States-general, Mr. Walpole, ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses, desiring they would, without loss of time, put themselves in a posture of defence by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land. To which he might take such vigorous steps in concert with Great Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require.
But before they would subject themselves to such expense, they resolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the interest of Stanislaus; for though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the Palatine of Kow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother the prince of Lorraine submitted a long imprisonment, and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince his sovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos had again reduced the Tuscan, without opposition; while the imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuœ. The emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored sucours of the Garman, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negotiation was begun between France and the House of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, that France should restore all the ceded territories in Germany; that the inheritance of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the Duke of Lorraine; that Lorraine should be allotted to King Stanislaus; and after his death be united to the crown of France; that the Savoy should receive the Neuchâtel, the Savoia, and Parmœ; that the King of Sardinia should enjoy Vignovo and Novara; so that Don Carlos should be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany; and that France should guarantee the pacific sanction.

§ XXVII. The King of Great Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the session of parliament. On this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles in which the emperor and the King of France had agreed; and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the States-general had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them that he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land; but at the same time observed it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expense, until a more perfect reconciliation should be concluded among the several powers of Europe. An address of thanks was accordingly presented, and graciously received. After the House had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of parliament, it proceeded to consider of the supply, and Sir Charles Wager moving that fifteen thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without opposition. But this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, "That the ordinary estimate of the navy should be referred to a select committee." The ministry discouraged all such prying measures: a debate was produced, the House divided, and the question was negatived. There was the first motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sands, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willmot, and other patriots, who demonstrated, that this was the only method of ascertaining the expense for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labour, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

§ XXIX. The bill for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was again revived. The king was engaged to consider it; but the House, by a vote of sixty-nine to forty, threw out the bill, which had been introduced by the committee appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly paid to his majesty for a licence to be annually taken out by every person who should vend, barter, or utter any such spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter had the care of the business, and moved the report of some clauses in the test act: these he represented as a species of persecution, in which protestant dissenters were confounded with the Roman catholics and enemies to the establishment. He was supported by Lord Polworth and Mr. Heathcote; but Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion as dangerous to the established church: and the question being put, it was carried without division in the House, and was laid before the Lords. A bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors might, in a great degree, affect some part of the civil-list revenues, his majesty, for the sake of redeeming so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did humbly consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties. The bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole House; but that for limiting the trade in distilleries, and throwing the duties upon them, was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors, were presented by the traders to the British sugar colonies, by the merchants of Tuscany, by the distillers of Tuscany, by the press, and by many other petitions, to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted in favour of the consumers. But the whole scheme of the bill, respecting the duties on spirituous liquors, was not thrown out. After a tedious debate, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which, after long and repeated debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent to the Lords.

§ XXX. In the month of February the king had sent two members of the privy council to the Prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the Princess of Saxegotha. The proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of proposing the union of the two kingdoms, and making the Prince of Wales the amiable consort. These two young men soon distinguished themselves in the House by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the House was afterwards called to the bill for excluding .dissenters from the benefit of the civil-list; and Mr. Fox explained the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament. Both made their way through the lower House, and were carried up to the Lords. The number of land forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four effective men. The supplies were raised by the malt tax and land tax at two shillings and six pence per hogshead; the excise had support; the committee appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the
thousand pounds from the sinking fund. In this session the parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. The Commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, in their turn, and remonstrances that subsisted by charitable donations. In favour of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill. The Commons, however, persist in their course, and it passed to the royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalizing her royal highness the Princess of Wales; and another for building a bridge across the Thames from New Palace-yard, in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the House of Lords, were the address of thanks for his majesty's speech, the mortmain bill, the quakers' bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth day of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he told both Houses, that a further convention, touching the execution of all demands, and the establishment of peace, had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and most christian king: and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification, on the foundation of the same principles, and the same guarantees of the rights of nations, that had been used and subscribed to in the treaty of London. He observed, that the seed of dissatisfaction sowed among some people: he protested it was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state, as by law established: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all nations: and concluded his speech with the assurance, that the act of the day was the act of the nation, and he believed the nation would still adhere to its own decisions.

§ XXXI. Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumults, and riots; the eight counties were paraded by proper regulations of the civil government in the due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the seventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had, at the execution of a smuggler, been provoked by some insults from the populace to order his men to fire without using the lawful form of addressing the crowd: by which premature order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death: but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to commute it to剥夺ism, and the public indignation of the people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shown to a criminal, who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression; they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they were resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. This determined they assembled in the streets of the night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the advancement of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town guard; they broke open the prison doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed in the society of the night; it, therefore, became the object of a very severe inquiry.

§ XXXII. During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black sea, and overran the great east part of Crim Tartary. The czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because her Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers; and when she complained of these disorders to the vizir, she received no satisfaction; besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces in desecration of the empress, and committed terrible ravages. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the czarina. Yet, before he declared himself, he joined the maritime powers in a declaration to that effect. His declaration was very well disposed to peace; but the czarina insisted upon her returning Asoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as dishonourable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The Duke of Lorraine had espoused the emperor's eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorraine to France, even before he succeeded to Tuscany. Don Carlos was crowned King of Sicily; Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged to be the.legitimate sovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire; the King of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the house of Austria. The emperor had marched these troops from his dominions on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of his negotiation. He died at Vienna in April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician. He was not long survived by Count Schwarzenberg, the man whom he had chosen as his successor, and who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the same time Great Britain sustained a national loss in the death of Lord Chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, popularity, and the misconduct of the general, who dignified the great office to which he had been raised. He died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two, and was succeeded on the bench by Lord Hardwicke.

§ XXXIII. The king being indisposed, in consequence of having been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the parliament was prorogued from the twenty-first day of January, to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The lord chancellor, as one of the peers authorized by this commission, made a speech in his majesty's name to both Houses. With respect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the respective acts of Congress, and the treaty for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the most important work of the generals, had been carried so far advanced, that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said, his majesty could not without surprise and concern observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. He observed, that the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private property in the same manner as public property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the Commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service. This continued for the land-service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquility, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four; but this measure was not adopted without opposition; the money voted by the land-service was in-forevered with one million granted out of the sinking fund.

§ XXXIV. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his majesty, that he
would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a-year upon the Prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient time; that the Prince had been heretofore entitled to majesty in the life-time of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independence of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermediation in the king’s family affairs; and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But a misunderstanding, it seems, had already happened in the royal family. The prince, who was ushered in the evening by the House, by his majesty’s command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince by several holdeens of the first quality, informing him that his majesty had given orders for settling a jointure upon the Princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual; that although his royal highness had not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the king, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the unprofitable measures which his royal highness intended to pursue, would grant to his royal highness for his majesty’s life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list revenues, over and above the prince’s revenue from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expense which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole royal family; that the prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to lay him with all humility at his majesty’s feet: to assure him that he did, and ever should, retain the utmost duty for his royal person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty’s goodness; and the sentinel of his majesty’s gracious intention of settling a jointure upon his royal highness; and that, as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore, he could give no answer to it; that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty; adding, “Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry for it,” or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince’s maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

The motion was laid over, and Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the parliament had no right in interfere in the creation or maintenance of a Prince of Wales; and that in the case of Richard II., upon the death of his father the Black Prince, was created Prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the king himself. In answer to this assertion it was observed, that probably the king would not have been so forward in creating his grandson Prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a sort of love doteage, and gave himself entirely up to the management of his mistress, Alice Percivall, and his second son, the Duke of Lancaster: a circumstance that raised a most reasonable jealousy in the Black Prince, at that time on his death-bed, who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a dotage grandfather, and an ambitious, aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the expenses of the youth, shaving for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, the duchy of Rothesay, and the other two thousand pounds by his majesty’s own regulation, the expense of the prince’s household amounted to sixty-three thousand. They proved that the produce of the civil list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, a sum above one hundred thousand pounds a-year more than was enjoyed by his late majesty; and those revenues were made to consist of the expense of his household and civil government did not much exceed four hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year. They observed, that the parliament added one hundred and forty thousand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of secret-service money; and allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the Prince of Wales: that the article of secret-service money had prodigiously increased in the late reign: by an account that was shrewdly calculated. It appeared, that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which nobody understood, and to persons whom nobody knew. In the beginning of the following session several members proposed that this extraordinary account should be taken into consideration; but the inquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared that the parliament could not examine any account which had been presented to a former session. The debate was fierce and long; and ended in a division, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the same nature was made by Lord Carteret in the House of Peers, and gave rise to a very keen dispute, maintained by the same arguments, and issue.

§ XXXVI. The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who proposed the sum of one million should be granted to his majesty, towards redeeming the South Sea stock: a company, commonly called South Sea annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the bank, as a part of that encumbrance was saddled with an interest of six per cent, whereas the interest paid for the other sums that constituted the public debt did not exceed four per cent. Many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question; and at length the motion was carried in the House of Commons; and the Parliament, early in the next session, made a motion, to be called into a committee to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent, to be applied towards redeeming the South Sea annuities; and that such of the said annuities as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others. He said, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent only were sold at a premium in Change Alley; he was, therefore, persuaded, that those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security would gladly lend their money to the government at the sum he proposed, and that it should rather be for his majesty’s service. It was resolved, that that part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years. He expatuated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent, without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the sinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies; he proved that this measure would bring every one of them within the period within which the government would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms: in which case the sinking fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annul one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and such other impositions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers; then the remaining millions might be allotted in proportions towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent, only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired; and in the meantime, by the annual addition of a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its
encumbrances. This salutary scheme was violently op-

posed by Alderman Heathcote, and other partisans of the

ministry: yet all their objections were refuted; and, in

order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have re-

course to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the

public creditors, as well as the South Sea annuitants,

should be called to the house. Sir John Barbon de-

clared, that it might be easy for the government to borrow

money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of

the proprietors of four-and-twenty millions as were not

willing to accept of that interest, but it would be extremely
difficult to have the public chiefly favored; the proprietors

of four-and-forty millions, who might choose to have their

principal rather than such an interest. Nevertheless, reso-

lutions were founded on this and other alterations of the

original scheme; and a bill was accordingly prepared.

It produced many other debates, and was at last post-

poned by dint of ministerial influence. The same venera-

ble patriot, who projected this scheme, moved that as

soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt

should be reduced to three per cent, the House would take

off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and

the manufacturers: but this motion was rejected by the

majority.

A. D. 1737.

The last disputes of this ses-

sion were excited by a bill sent down from the Lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edin-

burgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In

the beginning of the session, the magistrates of Edinburgh

had been in great tumult and commotion, arising from

the several tumults and riots which had lately happened

in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly insisted

upon the atrocious murder of Captain Porteous, as a fla-
grant insult to the king's person, and as an affront to

public peace, so much the more dangerous, as it seemed
to have been concerted and executed with deliberation

and dexterity. He suspected that some citizens of Edin-

burgh, and persons interested in them, had been engaged

in this circumstance, but likewise because, notwithstanding
the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been

offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person

who acted in this tragedy, not one individual had as yet

been detected. He seemed to think that the magistrates

had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited

its charter; and he proposed a minute inquiry into the

particulars of the affair. He was seconded by the Duke of

Newcastle and the Earl of Illy; though this last noble-

man differed in opinion from him with respect to the

charter of the city, which, he said, could not be justly

forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The Lords re-

solved that every man engaged in the tumults and riots

might obtain the necessary information concerning

this riot should be ordered to attend; and, That an address

should be presented to his majesty desiring that the dif-

ferent accounts and papers relating to the proceedings of

Captain Porteous might be submitted to the perusal of

the House. These documents being accordingly examined,

and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish

judges, a debate arose about the manner in which these

last should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the

table, or on the woolsacks. Some Scottish lords asserted

that they had a right to be seated next to the judges of

England: but after a long debate this claim was rejected,

and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in the

robes. A bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wil-

son, Esquire, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, from empow-

ering any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edin-

burgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain, for impeaching the

said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the guard of that city;

and for taking away the gates of the Nether-Bow port, so

as to open a communication between the city and suburbs,

in which the king's troops are quartered. The Duke of

Argyle, in arguing against this bill, said he could not

think of a proceeding more harsh or unprecedented than

the present, as he believed there was no instance of the

writ being imposed upon a gentleman, and he called it

called a proceeding by a bill ex post facto, falling upon

any single person, far less upon any community, for

crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts

of justice; for this reason he observed, that if the lord

provost and citizens of Edinburgh should suffer in the

terms of the present bill, they would suffer by a cruel,

unjust, and fantastical proceeding; a proceeding of which

the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should

have the misfortune to fall under a partial, self-interes-

ted administration. He told them he sat in the parliament

of Scotland when that part of the treaty of union relating to

the privileges of the royal burghs was settled on the

footing as religion, that is, they were made unalterable by

any subsequent parliament of Great Britain. Notwith-

standing the eloquence and warmth of his remonstrance,

the bill was sent down to the House of Commons, where

it produced a very different effect. The Scotch members

were animated by a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witnesses, it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country people, excited by the

relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his

men had slain at the execution of the smuggler; and these

were assisted by prestee boys, and the lowest class of

vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh; that the

lord provost had taken all the precautions to prevent mis-

chief that his reflection suggested; that he even exposed his

person to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavour to dis-

perse them; and that if he had done amiss he erred from

want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination to

protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewise appeared that

Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone

over to North Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his

immediate assistance, and promised to conduct his troops

into the city; and that his suit was rejected, because he

could not protect the order of the city, without which he

nether could have obtained in such confusion, nor ventured to carry about his person through the midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish members exerted themselves with great spirit and resolution in the capital. They were joined by Sir John Barnard, Lord

Cornbury, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Oglesborpe. Lord Pol-

warth declared, that if any gentleman would show where

on account of the charge against the lord provost, and the

city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that in-

stant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He

said, if gentlemen would lay their hands upon their hearts,

and ask themselves whether they would, in such a manner

have the case of Edinburgh been that of the city of

Hirsted, York, or Norwich, he was persuaded they

would have required that every title of the charge

against them should have been fully and undeniably

proved. He thought the evidence against Mr. Lindsay

was in some respects more conclusive. When the bill, it

passed the House, was sent back to the Lords, who

agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal

assent.

The next effort of the minister was ob-

liquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was

much for his interest to abridge. The errors of his con-

duct, the mystery of that corruption which he had so suc-

cessfully reduced to a system, and all the blaspheems of his

administration, had been exposed and ridiculed, not only

in political periodical writings produced by the most emi-

nent hands, but likewise in a succession of theatrical

pieces, which met with uncommon success among the

people. He either wanted judgment to distinguish

men of genius, or could find none that would engage in

his service; he, therefore, employed a set of wrecked

authors, void of understanding and integrity. They

undertook the defence of his ministry, and answered the

attacks of his antagonists. The match was so extrememly

unequal, that, instead of justifying his conduct, they

exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt: and he

saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole

nation. He resolved to seize the first opportunity to choke

those canals through which the torrent of censure had flowed

upon his character. The manager of a playhouse com-

missioned to him by Sir John Barbon for producing the

piece called The Pillar of Rump, which was fraught with
treason and abuse upon the government, and had been presented to the stage for

exhibition. This performance was produced in the House of

Commons. The minister descended upon the insulation, the

malice, the immorality, and the seditious calumny,
which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses; to subject all dramatic writers to the inspection of the lord chamberlain, and to compel them to take out a license for every production before it could appear on the stage. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, this bill passed through both Houses with extraordinary dispatch, and was carried into a law. The poet and debater of Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. "Our stage (said he) ought to be kept within due bounds; but for this purpose, our laws as they stand at present are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately represented: a new law must, therefore, be unnecessary; and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs, a shackles upon the hands, of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty. It is an illusion, it is an illusion; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand; lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye with which I am about to appear. For at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open: the law is sufficient to punish the offender. He is no new law to be made to let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country: if they offend, let them be tried as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of a court; a political body. A political body is no more a man to judge and determine without limitation, control, or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsistent with our constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself; and, therefore, I must think we ought not to vest such power in his majesty's lord chamberlain." His arguments had no effect, though the House admired his eloquence; and the playhouse bill passed into a law. On the twenty-first day of June the king made a short speech to both Houses, and the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament.

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. The Russian Jake Orlovsky. § II. Death of Gustavus Adolphus. § III. Death of Camillo, Queen Consort of England. § IV. Dutch war. § V. Spanish dependencies. § VI. Miseria, the minister for assisting a war. § VII. Adieu to the king on the subject of the connection. § VIII. Bill for securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America. § IX. Death of the school of London. § X. Sir John, Duke of Grafton, and Admiral Haddock sail with a squadron to the Mediterranean. § XI. Proclamation of the war against Spain. § XII. Dispatches between the English and Prussian armies. § XIII. Sir Robert Walpole calls the council of the House of Commons to advice him. § XIV. Motion for an address, that the representatives, lords, &c., relating to the Spanish dependencies, consent to this House. § XV. Treaty of a new alliance. § XVI. Substance of that agreement. § XVII. Dispatches in the House of Commons on the convocation. § XVIII. Selection of the chief members of the cabinet. § XIX. The king's design to relieve Denmark, and to carry into execution the plan of the emperor. § XX. Motion to increase the number of his majesty's council. § XXI. Motion to assist his majesty in the conduct of the war. § XXII. Motion to confer on the king the power of appointment in his majesty's council. § XXIII. Motion to resolve that the king's majesty's council does not confine the power of the turf. § XXIV. Preparations for war in England. § XXV. Money in the House of Commons for the levying of the new forces. § XXVI. Pension bill passed and lost. § XXVII. Bills for church buildings in the kingdom. § XXVIII. Proceedings of the lords and commons. § XXIX. Marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Hesse. § XXX. Strong and forcible arguments against the principles and conduct of the emperor. § XXXI. Proceedings in parliament. § XXXII. Neitzen's reply. § XXXIII. Articles against the falsehoods of the emperor. § XXXIV. Motion to request Sir Robert Walpole to send the emperor a letter of a private nature. § XXXV. Proceedings in the House of Lords. § XXXVI. Proceedings in the House of Commons. § XXXVII. Proceedings in the House of Lords. § XXXVIII. Close of the last session of this parliament.

A.D. 1737.

§ 1. A congress was opened at Madrid in the year 1737. It was to treat of the differences between the czarina and the grand signor; but this proving ineffectual, the emperor declared war against the Turks, and demanded assistance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the Empress of Muscovy. It was agreed that the Turks should hold a congress at Constantinople, should attack Widin in Servia, while the Russians, commanded by Count de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakov, on the Bosphorus. They were thus advanced against this place, which was garrisoned by some thousand men; and the Bosphorians defended by eighteen gallies. The Muscovites carried on their approaches with such impetuosity and perseverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valour, and in effect abandoned their works. They disarmed by unknown marks of prowess in these attacks, was General Keth, now field-marshal in the Russian service, who was dangerously wounded on this occasion. Meanwhile Count Sceckendorf, finding it impossible to reduce Widin without a squadron of ships on the Danube, turned his arms against Nissa, which was surrendered to him on the eight-and-twentieth day of July; but this was the first verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the post which the imperialists occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padidil, burned the town of Ilas in Wallachia, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had for the present abandoned Burgomart, was obliged to repass the Sava. Count Sceckendorf was recalled to Vienna, and the command of the army devolved upon Count Phillipp. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retire from the stage because of the expedition in the Musumlen. The conferences at Neimerow were broken off; and the Turkish plenipotentiaries returned to Constantinople.

§ 11. The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the most perfect repose under the dominion of Augustus. Ferdinund, the old Duke of Courland, dying without issue, the succession was disputed by the Teutonic order and the kingdom of Poland, while the States of Courland declared that the last of the twenty-four emperors of the Teutonic order had ceased to be. The Order of the Teutonic was again reformed; and the Teutonic army immediately entered that country; and the States elected the Count de Biron, high-chamberlain to the Empress of Muscovy. The Elector of Cologne, as grand-master of the Teutonic order, protested against this election; but the king of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Danzig with the commissaries of the Teutonic duke and those of the czarina. In the month of July, John Casimir de Medici, Great Elector of Saxony, arrived at Florence; and the Prince de Cren took possession of his territories, in the name of the Duke of Lorraine, to whom the emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of the dukedom.

§ 111. In England, the attention of the public was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The Princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the king and queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour pains were supposed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The king being apprised of this event, sent a message by the Earl of Essex to the prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his royal highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the queen. The prince deprecating the anger of the queen, and the Essex distinctly implored the queen's mediation. The princess joined her entreaties to those of his royal highness: but all their benignity and supplication proved ineffectual. The king in another message sent by the Duke of Grafton, observed, that the prince had removed the princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery, from the place of his majesty's residence, in expectation of her labour: and both times, on his return, indolently concealed the knowledge of this circumstance relating to this important affair: that at last, without giving any notice to their majesties, he had precipitately hurried the princess from Hampton-court, in a condition not to be named; that this imprudent conduct, for a considerable time, had been so entirely void of all real duty to the king, that his majesty had reason to
be highly offended with him. He gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those by whose instruction and advice he was directed, his Majesty and the queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace: he, therefore, signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the present. In obedience to this very pressing request, he retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his Majesty's favour, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have been his design in contesting so important a point, his failure in it was the more serious, in consequence of his former agreeable conduct, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his Majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct; though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification of her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regarded as a princess of uncommon singularity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

§ IV. The king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-third of November, by recommending the despatch of the public business with prudence and unanimity. Each House presented a warm address of condolence on the queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Through the House unanimously sympathized with the king in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some of his favourite measures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and against a standing army in time of peace had been already exhausted; but, when it was moved that the same number of land-forces which they had voted in the preceding year should be continued in pay for the ensuing year, the debate was renewed with surprising vivacity. It was contended on both sides that the present number of forces was absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and discontent, as well as to support the whig interest; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, should it be found expedient for the purposes of the nation. In the opposition replied, that this declaration was a severe satire on the ministry, whose conduct had given birth to such a spirit of discontent. They said it was in effect a tacit acknowledgment, that the power of the crown had not been so extensive as an inconsiderable party, which had engrossed the administration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation; and depended for support upon a military power, which the people in every part were opposed to, and consequently enslaved. They affirmed, that the discontent of the ministry complained of was in a great measure owing to that very standing army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads as the instruments of arbitrary power and oppression. Lord Bolivar explained the nature of the whig principles, and demonstrated that the party which distinguished itself by this appellation, no longer retained the maxims by which they were originally characterized. Sir John Illynde Coton, who spoke with the courage and freedom of an old English baron, declared he never knew a member of that House, who acted on true whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace. "I have heard of whigs (said he) who opposed all unlimited votes of credit: I have heard of whigs who looked upon corruption as the greatest curse that could fall upon any nation: I have heard of whigs who esteemed the liberty,, of the upper, middle, and lower classes of free people, and triennial parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a whig administration which has resisted injuries done to the trade of the nation, and refused to purchase the honour of the flag." The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

§ V. Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain. They disputed the right, to land and dock vessels on the coast of New Spain, and gather salt on the island of Tortuga; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda-coasts, by means of armed ships, plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked and plundered merchant ships at the island of Tortuga, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanities. Repeated memorials were presented to the court of Spain, by the British ambassador at Madrid. He was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and New York sustained with the inhabitants of the continent of South America: though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guarda-coasts had committed, without provocation or pretence.

§ VI. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages; the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration. The treasure which he now employed for domestic purposes must in that case be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which his credit and influence were supported would roll on longer more: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he indifferently endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negotiations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree, as animated the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British ambassador. But this apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of the House of Commons were now at loggerheads, as well as by connivance; and he did not doubt that in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great Britain. Petitions were delivered to the House by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violations to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief of the parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole House; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit, to be heard by themselves or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the king, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House; and this, with some alteration proposed, by the members of the committee, was presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

§ VII. The House, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the crown, and examined evidence: by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the subjects of Great Britain. Mr. Pulteney expatiated upon these circumstances of barbarity. He demonstrated, from treaties, the right of the British nation to the trade of the West Indies, to the shore of Cape Washington, and to the salt of Tortuga; he exposed the parricidalın of the minister, and the futility of his negotiations; he moved for such resolutions as would enrage the resentment of an injured nation, and the bands of British parliament. These were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, they would enump the
ministers in their endeavours to compromise these differences: that they would frustrate their negotiations, introducing a more round and strong measure to precipitate this situation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued. A resolution was proposed; but the question being put for recommitting it, was carried in the negative. The House, however, agreed to an address, beseeching his majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, to convince the court of Spain that his majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be offered upon the defense of his crown and to the ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the catholic king should miscarry, the House would effectually support his majesty in taking such measures as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. To this address the king made a favourable answer.

A. D. 1722.

§ VIII. The most important subject on which both sides exercised their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts passed in the reign of Queen Anne, by which all predisposed to trade to America were required to be inscribed in the shipping rolls. This bill was carried through the House of Commons in the present session, and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. The ministry endeavoured to evince the discussion of this bill, by amusing the House with other business, until an end should be put to the session. A mean artifice was practised with this view; and some severe altercation passed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave rise to a very long and warm contest, in which the greatest orators of both sides found opportunities to display their eloquence and satire. Mr. Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardour of paternal affection; but, notwithstanding his warmest endeavours, it was rejected upon a division.

§ IX. When the mutiny bill was sent up to the House of Lords, a long debate arose upon the number of troops voted for the ensuing year. Lord Carteret explained the situation of affairs in almost every nation of Europe with great conciseness and precision. He demonstrated the improbability of a rupture between Great Britain and any power against which a land army could be of any service. He examined the domestic circumstances of the nation; and proved, that whatever discounts there might be in the present, the increase of the army was little or no advantage, and no seeming design to overturn or disturb the government. In answer to an argument, that such a number of regular forces was necessary for preventing or quelling tumults, and curbing the ruffians, Mr. Pulteney, when they were commanded by that gentleman, to be taken from his country, he expressed his hope that he should never see the nation reduced to such unfortunate circumstances: he said, a law which the civil power was unable to execute, must either be in itself oppressive, or such a one as afforded a handle for oppression. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increase of the national expense. He observed, that before the revolution, the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now what was called the current expense, for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum; besides the civil list, the interest due to the public creditors, and the sinking fund, which, added together, composed a burden of six millions yearly. The Earl of Chesterfield, on the same subject, affirmed, that slavery and arbitrary power were the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of slavery are put upon a free people; the instrument secretly prepared by corruption; but, unless a standing army protected those that forged them, the people would break them asunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. By daring a people must be accustomed to be governed by an army; by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection. England lead for many years been accustomed to a standing army, under pretence of its being necessary to assist the civil power; and by degrees the number and strength increased. At length the number of the late king it did not exceed six thousand: it soon amounted to double that number, which has been since augmented under various pretences. He therefore concluded, that slavery, under the disguise of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees; if no reduction should be made, he declared he should expect in a few years to hear some minister, or favourite of a minister, terrifying the House with instances of dangers arising to the security of the liberties of Europe in search of possible dangers, to show the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army, three times as numerous as the present. In spite of these suggestions, the standing army maintained its ground. The same noblemen, assisted by Lord Bathurst, distinguished themselves in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, which comprehended the same arguments that were used in the House of Commons. They met with the same success in both. Resolutions equivalent to those of the lower House were taken; an address was presented; and his majesty assured them he would repeat, in the most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain in order to procure effectual relief for his trading subjects. This assurance was renewed in his speech at the close of the session, on the twentieth of May, when the parliament was prorogued.

§ X. Lord Carteret was sent for holding the sword of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of George, now King of Great Britain. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings; addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by the two universities, and by almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the Prince of Wales still laboured under the displeasure of his majesty, who had ordered the lord chamberlain to signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the prince should be admitted to speak with him. His royal highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, Rear-Admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negotiation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the appellation of gin or genua, that they ran all risks rather than lose the profit of its procreation, and no measure, by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years twelve thousand persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally. Nearly one half of the taxes, which it was said, went to the sixty thousand pounds and three thousand persons paid ten pence each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction.

§ XI. The war maintained by the emperor and the czarina against the Ottoman Porte, had not yet produced any decisive event. Count Beckendorff was disgraced and confined on account of his ill success of the last campaign. General Dowitz was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death for having surrendered, to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman mithras to the emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign: but in the meantime, Ragozski, Vairoud of Transylvania, revolted against the house of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protection of the grand signor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price set upon his head. They ran away to a field early, reduced the fort of Usitz and Medias, and undertook the siege of Orsova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the imperial army, commanded by the Grand Duke of Russia, a free people; also Count Konigseger. The Turks, being reinforced, marched back, and attacked the imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement. The Germans,
now inarching that advantage, repassed the Danube; and then the Turchs made numerous marches on Europe, where they found a fine train of artillery, designed for the siege of Wiidin. By the conquest of this place, the Turks led the Danube open to their galleys and vessels; and the Germans engaged in the campaign of Hungary. In the Ukraine, the Russians under General Count Koutchobay obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and General Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea; but they returned in greater numbers, and harassed the Muscovy in such a manner, by intercepting the commerce and destroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

§ XII. In the month of October, an affair of very small importance occurred, which, however, was worth some observation. He said, that some members of the Scanian courts should be referred to the perusal of the House; but some members in the opposition were not content with this resolution. Then Mr. Sandy, who moved, said, that the House might inspect all letters written, and instructions given by the secretaries of state, or commissioners of the admiralty, to any of the British governors in America, or any commander-in-chief, or captains of his majesty's ships of war, or his majesty's ministers at the court of Spain, any of his majesty's consuls in the ports of Spain, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the losses which the British subjects had sustained by means of depredations committed by the subjects of Spain in Europe and America. This was an unusual form of petition, urged by the spirit of the times; and factum, Mr. H. Walpole, had justly observed, that a compliance with such an address might lay open the most private transactions of the cabinet, and discover secrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would discover to the public that Spain's ultimatum of the king's demands and concessions, and the nation thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no such discovery to be made. He said that the House might best judge of the matter. if the two courts should arrive at such a crisis, and not before, the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but should such an instruction convey the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects. Certain it is, no government could act either in external or domestic affairs with proper influence, dignity, and despatch, if every writer and instructor relating to an unfinished negotiation should be exposed to the view of so many numerous assemblies, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically opposite. This and the like reasoning, the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his majesty would give directions for laying before the House copies of such memorials or representations as had been made, either to the King of Spain or to his ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate ensued; and, upon a division, the question passed in the negative.

§ XV. The House, in a committee of supply, voted twenty thousand pounds for the service of the embassy, and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition. The Commons likewise ordered an address to his majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them. There were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the House. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the Commons, but also published for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters, and others trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and owners of sundry ships, which had been seized by the British, petitions against the convention, by which the subjects of Spain were so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from America, as they had both the full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durst. Sir Robert Walpole, in answer to these suggestions, affirmed, that the ministry had on this occasion obtained more than ever on like occasions was known to be obtained: that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true interest: that this peace was attended with all the advantages that the most successful arms could have procured: that future ages would consider this as the most glorious period of our history, and do justice to the councils that produced the happy event, which every gentleman divested of passion and prejudice was ready to do; and which, he believed, the present age, when rightly informed, would not refuse. In a word, he extolled his own convention with the most extravagant eucorums.

§ XV. The House resolved to address the king, that copies of all the memorials, representations, letters, and petitions which had been presented to the ministry relating to depredations, should be submitted to the perusal of the House: but some members in the opposition were not content with this resolution. Then Mr. Sandy, who moved, said, that the House might inspect all letters written, and instructions given by the secretaries of state, or commissioners of the admiralty, to any of the British governors in America, or any commander-in-chief, or captains of
in dispute, while the settlers remained in the most precarious and dangerous situation. It was moved, that the merchants should be heard by their counsel: but the proposal was opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division.

§ XVI. This famous convention concluded at the Pardo on the fourteenth day of January, imported, That within six weeks, to be reckoned from the day at which the ratifications should be exchanged, two numeri pleni potentiarius should meet at Madrid, to confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained likewise to be adjusted, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two nations: That the pleni potentiarius should finish their conferences within the space of eight months: That in the meantime no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: That his catholic majesty should pay to the King of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain: That this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of the British subjects upon the crown and subjects of Spain: That the crown, however, should not extend or relapse to the accounts and differences which subsisted and were to be settled between the crown of Spain and the Asiento company, nor to any payment or satisfaction come to that manner between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other; or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively: That his catholic majesty should cause the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great Britain, excited the whole nation in the immediate expectation of the honour of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

§ XVII. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the House of Commons. The two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute: on the day appointed for considering the convention, four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole House, certain West Indian merchants and planters were heard against the convention: so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers, and obtaining information. On the eighth day of March, Mr. H. Walpole having launched out on the government, it seemed for an address to the nation; but agreement was at length arrived at, of approbation to his majesty. He was seconded by Mr. Campbell, of Pembroke; and the debate began with extraordinary ardour. He who first distinguished himself in the debate was mentioned in the plenary convention: his character was admired, Sir Thomas Sanderson, at that time treasurer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his royal highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery, to hear the debate on such an important transaction. Sir Thomas Sanderson observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general release. They had not allowed the word satisfaction to be so much as mentioned in the plenary convention. He cited an instance which had cut off the ear of Captain Jenkins, and used the most insulting expression towards the person of the king—an expression which no British subject should decently repeat—an expression which no man that had a regard for his sovereign could ever forgive—ever this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain; of the triumphant haughtiness and stubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the most keen, spirited, and sanguine orators in the House, stated in this manner the account of this convention and the satisfaction obtained by the convention: the losses sustained by the Spanish deprivations amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds; the commissary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced this sum to two hundred and sixty thousand: but forty-five thousand were struck off for prompt payment: he next allotted sixty thousand pounds as the remuneration part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it happened by the instructions on the table that said sum had been already amply satisfied on that head: these deductions reduced the balance to ninety-five thousand pounds; but the King of Spain insisted upon the South Sea Company's paying immediately the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though in other articles, his catholic majesty was indebted to the company a million and above the demand; the remainder to be paid by Spain during the term of six hundred and twenty thousand pounds, from which she insisted upon deducting whatever she might have already given in satisfaction for any of the British ships that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the St. Theresa, a Spanish ship, which they had ever held in disallowance, which W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himself, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable to Great Britain. He said that the convention was no satisfaction, that the ships, was not admitted, indeed, in the preamble; but stood there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that followed; on the part of Spain, an unnecessary, an inhuman treaty claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature, declared and asserted in the revolutions of parliament; were now referred to the discussion of pleni potentiarius, upon which they had the regard for the honour of their country, which was to be discussed and recollected; and if to rate to be prescriptive rules, as in all construction it is, that right was, by the express words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, answered the speech of Mr. H. Walpole. After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, (said he,) to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, shewn by no means to allow to such as he represents them, he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the curse of the pretender. The pretender would be strongly supported by the people of England. There language imports. The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities: they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade; they think the ocean has left them in a worse condition than before; and in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this, is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true, it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth; the reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this. He affirmed that if the ministers had proceeded to the same extremity as the Spanish prelacy, it would have been ruinous; and would either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real security in an express acknowledgement of our right not to be searched as a preliminary, seu qua non, to our treating at all. Instead of this, they had referred it to pleni potentiarius. "Would you, Sir, (said he,) submit to a reference, whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town to your house in the country? Your right himself in the lands of such barbarians?" I recommended my soul to God," said he, "and my cause in my country." The behaviour of his lordship occasioned a sensation: the king himself rose, and read the declaration of his right, which had been presented to the nation and senate of Spain, accompanied with a letter of the pretender and his enemies, supposing them to be the voice of the nation, which had been offered to the nation and senate of Spain, the Great Parliament, and the Great Assembly of Virginia, afterwards employed in the service of the East India company; he appeared to have been written by the king himself, or by the same minister, who had been already employed in the augmentation of the island of Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and prudence; and saved his own ship, with three others that were under his convoy.
is clear and undeniable, why would you have it discussed? but much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang which has often stopped and robbed you in your way thither before."—The ministers, in vindication of the benefit and satisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received: that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all causes of complaint: that war was always expensive and detestable; and, besides, as well as unforeseen in its events: that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in case of a rupture with Great Britain: that there was not one power in Europe upon which the English could depend for effectual assistance: and that the French and Spanish ministers, considering the state of a poor pretender. The House upon a division, agreed in the address; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulitzer poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry. Sir Robert Walpole, exerting all his fortune and dignity in defence of himself and his measures, and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

§ XVIII. Then Sir William Wyndham, standing up, made a pathetic remonstrance upon this determination. "The people of Great Britain," he said, "never made a treaty with the Spaniards, to our advantage; and that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and an honourable treaty. But if a majority of twenty-eight in such a full House should fail of that success; if the people in general, instead of considering their present measure, settle the terms of this House, what will be the consequence? Will not the parliament lose its authority? Will it not be thought, that even in the parliament we are governed by a faction? and what the consequence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their vote for this address: for my own part, I will trouble you with no more, but with these my last words, I sincerely pray Almighty God, who has so far wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preserving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within." The minister was on this occasion deserted by his usual temper, and even provoked into personal abuse. He declared, that the gentleman who now the mouth of his opponents had been looked upon as the head of those traitors, who twenty-five years before conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, in order to set a popish pretender upon the throne; that he was seized by the vigilance of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use of this clemency was, he said, to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party might some time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law. He branded them all as traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present happy establishment. To such a degree of mutual animosity were both sides inflamed, that the most eminent members of the minority actually retired from parliament; and were by the nation in general revered as masters to the liberty of the people.

§ XIX. The dispute occasioned by the convention in the House of Lords, was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities. After this famous treaty had been considered, Lord Carteret suggested that possibly one of the contracting powers had presented a protest or declaration, importing that she accused to such or such a measure, only upon condition that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good. He said, that until his mind should be free from the most distant suspicion that such a paper might exist to the present case, he could not form a just opinion of the transaction himself. Whatever might be necessary for that purpose. The adherents to the ministry endeavoured to evade his curiosity in this particular, by general assertions; but he insisted on his suspicion with such perseverance, that at length the ministry declared that he must know whether it was possible or not, that the King of Spain before he ratified the convention, signifying that his catholic majesty reserved to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the articles of oregno, in case the company should not pay within a short time the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling, owing to Spain on the due of that year; or on the other hand, to pay the sum of six thousand pounds, being the fine to be paid to Queen Caroline; that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, in no other manner. In the debate that ensued, Lord Carteret displayed a surprising degree of prudence, recommended by all the graces of eloquence, chaste, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurst argued against the articles of convention with his usual spirit, integrity, and good sense, particularly animated by an honest and unreserved declaration of his own personal sentiments. The Earl of Chesterfield attacked this ingenious measure with all the weight of argument, and all the pompagny of state. The Duke of Argyile, no longer a partisan of the ministry, inveighed against it as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuousity, and enthusiasm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmdeley, Lord Hervey, the lord chancellor, the Bishop of Salisbury, and in particular by the Earl of Illy, a nobleman of extensive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and seemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, discerning, plausible, self-sufficient, and always ready to meet with an unalterably true to his own interest. The dispute was learned, long, and obstinate: but ended as usual in the discomfiture of those who had stigmatized the treaty. The House agreed to the address, in which they declared, "that the majesty for his gracious condensation in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment; in procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security; and preserving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his royal wisdom, that in the treaty to be concluded, in pursuance of the convention, proper provisions would be made for the redress of the grievances of which the nation had so Justly complained: they assured his majesty, that in case his just expectations should not be answered, the House would heartily and zealously coeur all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his majesty's honour, and to preserve to his subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory. At the head of those who voted against the address we find the Prince of Wales. His example was followed by twenty-two peers, five bishops, twenty-two earls, four viscounts, eighteen barons, four bishops; and their party was reinforced by sixteen peers. A spirited protest was entered and subscribed by nine-and-thirty peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were most eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue.

§ XX. A message having been delivered to the House from his majesty, importing, that he had settled nine-and-thirty thousand pounds per annum on the younger children of the royal family; and desiring their lordsships would bring in a bill to enable his majesty to make that provision good, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, some lords in the opposition observed, that the next heir to the crown might consider this settlement as a precedent for the prodigality of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make: that formerly co daughter of the royal family was ever provided for by parliament, except the eldest, and that never was by way of annuity, but an express provision of a determinate sum of money paid by way of dowry. These objections were overruled; and the House complied with his majesty's request. Then the Duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy treaty, by which it was stipulated, that in time of war Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on condition of the Danes furnishing to his Britannic majesty a body of six thousand men when demanded. At the same time, his grace delivered a message from his majesty, expressing that the House would enable him to fulfil his engagement: and also to raise that money and troops the exigency of
affairs, during the approaching recess, might require. Another
venerable dispute arose from this proposal. With respect to
the Spanish war, it was resolved, that no use could be
made of the Danish troops in any expedition undertaken
against Spain, because it was stipulated in the treaty,
that they should not be used either in Italy, or on
board of the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part be-
yond the seas, after they should have marched out of the terri-
itories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms
of Great Britain and Ireland: nay, should France join
against the English, the Danes could not act against that
power, unless as part of the army of Germany or Flanders.
This body of Danes may be said, therefore, to have been
retained for the defence and protection of Hanover: or if the interest of Britain was at all
consulted in the treaty, it must have been in preventing the
Danes from joining their fleets to those of France and
Spain. Then he argued against the second part of the
message with great vivacity. He said nothing could be
more dangerous to the constitution than an unlimited and
unelected vote of credit. Such a demand our ancestors
would have heard with amazement, and rejected with
scorn. He affirmed that the practice was but of modern
date in England: that it was never heard of before the revolution had been made. It had gone on until the nation
was blessed with the present wise administration. He
said, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence should
become a customary compliment from the parliament to
the ministry, every sense of its members, as long as such a
minister might think fit to desire it, parliament would
grow despicable in the eyes of the people; then a pro-
clamation might be easily substituted in its stead, and
happy would it be for the nation if that should be suffi-
cient; for when a parliament ceases to be a check upon
ministers, it becomes a useless and unnecessary burthen
on the people. The representatives must always be paid
some way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and
sumptuously by their respective constituents, as they were inten-
merly, a majority of them may in future times be always
ready to accept of wages from the administration, and these
must come out of the pockets of the people. The Duke
of Argyll and the Earl of Chesterfield enlarged upon the
same topics. Nevertheless, the House complied with the
message: and presented an address in which they not only
approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewise assured
his majesty that they would concur with his measures, and sup-
port him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making
such further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as
he should think necessary for the honour, interest, and
safety of these kingdoms.

§ XXI. The message being communicated to the
Commons, they voted seventy thousand five hundred
and eighty-three pounds, for the subsidy to Denmark, and five
hundred thousand pounds for augmenting the forces on
and in Great Britain. The convention to pay the crown of Spain
the sum of sixty thousand pounds in consideration of the ships taken
and destroyed by Sir George Byng, which sum was to be ap-
plied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered
by the Spanish depredations, the Commons inserted in a
bill a clause, providing for this sum to be paid by the par-
liament. When the bill was read in the House of Lords a
motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address to
kings, whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by
the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it
was now expired. The Duke of Newcastle, by his majesty's
permission, acquainted the House that it was not paid;
and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-
payment. Then a day was appointed to consider the state
of the nation, when Lord Carteret moved for a resolu-
tion, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach
of the convention, a high indignity to his majesty, and an in-
justifiable act on his part, and, after a warm debate, this motion
was overruled by the majority. The minister, in order to

a Among the laws enacted in the course of this session was an act against
gaming, which had become universal through all ranks of people, and
likely to prove destructive of all morals, industry, and sentiment. An
other bill passed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her dis-
covery of a plot, and another, for the purpose of procuring an
affiliated with the stone; a medicine which has by no means answered the
expectations held out for it.

b In the House of Lords complaint was made by Lord delaware of a su-

stone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken
in the convention, allowed a salutary law to pass for the en-
couragement of manufactures. The Hanover fleet, and two
on behalf of the sugar colonies, one permitting them for a limited
time to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under
proper restrictions; and the other making more effectual
provisions for pressing the duties of navigation; the last
agitation of foreign sugars, rum, and molasses into Great Britain,
and his majesty's plantations in America. The supplies
being voted, the funds established, and the crown gratified
in every particular, the king closed the session with a speech on
the constitution of June, when the affording his
majesty's name procured the parliament.

§ XXII. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted
against the Spaniards: a promotion was made of general
officers; the troops were augmented; a great fleet was
assembled at Spithead; a reinforcement sent out to Ad-
miral Haddock; and an embargo laid on all merchant
ships ouward bound. Notwithstanding these preparations
of war, Mr. Irwin, the British minister at Madrid, declared
to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had
permitted the subjects to make reprisals, would not be un-
derstood to have broken the peace; and that this permis-
sion would be recalled as soon as his catholic majesty
should be satisfied that the British would no longer have been
so justly demanded. He was given to understand,
that the King of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts
of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of Heaven,
to justify them, and answer to the charge against his adversaries. He published a manifesto
in justification of his own conduct, complaining that
Admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his
squadron between the caps of St. Vincent and St. Mary, in
order to surprise the Assenque ships; that letters of repre-
sal had been published at London in an indecent style,
and even carried into execution in different parts of the
world. He excused his non-payment of the ninety-five thousand
pounds stipulated in the convention, on the ground that the
British court had first contravened the articles of that
treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock; by continuing to
fortify Georgia; by reinforcing the squadron at Jamaica;
and by eluding the payment of the sixty-eight thousand
pounds due to Spain from the South Sea company, on the
assiento for negroes. The French ambassador at the
Hague declared that the king his master was obliged by
treaties to assist his catholic majesty by sea and land, in
case he should be attacked; he dismissed the States-
general from exposing the quarrel of Great Britain;
and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality,
though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic majesty
with arms; and gave him notice that they would not sucour as he had
expected. He was of the opinion that the treaties subsisting between the two powers.
The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity
at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long
clamored. The calmer and more pacific mind, seeing it unavoidable, began
to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

§ XXIII. The events of war were still unfavourable
to the emperor. He had bestowed the command of his army
upon Velt-Marechal Count Wallis, who assembled his
forces in the neighborhood of Belgrade; and advanced
towards Crutska, where he was attacked by the Turks with
such impetuousity and perverstacy, that he was obliged
to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in
which he lost above six thousand men. The Earl of
Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the imperial army,
signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on this
occasion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he
was never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards
wounded at Jabouka; nevertheless, their grand army in-
vented Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the
operations of the siege with extraordinary vigour. The
emperor, dreading the loss of this place, seeing his finances
evaporating, and his credit diminish, was sent to a
negotiation for peace, which was transacted


under the mediation of the French ambassador at the
Ottoman Porte. The Count de Neuperg, as imperial
plenipotentiary, signed the preliminaries on the first day of
September. They were ratified by the emperor, though he
refrained as much as possible from expressing any appro
ation of this step, and declared that his minister had exceeded his powers. By this
treaty the house of Austria ceded to the grand signor
Brindisi, Salutate, Servia, Austrian Wallachia, the isle and
fortress of Ormoza, with all the district of St. Nicholas, and
the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave
should serve as boundaries to the two empires. The
emperor published a circular letter, addressed to his ministers at
home, in which he expressed the wish that the
success of the last campaign, and disowning the ne-
gotiations of Count Neuperg; nay, these two officers were
actually disgraced, and confined in different castles. This,
however, was no other than a sacrifice to the resentment of the
czarina, who loudly complained, that the emperor had
concluded a separate peace, contrary to his engage-
ments with the Russian empire. Her general, Count
Munch, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczcm,
in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place, in
which he found two hundred pieces of artillery; but the
country was so ruined by the incursions of the Tartars,
that the Muscovites could not subsist in it during the
winter, and even the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the
Ottoman empire, took the first opportunity of putting an
end to the war on honourable terms. After a short
negociation, the conferences ended in a treaty, by
which she was left in possession of the great conquests she had
made, and the fortifications should be demolished: and the ancient limits
were re-established between the two empires.

§ XXIV. A rupture between Great Britain and Spain
was now become inevitable. The English squadron in
the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich
Caracca ships. The king had issued orders for augment-
ing his land forces, and raising a body of marines: and a general
motion, by a number of the House of Commons, Admiral
Vernon had been sent to the West Indies, to
assume the command of the squadron in those seas; and
arrest the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This
gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the House of
Commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the
ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, what-
ever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes
without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good orator, and had contrived to get himself admitted an
orator. He had once commanded a squadron in
Jamaica, where he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and
in a debate on the Spanish depredations, he chance
d to affirm, that Porto Bello, on the Spanish main, might be
easily taken. This was an observation of some weight, and
should be of no his party, if made, would not be
under the groan of those gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he
should not be at all sorry to see them succeed again.

A majority of the House of Commons being to
former preparation for the encouragement of seamen.
After a long dispute, and eager opposition by the ministry, it
passed both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. Mr.
Sandys having observed that there could be no immediate
use for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and
explained how little service could be expected from raw and
illiterate seamen; proposed an address to the king, de-
siring that the body of marines should be composed of
members of the House of Commons, and that those who
should not be appointed to the service of the
ministry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependants, and extend their parliamentary interest, by
granting a great number of commissions. The proposal
was, therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the major-
ity. Motions were made for an inquiry into the conduct
of those who concluded the convention, but they were
overruled. The pension bill was revived, and so power-
mously supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wynd-
ham, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Littleton, that it made its
way through the Commons to the upper House, where it
was again lost upon a division, after a very long debate.
As the seamen of the kingdom expressed unqual-
ifying approbation to the service of the government, and the fleet
could not be manned without great difficulty, the ministry pre-
pared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager,
for registering all seamen, watermen, fisher, and
lightermen, throughout his majesty's dominions; and the bill
passed into a law, a British sailor would have been reduced
to the most abject degree of slavery: but he had
removed from a certain district allotted for the place of his
abode, in case of desertion, he would not be punished accord-
ingly; he must have appeared, when sum-
omed, at all hazards, whatever might have been the cir-
cumstances of his family, or the state of his private affairs:
but he had been encumbered with debt, he must either have
secured the peace of the law, or lain at the mercy of his
creditors: had he acquired by industry, or received by
n this speech, affectionate addresses were presented by both
Houses, without any considerable opposition.

§ XXV. The seceding members had again resumed
their seats in the House of Commons; and Mr. Pulteney
had made an unexpected discovery of the various acts
which they had taken. They thought that step was
necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters
of the imputation of sitting in an assembly, where a determined majority had passed
upon a measure opposed to what they had taken. He was,
thought that step was necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters
of the imputation of sitting in an assembly, where a determined majority had passed
upon a measure opposed to what they had taken. He was,
thought that step was necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters
of the imputation of sitting in an assembly, where a determined majority had passed
upon a measure opposed to what they had taken. He was,
inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his possessions, and subjected to hardships which no man would endure but from the sense of fear or terror. But there was a lingering purpose in the heart of John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the House rejected it on the second reading.

§ XXVI. The king having by message communicated to the House his intention of disposing the Princess Mary in marriage to Prince Frederick of Hesse; and expressing his hope, that the Commons would enable him to give a suitable portion to his daughter, they unanimously resolved, that a draft was accordingly prepared for that purpose, and presented an address of thanks to his majesty, for having communicated to the House this intended marriage. On the thirteenth day of March a ship arrived from the West Indies, despatched by Admiral Vernon with an account of his having taken Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such promptitude on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two Houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its real extent by the Commons granted every thought proper to demand. They provided for eight-and-twenty thousand land forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his majesty to equip a very powerful navy: they transported to the island of Jamaica, and provided for, empowered their sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expenses not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his majesty to destitute twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund; in a word, the expense of the war, during the course of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions. The session was closed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the king laid before them that which was to be done with the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both Houses. A.D. 1759. During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice that a multitude of people dwelt upon it in tents, and a great number of boats were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold; and the most extreme that many were liable to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provisions rose almost to a dearness; even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of benevolence and humanity. No measure could more redound to the honour of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress; but uncommon pangs were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who from motives of false pride, or ignominious shame, endeavoured to conceal their want, and to bear their miseries with a stoical philosophy. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the benevolent attempted to correct their misanthropy, as much by persuasion as by compulsion, in order to shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

§ XXIX. In the beginning of May the King of Great Britain set out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous measures for distressing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the espousals of the Princess Caroline of Saxe-Gotha and the Prince of Cumberland representing the Prince of Hesse; and in June the princess embarked for the continent. About the same time, a sloop arrived in England with despatches from Admiral Vernon, who, since his adventure at Porto Bello, had bombarded Carthagena, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conquest. This month was likewise marked by the death of his Prussian majesty, a prince by no means remarkable. Moreover, the election of the successor on the throne by Frederick his eldest son, the late kog of that realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself as a warrior and legislator. In August, the King of Great Britain concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish him with a body of six thousand men for four years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns. § XXX. Meanwhile, preparations of war were vigorously carried on by the ministry in England. They had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American possessions. Three ships of war, cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and were enabled by the opening the escove ships arrived, with the treasure, in Spain, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English commanders, who were stationed in a certain latitude to intercept that prize. The following summer, six thousand marines lately levied were encamped on the Isle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the West Indies. Intelligence being received, that a strong squadron of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders to sail to their American settlement, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to dispute their voyage; and the Duke of Cumberland served in person as a volunteer in this expedition; but, after divers fruitless efforts, he was enabled to capture some, but not all, of the Spanish ships, the greatest part of the summer in Torbay: and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships commanded by Commodore Anson, set sail for the South Sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of China and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays, and unforeseen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centred chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of New Spain, and his catholic majesty's other settlements in the West Indies. This expedition has been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chalmers Oyle, with a fleet of seven-and-twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital ships, and store ships, laden with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of apparatus for an armament more completely equipped; and never had the nation more reason to hope for extraordinary success. § XXXI. On the twentieth day of October, Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, the last prince of the house of Austria, died in Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the grand Duke of Tuscany. Though this calamity was neither expected nor desired, yet the event of such a nature as to occasion a universal desire to relieve the nation from the same had been long ago the subject of the prudential sanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her succession produced such contest as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young King of Prussia was no sooner informed of the emperor's death, than he was seized with a scheme to deprive the house of Hesse; seized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and published a manifesto, declaring that he had no in-
testion to contravene the pragmatic sanction. The Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the archduchess as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging, that he himself pretended to those countries, as the descendant of the House of Wittelsbach. L. Willughby, head of the Gerneral branch of the house of Austria. Charles VI. was survived but a few days by his all, the Carina Anne Iwanowna, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her crown to Iwan, or John, the infant son of her late husband, the Elector, and who had been married to Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg-Bevern. She appointed the Duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young crat; though her own were alive; but this disposition was not long maintained.

§ XXVI. The King of Great Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the session of parliament was opened in November. His majesty assumed them, on this occasion, that he was determined to prosecute the war vigorously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain, as her late conduct seemed to favor this supposition. He took notice of the emperor's death, as an event in which all likelihood would open a new scene of affairs in Europe: he therefore recommended to their consideration the necessary supplies for putting the nation in such a posture that it should have nothing to fear. As it related to the recent war, he thought it proper to consider of some proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more effectual methods to man the fleet at this juncture. The Commons, after having voted in answer to the remonstrance of the House of Commons, the king's accumulator. That he would consider the exportation of corn and provisions, for a limited time, out of Great Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a measure calculated to distress the enemy, who were supposed to be in want of these provisions. The French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland for the use of their own and of the Spanish navy; and an embargo had been laid upon the ships of that kingdom. The bill met with a successful opposition. The Duke of Newcastle, who had proposed it, laid himself open to the charge of neglecting his majesty should be addressed to lay an immediate embargo upon all ships laden with corn, grain, starch, rice, beef, pork, and other provisions, to be exported to foreign parts. They likewise resolved, that the thanks of the House should be given to Vice-Admiral Vernon, for the services he had done to his king and country in the West Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the House, and committed to prison, after having owned himself to be the author of a pamphlet. "Considerations on the Embargo on Provision of Victory." The performance contained many shrewd and severe animadversions upon the government, for having taken a step which, without answering the object of a embargo, had given rise to grievous discouragement to trade, and ruin all the graziers of Ireland. Notwithstanding the arguments used in this remonstrance, and several petitions that were presented against the corn bill, it passed by mere dint of ministerial influence. The other party endeavoured by various motions, to set on foot an inquiry into the orders, letters, and instructions, which had been sent to Admiral Vernon and Admiral Haddock; but all such investigations were carefully avoided.

§ XXXIII. A very hot contest arose from a bill which the ministry brought in under the specious title of, A bill for the encouragement and increase of senators, and for the better and speedier manner of keeping his majesty's fleet. This was a revival of the opprobrious measure which had been rejected in the former session; a scheme by which the justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and headborough, to search by day or night for such seafaring men as should conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions. Those搜索ers were vested with authority to force open doors, in case of resistance; and encouraged to violence. The minister of the navy declared, that they should discovery; while the unhappy wretches so discovered were dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the navy or the admiralty office. Such a plan of tyranny did not pass uncensured. Every exceptionable clause produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pitt Penney, Mr. Sands, Lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Luttenston, signalized themselves nobly for the liberties of their fellow subjects. Mr. Pitt having expressed a laudable indignation at such a large stride towards despotic power, in justification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of necessity, Mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attack him with some personal reasons. He refuted his arguments with great spirit; and observed that the discovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. These impositions exposed him to a severe reply. Mr. Pitt, standing up against the charge, said. "He would not undertake to determine whether youth could be justly imputed to any as a reproach; but he affirmed, that the writer, who after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of other abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults; much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy; and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country."—Petitions were presented from the city of London, and the county of Gloucester, against the bill. The king's answer was, that the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by discouraging rather than encouraging sailors, and destructive to the liberties of the subject; they were both rejected as improper. The important discussions and debates, maintained on both sides with extraordinary ardour and emotion, the severe clauses were dropped, and the bill passed with amendments.

§ XXXIV. But the most remarkable incident of this session, was an open and personal attack upon the minister, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more than ever sensible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned; and saw their pursuers daily increasing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the navy. Expensive squadrons had been equipped, had made excursions, and returned without striking a blow. The Spanish fleet had sailed first from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from Admiral Haddock, who served the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and who was supposed to be restricted by the instructions he had received from the ministry, though in fact his want of success could not be imputed to neglect. Admiral Vernon had written from the West Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed. Notwithstanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spanish privateers made immense depredations, and many of the graziers of Ireland. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connexion which had been so long cultivated between the French and English ministry, the King of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had sailed to the West Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner suspended, by the practice of pressing sailors into the service, and by the embargo which had been laid upon ships, in all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. These causes of popular discontent, added to other complaints which had been laid against the minister, excited great indignation. The king, with unwearyed industry, at length rendered him so universally odious, that his name was seldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependents. § XXXV. The country party in parliament were now seized with an opportunity of vengeance. Mr. Sands went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the House, and told him, that on Friday next he should bring a charge against him in the House, as he was to be removed from office. He expected intimation; but, after a short pause, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and said he desired no favour, but fair play. Mr. Sands, at the time which
he had appointed for this accusation, stood up, and in a studied speech entered into a long deduction of the minister's misconduct. He insisted upon the discontent of the people, that was the consequence of the measures which had been for many years pursued at home and abroad. He professed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the House who did not know that one single person in the administration was the chief, if not the sole, adviser and promoter of such measures. "This (added he) is known without doors, as well as within; therefore, the deserts, the reproaches, and even the curses of the people, are all directed against that single person. They cannot be delivered of present measure; they are suffered by those measures: they expect no redress; they expect no alteration or amendment, whilst he has a share in directing or advising our future administration. These, Sir, are the sentiments of the people in regard to that minister: these sentiments we are in honour and duty bound to represent to his majesty; and the proper method for doing this, as established by our constitution, is to address his majesty to remove him from his councils." He then proceeded to explain the particularity of the minister's misconduct in the whole series of his negotiations abroad. He charged him with having endeavoured to support his own interest, and to erect a kind of despotic government, by the practice of constant intrigue, and the betrayal of the interests and honour of Great Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to prosecute the war against Spain: and he concluded with a motion for an address to the king, that he would remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. He was answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuse all the measures which the other had condemned; and acquiesced himself as a warm friend and unshaken adherent. Against this champion Sir John Barnard entered the lists, and was sustained by Mr. Pulbeney, who, with equal spirit and precision, pointed out and exposed all the material errors and mal-practices of the administration. Sir Robert Walpole, this time, was not sustained by himself. With respect to the article of bribery and corruption, he said, if any one instance had been mentioned; if it had been shown that he ever offered a reward to any member of either House, or even threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted.—Such a declaration as this, in the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's base and rotten nature of such an office as he himself bore. The debate was protracted by the court members till three o'clock in the morning, when about sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

§ XXXVI. A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of inuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation: but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willmot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffic was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose upon a clause of the mutiny bill, relating to the quartering of soldiers upon innkeepers and publishers, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessaries at the rates prescribed by law or custom. There were not wanting advocates to expostulate upon the nature of this grievance, which, however, was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the czar, and vested with an exclusive privilege in the Russian company, by an act of parliament. The Commons voted forty thousand pounds for the encouragement of the company, and the quartering of the thousand men for the establishment of land forces. They provided for the subsidies granted to the King of Denmark, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step for which they were invested for the ease and the convenience of the government.

§ XXXVII. The parties in the House of Lords were influenced by the same motives which actuated the Commons. The Duke of Argyll, who had by this time resigned all his places, declared open war against the ministry. In the beginning of the session, the king's speech in which the address to the convention was added, was at the same time received with general approbation. But the pretension of this nobleman stood up, and moved that a general address of thanks should be presented to his majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's speech, recollected from the parliament to the throne; with expressions of blank censure upon all the measures of the minister. He spoke on this subject with an astonishing impetuosity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and flooded whole nations with its waters. The motion was supported by Lord Bathurst, Lord Carteret, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Gower, who, though they displayed all the talents of oratory, were outvoted by the opposite party, headed by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Harvey, and the lord chancellor. The motion was rejected, and the address composed in the usual strain. The same motions for an inquiry into orders and instructions which had miscarried in the lower House, were here repeated with the same bad success; in the debates which ensued, the young Earls of Hallifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation, for the strength of argument and eloquence with which they moved the House into consideration: the state of the army, the Duke of Argyll, having harangued with equal skill and energy on military affairs, proposed that the forces should be divided into those held in companies, without increasing the number of officers; as such an augmentation served only to debase the dignity of the service, by raising the lowest of mankind to the rank of gentleman; and to extend the influence of the minister, by multiplying his dependants. He, therefore, moved for a resolution, that the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, was also the most dangerous, and a practicable means of evading the Constitution was likewise overruled, after a short though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the Lords in the opposition, though the victory of the courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and spirited protest. Two days were expended in the debate produced by Lord Carteret's motion for an address, beseeching his majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. The speech that induced this memorable motion would not have disgraced a Caesar. It contained a retrospect of all the public measures which had been pursued since the revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been entered into, and rejected to prevent it. The debates, succinctly described the political connexions subsisting between the different powers in Europe. It exposed the weakness, the misconduct, and the impiety of the minister, both in his foreign and domestic transactions. It was embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with a noble spirit of patriotic indignation. The Duke of Argyll, Lord Bathurst, and his other colleagues, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervour, and even inspired by the subject. A man of imagination, in reading their speeches, will think himself transported into the Roman senate, before the min of that republic. Northeless, the minister still triumphed by dint of his perseverance through his own opposition. Thirty peers entered a vigorous protest: and Walpole's character sustained such a rude shock from this opposition, that his authority seemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this contest was decided, the Duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without an impartial trial, and without this being by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient established usage of parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject. This motion was seconded by Lord Stanhope and Lord Lovel; and opposed by Lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day. This sentiment was so warmly espoused by Lord Talbot, who had
distinguished himself in the former debate, that he seemed to be transported beyond the bounds of moderation. He was interrupted by the Earl of Cholmondeley, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be observed in such assemblages. His passion was inflamed by this rebuke: he declared himself an independent lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the smiles of a court, the profit of an employment, or the revenue of a seat in Parliament. When he had expressed the sole of truth, he would trample on the insolence that should command him to suppress his sentiments.—On a division, however, the motion was carried.

§ XVIII. In the beginning of April, the king resolved to raise a fresh stand of men, and it was necessary for him to incur extraordinary expenses for maintaining the pragmatic sanction, at a time when he could not possibly have recourse to the advice and assistance of his parliament. He, therefore, demanded of the Commons such a supply as might be requisite to raise and manage it with all possible frugality. The lower House, in their address, approved of all his measures; declared they would effectually support him against all insults and attempts at his person, and that he should be protected, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to that princess. Mr. Shapen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his majesty's foreign dominions; a promise, in his opinion, inconsistent with the important and inviolable act, the act of settlement; a promise which, could it have been foreseen, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family to which the nation owed so many numberless blessings, such continued felicity. The motion however passed, though not without further opposition; and the House resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty, to enable him effectually to support the Queen of Hungary. Towards the expense of this year, a million was deducted from the sinking fund; and the land tax continued at four shillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already cost five million and a half; and on the 5th day of April, when the king took his leave of this parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the lower House, who had signified themselves in defence of the minister, were now snubbed, and created Barons of Montford, Richmond, and Cheekworth. A camp was formed near Colchester; and the king having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions. 5

CHAP. VII.

§ 1. The British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Bucay, by which the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, it had not been prosecuted with less vigour, and was not designed to provide wood and water, in the neutral island of Dornica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant Lord Cathcart, who was engaged upon the hazardous enterprise, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that he would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to that princess. Mr. Shapen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his majesty's foreign dominions; a promise, in his opinion, inconsistent with the important and inviolable act, the act of settlement; a promise which, could it have been foreseen, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family to which the nation owed so many numberless blessings, such continued felicity. The motion however passed, though not without further opposition; and the House resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty, to enable him effectually to support the Queen of Hungary. Towards the expense of this year, a million was deducted from the sinking fund; and the land tax continued at four shillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already cost five million and a half; and on the 5th day of April, when the king took his leave of this parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the lower House, who had signified themselves in defence of the minister, were now snubbed, and created Barons of Montford, Richmond, and Cheekworth. A camp was formed near Colchester; and the king having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions. 5

§ 2. Lord Sandwich proposed that the king should be assisted to such a fleet as was necessary to carry up the necessary forces to the island of Guiana, and a small squadron of king's ships, made an attempt upon Fort Augustus, the capital of Spanish Fio
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Chaloner Ogle at Spithead without any visible cause, until the season for action was almost exhausted; for, on the continent of New Spain, the periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmosphere is attended with heat, which renders the climate extremely unhealthy; besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

§ III. Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of June; and Admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Instead of directing his course to the Hannan's, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to hunt against the wind up to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron commanded by the Marquis d'Autin. The fifteenth day of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French admiral had sailed for Europe, in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being supplied with water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Plata Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havannah for provisions; but hearing his enemy was already before him, and that his garrison reinforced by the crews of a small squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Leon, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the English admiral lay for about six weeks; when the French were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Bocachica, or Little-mouth, which was surprizing fortified with castles, batteries, &c., and provisions, of great extent. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the commanders of the army. Lord Anvers Boscawen, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack: but the forts and batteries were abandoned: the Spanish ships that lay adrift the harbour's mouth were destroyed or taken; the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without further opposition. Then the forces were re-embarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about seven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a heavy contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the commanders, in this measure, they sustained a mutiny in the cables; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of the rival, than zeal for the honour of the nation.

§ IV. The general complained that the fleet lay idle while his troops were harassed and diminished by hard duty and distemper. The admiral affirmed, that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena: he branded the general with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lucy, which commanded the town, and might be taken by scale. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack; but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were monover exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded; the scaling-ladders were found too short: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and direction; yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about six hundred killed or wounded on the spot. Their mutiny was not much redressed by the general's order to maintain their footing on shore; besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were, therefore, re-embarked; but the hope of further success immediately vanished. The admiral, however, acted with great spirit to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the

Galicia, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Bocachica, to cannonade the town, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, with stretcher-bearers, and composed of sick, wounded, and corpses which rendered the climate extremely unhealthy; besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

§ V. After the re-embarkation of the troops, the distemper peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with considerable violence; the sick becameHO many so desperately sick, that the vengeance of the enemy was pursued by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and executions: the grooms of the dying, and the service of the bodies, excited the most lively indignation; and it was proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success. This, indeed, was the case in that part of the harbour to which the Galicia was conducted; but a little further to the left, she might have stationed four or five of her largest ships abreast, within pistol-shot of the walls; and if this step had been taken, when the land forces marched to the attack of St. Lucy, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

§ VI. At the re-embarkation of the troops, the distemper peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with considerable violence; the sick became so many so desperately sick, that the vengeance of the enemy was pursued by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and executions: the grooms of the dying, and the service of the bodies, excited the most lively indignation; and it was proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success. This, indeed, was the case in that part of the harbour to which the Galicia was conducted; but a little further to the left, she might have stationed four or five of her largest ships abreast, within pistol-shot of the walls; and if this step had been taken, when the land forces marched to the attack of St. Lucy, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

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chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

§ VII. The Queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward. After the departure of the French fleet, and the more vigorous heur, she ordered Count Neipperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies encountered each other near the neighbourhood of Molwitz, and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly paid, for it should be granted that Frederick Margarete of Brandenburg, and Lieutenant-General Schuylenberg, were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brog was surrendered to the Prussians, and he forced the important pass of Freiwolde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian husars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation; but the two sovereigns were too much irritated against each other to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed. The Queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation; and her Prussian majesty charged the court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate, or carry him off by treachery: a design which was dissolved with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neipperg being obliged to retire, the court of Vienna sent two detachments to Silesia, to which the King of Prussia sent a detachment to join the elector, under the command of Count Deshau, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neuss, almost without opposition; then his master received the homage of the Silesian States at Breslau, and returned to Berlin. In December, the Prussian army was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province. This army formed a camp of observation in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg.

§ VIII. The Elector of Hanover was alarmed at the success of the King of Prussia, in apprehension that he would become too formidable a neighbour. A scheme was said to have been proposed to the court of Vienna, for attacking that prince's electoral dominions, and divesting the conquest: but it never was put in execution. Nevertheless, the Prussians crossed the Upper Rhine, and seized some places on that river; while the auxiliary Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain were ordered to be in readiness to march; and a good number of British forces encamped and prepared for embarkation. His majesty's council of war having been granted by parliament, was remitted to the Queen of Hungary; and every thing seemed to presage the vigorous interposition of his Britannic majesty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that sort of sentence seemed to flag even while her Hungarian majesty tottered on the verge of ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of crushing the House of Austria. In order to intimidate the Elector of Hanover, Marschal Mallebon was sent with a numerous army into Westphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded; and the King of Great Britain engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of the Electors. The design of the French court was to raise this prince to the imperial throne, and furnish him with such succours as should enable him to deprive the Queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

§ IX. While the Elector of Hanover was engaged in this undertakings, the French court endeavoured to amuse the queen with the strongest assurances of his master's friendship, a body of five-and-thirty thousand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria; another French army was assembled upon the Rhine; and the Count de Belleisle, being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negociate with different electors. Having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the design to the Elector, that, in case of his making the generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance: and now the treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded. The French king engaged to assist the elector with his whole power, towards raising him to the imperial throne: the elector promised, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces which his master possessed. But if he would in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty; and agree that France should unequivocally retain whatever places she should subsist in the Austrian Netherlands. The next step of Belleisle was to negotiate another treaty between France and Prussia, importing, that the Elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese: that the King of Poland should be gratified with Miolin and part of Galicia; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Noss and the county of Glatz. These precautions being taken, the Count de Belleisle repaired to Frankfort in quality of ambassador and plenipotentiary from France, at the imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French king published a declaration, signifying, that as the King of Great Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor, his most Christian majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the German body, and secure the freedom of the imperial election.

§ X. In July, the Elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under Marschal Broglie, surprised the imperial city of Passau, upon the Danube; and entering Upper Austria, took possession of seventy thousand pounds of Lants, where he received the homage of the states of that country. Understanding that the march of Vienna was very numerous, and that Count Palth had assembled thirty thousand Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no further progress in Austria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was reinforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of Count Rutowski, natural son to the late King of Poland. By this time his Polish majesty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenburg, and declared war against the Queen of Hungary, on the most frivolous pretences. The Elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by surprise: and achievement in which Murran Count of Saxe, another natural son of the King of Poland, distinguished himself at the head of the French forces. In December the Elector of Bavaria made his public entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities. But he set out for Frankfort, to be present at the diet of election.

§ XI. At this period the Queen of Hungary saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and seemingly devoted to her enemies. She was not, however, without courage, nor destitute of good officers, and an able minis-

ter. She retired to Presburg, and in a pathetic Latin speech to the States, expressed her confidence in the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian subjects. The cœlle-

bility of that kingdom, touched with her presence and distress, assured her, unanimously, that they would sacri-

fice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raised, that brave people crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their sentiments against her enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral house of Bavaria from the succession to the crown of Hungary: yet, without the subsidy she received from Great Britain, her forces and their courage and resolute conduct, and vigorous and vigorous interposition of his Britannic majesty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that sort of sentence seemed to flag even while her Hungarian majesty tottered on the verge of ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of crushing the House of Austria. In order to intimidate the Elector of Hanover, Marschal Mallebon was sent with a numerous army into Westphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded; and the King of Great Britain engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of the Electors. The design of the French court was to raise this prince to the imperial throne, and furnish him with such succours as should enable him to deprive the Queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.§ IX. While the Elector of Hanover was engaged in this undertakings, the French court endeavoured to amuse the queen with the strongest assurances of his master's friendship, a body of five-and-thirty thousand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria; another French army was assembled upon the Rhine; and the Count de Belleisle, being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negociate with different electors. Having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the design to the Elector, that, in case of his making the generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance: and now the treaty of Nymphenburg was con-
§ XII. As the exarma expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate princess, the French court resolved to find her employment in another quarter. They had already gained over to their interest Count Gyllenburgh, prime minister of the crown of Sweden, who, by the dispute happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the British resident at Stockholm, some warm altercation passed: Mr. Burnaby was for the court, and published a memorial in his own vindication; on the other hand, the King of Sweden justified his clerk unto M. d’Argenson, to all the foreign ministers. The King of Great Britain had proposed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the influence of French councils, was rejected. The Swedes had no longer numbers to assemble; and they equipped a large squadron of ships, declared war against Russia, upon the most trifling pretences; and the fleet putting to sea, commenced hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia. A body of eleven thousand Swedes commanded by General Wrangle, having advanced to Willenwand, were, in August, attacked and defeated by General Lasce, at the head of thirty thousand Russians. Count Lewenau, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for this disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter-quarters. In December he marched towards Wbourg: but receiving letters from the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg and the Marquis of Tassis, indicating that the French court at Petersburgh, informing him of the surprising revolution which had just happened in Russia, and proposing a suspension of hostilities; he retreated with his army, in order to wait for the concurrence of the courts of Vienna and London, and the Russian armies. At the end of March, the States agreed to a cessation of arms for three months.

§ XIII. The Russians had been for some time discontented with their government. The late exarma was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her service. These causes of discontent produced factions and conspiracies; and when they were discovered, the empress treated the authors of them with such severity as increased the general dissatisfaction. Bessarion, who were displeased at the manner in which she had settled the succession. The Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburgh-Bevern, father to the young czar, was not at all agreeable to the Russian nobility, and his consort, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, having assumed the reins of government during her son’s minority, seemed to follow the maxims of her aunt the late exarma. The Russian grandees and generals, therefore, turned their eyes upon the Princess Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter I., and reigning in the stead of her father. That the French ambassador gladly concurred in a project for deposing a princess who was well affected to the House of Austria. General Lasce approved of the design, which was concerted by the Prince of Brunswick and others, who, in the reign of the Empress Catherine and Peter II., had been generalissimos of the Russian army. The goodwill and concurrence of the troops being secured, two regiments of guards took possession of all the avenues of the imperial palace at Petersburg. The Princess Elizabeth, putting herself at the head of one thousand men, on the fifth day of December entered the winter palace, where the Princess of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar resided. She advanced into the chamber where the princess and her consort lay, and desired them to rise and quit the palace, adding that their persons were safe; and that they could not possibly blame her for asserting her right. At the same time, the Counts Osterman, Greifskirkin, Mengidoff, and Munich, were arrested; their papers and effects were seized, and their persons conveyed to Schlisselbourg, a fortress on the Neva. Early in the morning the senate assembling, declared all that had passed since the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and that the imperial dignity belonged of right to the Princess Elizabeth; she was immediately proclaimed Empress of all the Russians, and recognised by the army in Finland. She forthwith published a general act of indemnity; she created the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg, generalissimo of her armies; she restored the Dolgorucky family to their honours and estates; she recalled and rewarded all those who had been banished for her safety and favour. The Duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more suitable to his rank; she released General Wrangle, Count Wassburgh, and the other Swedish officers, who had been taken at the battle of Willenwand: and the Prince of Orange, who had joined with her consort and children, were sent under a strong guard to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

§ XIV. Amidst these tempests of war and revolution, the States-General of the United Provinces and Finland, regarded their own tranquillity. It was, without, their interest to avoid the dangers and expenses of a war, and to profit by that stagnation of commerce which would necessarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with each other: besides, they were overawed by the declarations of the French monarch on one side; by the power, activity, and pretensions of his Prussian majesty on the other; and they dreaded the prospect of a stadtholder at the head of the army. These and many other sentiments of many Dutch patriots, enforced by others that acted under French influence. But the Prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of the greatest dignity and stations, who were influenced by the populace, who loudly exclaimed against their governors, and clamoured for a war without ceasing. This national spirit, joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made by the French ambassadors at the courts of Vienna and London, the States to issue orders for an augmentation of their forces; but these were executed so slowly, that neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the King of Sardinia declared for the house of Austria: the republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest: the Pope, the Venetians, and the dukedom of Tuscany were neutral: the King of Naples resolved to support the claim of his family to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother, the Queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Oristello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While Admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the straits in the night, and was in the sea of Cadiz in the morning. The British admiral sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French fleet began to separate; the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master’s allies. This interposition prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron, Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to pursue their voyage without molestation. The people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did not scruple to affirm, that the hands of the British admirals were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover.

§ XV. The court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain. They no sooner learned the destination of Commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizarro, with a more powerful squadron, upon the same voyage, to defeat his design. He sailed from Spithead at the same time, and actually fell in with one or two ships of the British armament, near the straits of Magellan; but he could not weather a long and furious tempest through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South sea.
One of the Spanish ships perished at sea: another was wrecked on the coast of Brazil; and Pizzaro bore away for the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ships, in a shattered condition, after having lost twothirds of his crew by the inhuman exactions of the Spaniards. In consequence of this, the English admirals exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe.

They were not industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, since the commence ment of the war, four hundred vessels, or about eleven million dollars. They consisted of about one hundred ships of war, manned by fifty-four thousand sailors.

§ XVI. The general discontent of the people had a ma nifest tendency to subvert the constituted powers of the new parliament, which produced one of the most violent contests between the two parties, which had happened since the revolution. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales continued to be the people, who endeavoured to support the minister; and the Duke of Argyile exerted himself successfully among the shires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partisans of the ministry could not secure six members out of the whole number returned from North Britain. They were, however, much more fortunate in the election of the sixteen peers, who were chosen literally according to the list transmitted from court. Instructions were delivered by the constitutents to a great number of members returned for cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppose a standing army in time of peace; to vote for the mitigation of excise laws, for the repeal of septennial parliaments; and for the limitation of placemen in the House of Commons. They, likewise, insisted upon their examining into the particulars of the public expense, and endeavouring to redress the grievances of the nation.

Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardour and perseverance; and the ideas of a coalition prevailed that, notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the country interest seemed to preponderate in the new parliament.

§ XVII. The king returned to England in the middle of October; and on the first day of December the session was opened. Mr. Onslow being re-elected speaker was approved of by his majesty, who spoke in the usual style to both Houses. He observed, that the former parliament had formed the strongest resolution in favour of the Queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction; for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe; and that if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him had answered the just expectations so solemnly given, the support of the common cause would have been attended with less difficulty. He said, he had endeavoured, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers which were united with him by the ties of common interest to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture required: that where an accommodation seemed necessary, he had laboured to reconcile princes whose unions would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischief which had happened, and the best security for the interest and safety of the whole. He owned his endeavours had not hitherto produced the desired effect; though when necessity should require it, he could expect the British nation would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. He represented the necessity of putting the kingdom in such a posture of defence, as would enable him to repel the high and grievous importunities of the Courts of Europe, and defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigour, and despatch. The House of Commons having appointed several committees, the speaker reported the king's speech; and Mr. Herbert moved for an address, concluding an approach to the council of ministers by which the war had been prosecuted. The motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, Lord Noel Sumner stood up and moved, that the House would in their address desire his majesty not to engage those kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his dominions, and that, as expected by that incorruptible patriot, Mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm, that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He added, that in the House of Lords at the time he had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had seen his conjectures ripened into knowledge.

"If my country (said he) has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her interest to men who propose to themselves no advantage from their trust but that of selling it, I may, perhaps, fall once more under censure for declaring my opinion, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny; for maintaining that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly inculcated by those patriots who framed the act of settlement, and conferred upon the present royal family the title of successors to the crown of England.

He particularly observed that the ministry had acted in diametrical opposition to that necessary constitution: and he insisted on the necessity of taking some step to remove the apprehensions of the people, who had been compelled to think the ministry in danger of being sacrificed to the security of foreign dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who spoke on the same side of the question, expatiated upon the absurdity of returning thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged. "What I (said he) are our thanks to be solemnly returned for defeats, disgrace, and losses, the ruin of our merchants, the imprisonment of our sailors, idle shows of armaments, and useless expenses?

Sir Robert Walpole having made a short speech in defence of the first motion for an address, was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who seemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriotism: he asserted, that from a review of that minister's conduct since the beginning of the dispute with Spain, it would appear that he had been guilty not only of single errors, but of deliberate treachery: that he had always cooperated with the enemies of his country, and sacrificed to his private interest the happiness and honour of the country, and the interest of the British nation. He particularly adverted to the minister's conduct against which he had so often declared; and being transported by an over-heated imagination, accused him of personal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom. A charge which was doubled by attacks on his aggregated animosity, and served only to invalidate the other articles of impeachment that were much better founded. His objections were overruled; and the address, as at first proposed, was presented to his majesty.
of preventing riots, sent for a military force to overawe the election. A petition presented by the electors of Westminster was taken into consideration by the House; and the vote was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high bailiffs of the city were ordered to march, and the three justices who signed the letter, in consequence of which they acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the House.

§ XV. The country party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon several other contested elections; and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a single vote would put him out of the contest. He knew that the young Monmouth was determined to try ever the motion be made; and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing the opposition. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emissaries did not fail to tamper with those members of the opposite party who were the most likely to be converted by their arguments. A message was sent by the Bishop of Oxford to the Prince of Wales, importuning, that if his royal highness would write a letter of condolence to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; that fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; four times that sum be disbursed immediately; and the presentment of his éléphant vision be made in due time for all his followers. The prince declined this proposal. He declared that he would accept no such conditions, while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs; that he looked upon his dispute with his majesty as his misfortune and his misfortune of the people; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad; and as the sole cause of that contempt which Great Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His royal highness was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation—a party which had gained the ascendancy in the House of Commons; which professed to act upon the principles of public virtue; which declared an odious ministration a sacriUce due to an injured people; and declared that no temptation could shake their virtue, that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulsed in this attempt upon the Prince of Wales, was more successful in his other endeavours. He resolved to try his strength once more in the House of Commons, in another disputed election; and had the mortification to see the majority reversed to sixteen voices. He declared he had never more set in that House; and next day, which was the third of February, the king adjourned both Houses of parliament to the eighteenth day of the same month. In this interim, Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and received all his honours.

§ XX. At no time of his life did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now displayed. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries. The country party consisted of the Tories, reinforced by discontented whigs, who had either been disappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the distresses of their country, occasioned by a weak and worthless administration. The old patriots, and the whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and, indeed, upon opposite principles of government; and therefore they were united only by the tenderness of attachment. A coalition was projected between the discontented whigs and those of the same denomination who acted in the ministry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that in the management of affairs a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose. The court required nothing of them, but that the Earl of Orford should escape with impunity. His place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed upon Mr. Sandys, who was appointed a lord. The Earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first commissioner of that board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of earl, was declared president of the council. A committee was appointed to select the new secretary of state. The Duke of Argyile was made master-general of the ordnance, colonell of his majesty's royal regiment of horse guards, field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Britain; but, finding himself disappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in less than a month, resigned all these offices. Marquis of Tweedale was appointed secretary of state for Scotland, a post which had been long suppressed; Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy council, and afterwards created Earl of Bath. The Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the resignation of the Duke of Argyile, the Earl of Stair was appointed field-marshal of all his majesty's forces, as well as ambassador extraordinary to the court of Madrid. The Duke of Newcastle, the Prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to be restored. Lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the first who embraced the offers of the court, without the consent or privy of any other leaders in the opposition, except that of Mr. Pulteney; but they declared to their friends, they would still proceed upon patriot principles; that they would concur in promoting an inquiry into past measures; and in enacting necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption. These professions were believed, not only by their old conditors in the House of Commons, but also by those who expected some share of the king and the Prince of Wales, together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the House of Commons. § XXI. Pulteney maintained that the king, instead of a change of men and measures, saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition. The coalition was now being armed with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country; and in the transport of their indignation, they entirely overlooked the old object of their resentment. That a nobleman of plant principles, narrow fortune, and unabounded ambition, should forsake his party for the blackmail of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear strange to any person acquainted with the human heart; but the sensible part of mankind always reflect with a blush upon the conduct of a man, who seeing himself idolized by his fellow citizens as the first and firmest patriot in the kingdom, as one of the most shining ornaments of his country, could give up his interest and services to the deputation of mankind, for the wretched consideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the least substantial appendage. One cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate such an instance of infatuation—One cannot but lament, that such glory should have been so weakly forestalled; that such talents should have been lost to the cause of liberty and virtue. Doubtless he flavoured himself with the hope of one day directing the councils of his sovereign; but this was never accomplished, and he remained a solitary monument of blasted ambition. Before the change in the ministry, Mr. Pulteney moved that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the House, should be communi- cated to a select committee, who should examine strictly into the particular, and make a report to the House of their remarks and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but upon a division, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been presented against the conduct of the House of Commons by the Lords of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses which had sustained by the bad conduct of the war, the House was not called to the treasury; and the whole of these remonstrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were spent in perusing papers and examining with the utmost care the several secretaries of the House and the treasurers of the state.
posed to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by
impatience or accident, but by one uniform and continued
design. This inquiry being resumed after the adjournment,
copies of instructions to admirals and captains of crossing
ships were laid before the House; the Commons passed two
resolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the
better protecting and securing the trade and navigation of
the kingdom. It made its way through the lower House;
but it had almost reached, and had almost passed, the
Senate, when it was referred, and sent up to the Peers, where it was again re-
jected; Lord Carteret voting against that very measure
which he had so lately endeavoured to promote. On the
nineteenth day of March, a bill for raising money for ap-
pointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs,
for the last twenty years; he was seconded by Sir John St.
Aubyn, and supported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr.
Philips, Mr. W. Pinf, and Lord Percival, the new member
for Westminster, who had already aggrandized himself by
its eloquence and capacity. The motion was opposed by
Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox,
surveyor-general to his majesty's works, and brother to
Lord Ilchester. Though the opposition was faint and fra-
volus, the proposal was rejected by a majority of two
voices. Lord Limerick not yet discouraged, made a mo-
tion, on the twenty-third day of March, for an inquiry into
the conduct of the Lords during the last year of his administra-
tion; and after a sharp debate, it was car-
rried in the affirmative, the House resolved to choose a
secret committee by ballot; and in the mean time pre-
sented their addresses to the king, assuring him of their fidelity,
zeal, and affection.
§ XXII. Sir Robert Godschall having moved for leave
to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parlia-
ments, he was seconded by Sir John Barnard; but warmly op-
oposed by Mr. Pelham. The resolution passed in the negative.
The committee of secrecy being chosen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton, sol-
citor to the treasury, refusing to answer such questions as were put to him, was committed to the commis-
tee, complained to the House of his obscurity. He was
first taken into custody; and still persisting in his refusal,
committed to Newgate. Then his lordship moved, that
leave should be given to bring in a bill for condemning evidence against the Earl of Orford: and it was actually
prepared by a decision of the majority. In the House of
Lords it was vigorously opposed by Lord Carteret, and as
strangely supported by the Duke of Argyle: but fell upon the defeat of the government. Mr. Lord
members in the House of Commons who hopefully wished
that the inquiry might be prosecuted, were extremely in-
censed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to
inquire into the conduct of the house of Lords during this
period being read, Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby,
moved for a resolution, that the lords refusing to concur with the Commons of Great Britain, in an indemnification
necessary to the effectual carrying on of the inquiry, now dis-
pending in parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and
may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation."—This motion,
which was seconded by Lord Quarendon, son of the
Earl of Lichfield, gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr.
Sandys declined against it, as a step that would bring
on an immediate dissolution of the present form of govern-
ment. It is really amazing to see what effrontery
some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict
the sentiments of their predecessors. Mr. Lord
A. D. 1744.
Sandys did not pass uncensured: he sus-
tained some severe sarcasms on his apostasy, from Sir
John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections:
nevertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Not-
withstanding this great obstruction, purposely thrown
in the way of the inquiry, the secret committee dis-
covered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption
in the accounts of the French reparation of the
sumswards each other, to many others; it appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for
paying the troops in the West Indies: that he had em-
ployed iniquitous arts to influence elections: that for secret
reasons, during the three years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty thousand
pounds of the public money: that above fifty thousand
pounds of this sum had been paid to authors and printers
of newspapers and political tracts written in defence of the
ministry: that on the very day which preceded his resigna-
tion, he had signed orders on the civil list for
ervant above thirty thousand pounds: but as the cash remaining
in the exchequer did not much exceed the amount of the
pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty
thousand by pawning the orders to a banker. The com-
mittee proceeded to make further progress in their scrutiny,
and appointed a third report; but they were interrupted by
the prorogation of parliament.
§ XXIII. The ministry finding it necessary to take
some step for concluding the affection of the people, gave
up the idea of a formal address of thanks for the
pounds, and the session, and voted a hundred thousand
to the Queen of Hungary. The expense of the yearamounted
to near six millions, raised by the land tax at four shil-
ings in the pound, by the malt tax, by one million from the
sinking fund, by annuities granted upon it for eight hundred
thousand pounds, and a loan of one million six hundred
thousand pounds to the bank. In consequence, John Lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majesty's
privy seal; Allen Lord Bathurst was made captain of the
land of pensioners; and on the fifteenth day of the month,
Mr. Pulteney took the seat in the House of Lords at
Bath. The king closed the session in the usual way, after
having given them to understand, that a treaty of peace was
concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of
Prussia, under his mediation, and that the late successes of the Austrian nation was great measure owing to the
generous assistance afforded by the British nation.
§ XXIV. By this time great changes had happened in
the affairs of the continent. The Elector of Bavaria was
at length brought to the throne of his ancestors, and,
crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth
day of February. Thither the imperial diet was removed from
Ratisbon; they confirmed his election, and indulged
him with a subsidy of fifty Homan months, amounting to
about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the mean-
time, the Austrian General Khevenhuller ravaged his elec-
torate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of
Bavaria; he likewise laid part of the palatinate under
subsidies, and subdued the Germans and part of the
body of his troops to reinforce the imperial army. In
March, Count Sixe, with a detachment of French and
Bavarians, reduced Egm; and the Austrians were obliged
to retreat, though they attempted this by force. Khevenhuller took post in the neighbourhood of Passau,
and detached General Berclau to Dillingen on the Iser,
to observe the motions of the enemy, who were now become
extremely formidable. In May, a detachment of French
and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkerbergh on the
Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over
the river: the Austrian garrison immediately marched out
to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which
the imperialists were defeated.
§ XXV. In the beginning of the year the Queen of
Hungary had assembled two considerable armies in Moravia
and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of
the fifty thousand men under command of his father, Mr.
Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation
from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the prince
took the route to Bohemia; and Mareschal Broglie, who
commanded the French forces in that country, must have
fallen a sacrifice, had not the King of Prussia received a
strong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his
ey could be attacked. The two armies advanced to
meet on the third of June, near the town of Stettin, on
battle at Czawal, where the Austrians at first gained a
manifest advantage, and penetrated as far as the Prussian
baggage: then the irregulars began to plunder so eagerly,
that they neglected every other consideration. The Prus-
ian infantry too in a great measure to fly; but the battle
was renewed, and after a very obstinate contest, the victory
was snatched out of the lands of the Austrians, who were
obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men killed, and twelve hundred taken by the enemy. The Prussians paid dear for the honour of remaining on the field of battle; and it is the opinion of this country, that the King is still to have conceived a disgust to the war. When the Aus-
trian made such progress in the beginning of the engage-
ment, he rode off with great expedition, until he was 
recalled by a message from his general, the Count de 
Schrattenbach, who implored that he would not to give 
a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he discovered an 
inclusion to accommodate all differences with the Queen 
of Hungary. The Earl of Harrington, ambassador from the 
Court of Great Britain, who accompanied the Prussian 
army, and was vested with full powers by her Hungarian 
majesty, did not fail to cultivate this favourable disposition; 
and on the first day of June, a treaty of peace between 
the two powers was concluded at Breslia. The Queen ceded 
to his Prussian Majesty the Upper and Lower Silesia, 
with the country of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himself 
with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of 
London to the late emperor, on the Silesian revenues. He 
likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the 
war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen 
days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were 
comprehended the King of Great Britain, Elector of Hanover, 
the Prince of Orange, Prince of the Archduchy of 
Chassol, the House of Wurtemberg, and the King of Poland, 
Elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

§ XXVI. The King of Prussia recalled his troops; while 
M. de Broglie continued at Glatz in command of the 
Austrian armies in that kingdom, and the Count de Belleisle, abandoned 
their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipita-
tion under the cannon of Prague. They entrenched 
their advantages in an advantageous situation: and Prince 
Charles, having joined by the other body of Austrians, under 
Prince Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills 
of Grunawitz. The Grand Duke of Tuscany arrived in the 
Austrian army, of which he took the command; and the French 
were at first perplexed, being ignorant of the invasion of 
all the other places they possessed in Bohemia, provided 
they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, 
and baggage. The proposal was rejected, and Prague 
invaded on all sides about the end of July. Though the 
operations of the siege were carried on in an awkward and 
slovenly manner, the place was so effectually blockaded, 
that famine must have compelled the French to surrender 
at discretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made 
for its relief. The emperor had made advances to the 
Queen of Hungary. He promised that the French forces 
should quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he 
offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of 
Bohemia; and further, that the Austrian troops should 
leave Prague; but these conditions were declined by the court of 
Vienna. The King of France was no sooner apprized of the 
condition to which the Generals Broglio and Belleisle were 
reduced, than he sent orders to Marshal Mariebois, who 
commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their 
relief. His troops were immediately put in motion: and 
when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were 
joined by the French and imperialists from Bavaria. Prince 
Charles of Lorraine having received intelligence of their 
junction and design, left eighteen thousand men to main-
tain the blockade of Prague, under the command of General 
Festitics, while he himself, with the rest of his army, 
entered Austria. The emperor had made disparaging 
propositions to the Queen of Hungary. Then, he was joined by Count Khevenhuller, who from 
Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by Count Seek-
dorff, and the Count de Saxe. Seekendorff, however, 
was sent back to Bavaria, while Marshal Mariebois enter-
ted Bohemia on the twenty-fifth day of September. But 
he marched with such precaution, that Prince Charles 
could not bring him to go engagement. Meanwhile Festi-
tics was reinforced with the Bohemian army, and joined 
the blockade of Prague; and the French generals being 
now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois ad-
vanced as far as Kadan: but seeing the Austrians pos-
sessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back 
to the palatinate, and was ignominiously harrowed in his retreat 
by Prince Charles, who had left a strong body with Prince 
Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleisle and Broglio.

§ XXVII. These generals seeing themselves surround-
ed on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglio 
made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to 
England, for the King did not wish to have him dis-
graced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the 
blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all commu-
nication between that place and the adjacent country, that 
in a little time the French troops were reduced to great 
extremities, and they thought it no longer necessary to 
the want of provision. They were already reduced to the nes-
cessity of eating horse-flesh, and unclean animals: and 
they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine 
or war. The Emperor arranged, in sum in this case, an 
expedition, which was actually put in execution. Having taken 
some artful preparations to deceive the enemy, he, in the 
middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, 
with about fourteen thousand men, thirty pieces of artillery, 
and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety 
of nine hundred soldiers whom he had left in garrison. 
Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered 
at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented 
road, he purposely chose to march with such expedi-
tion, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, 
before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of Prince 
Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miser-
able soldiers and officers were put to, were equalled by the 
perils in the snow, and many hundreds, fainting with 
weakness, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the 
Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people 
on the frontier; the French encamped in the night, and 
were tortured with the lisp-gout, belied with surprising reso-
duction and activity. He caused himself to be carried in 
a litter to every place where he thought his presence was 
necessary, and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never 
could make an impression upon the body of his troops: but 
all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell 
to the bands of the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of 
December, he arrived at Erfurt, from whence he proceeded to 
Alzenau, and, thence to Hanover, where he was presented 
to Versailles, he met with a very cordial reception, notwith-
standing the gallant exploit which he had performed. 
After his escape, Prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, 
and the small garrison which Belleisle had left in that 
place surrendered upon honourable terms; so that this 
capital reverted to the house of Austria. 

§ XXVIII. The King of Great Britain resolving to 
do a powerful division in the Netherlands, laid in the 
month of January, and ordered all the forces in the 
province of Brabant to be embarked for that country: but, as this step was taken 
without any previous concert with the States-general, 
the Earl of Stair, destined to the command of the forces in 
Flanders, was to be reinforced by three thousand men, 
extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his high m might-
nesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannic majesty had formed; a plan, by which Great Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and entailed upon herself the whole 
burden of an expensive war, with ruin and disgrace. 
England, from being the umpire, was now become a party, 
in all continental quarrels; and instead of trimming the 
balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure 
in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in 
the north of Germany. The King of Prussia had been at 
variance with the Elector of Hanover. The duchy of 
Mecklenburg, which he had offered to England, was 
now annexed to his Prussian majesty is said to have had other more 
provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not 
think proper to divulge. The King of Great Britain 
found it convenient to accommodate these differences. 
In the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a 
convention, in consequence of which the troops of Hanover 
evacuated Mecklenburgh, and three regiments of Branden-
burg, which had been quartered at several places, were 
mortgaged to the King of Prussia. The Elector of Hanover 
being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops 
of that country, together with the six thousand auxiliary 
Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and 
about the middle of October arrived in the place of 
Brussels, where they encamped. The Earl of Stair 
repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quar-
tered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon, some expedition; but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter-quarters. The Austrians retired to Luizen- burg and Hanover. The French, with an army placed in Flamborough and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the bishop's protestation.

§ XXIX. The States-General had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by the subsidies of the German States, and by offering one to the Poles. The English, and particularly the Duke of York, who was advanced with the Spanish army assembled at Rimini, under the Duke de Montemar: and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to sixty thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About this period of May, they entered Venetia; and Bolognese: then the King of Sardinia declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by Count Traun; marched into the duchy of Parma; and understanding that the Duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, despatched that prince of his dominions. The Duke de Montemar, seeing his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the King of Sar- dinia, as far as Rimini.

§ XXX. Here he received intelligence, that Don Philip, third son of his catholic majesty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken the fort of Turin. The King de Sardina, forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreated into Dauphiné, took post under the cannon of Fort Barresaux. The King pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other, without their making any movement, as her predecessor to assist the house of Austria. She re- 4 mitted a considerable sum of money to the Queen of Hungary; and at that same time congratulated the Elec- tor of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity, at Moscow: and in November she declared her nephew, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of Grand Prince of all the Russians. The cessation of arms between the two powers, General Lascu- reytted Fredericksmi, and obliged the Swedish army, com- manding by Count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helmuzor. In this emergency, the Swedish general submitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were transported by sea to Sweden; his cavalry marched by land to Abo; and his artillery and magazines remained upon the banks of the Russian. The King of Sweden being of advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the Duke of Holstein- Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister to Charles XI, was declared next heir to the crown. A courier was im- mediately despatched to Moscow, to inform Peter of this determination of the diet; and this message was fol- lowed by a deputation; but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they an- nulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the suc- cession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the czarina. Conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the meantime, the events of the war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for miscon- duct: being found guilty and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy treaty between Great Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Brentau. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

§ XXX. The court of Versailles were now heartily tired of continuing the war in Germany, and had actually made economic terms of peace to the Emperor of Hungry, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations; and endeavoured by advan- tageous offers, to detach the King of Sardinia from the Emperor. By this means the Spanish army was able to march through Lombardy to Mantua, where they had been closed for his winter station. Before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his squadrons to lie at anchor in the port of Ajacon, in the island of Corsica;
but the Spanish captain sent his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

§ XXXII. In the course of this year Admiral Vernon and eighty sail of the line, with considerable forces, in the West Indies. They lay in January received a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in the enterprise. They design to disembark the troops at Porto Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto Bello. There they held a council of war to consider the terms on which the English troops were to be landed; and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution. In August, a ship of war was sent from thence, with about three hundred soldiers, to the small island of rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took possession. In September, Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive: these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service. The inferior officers fell ignobly into a great deal of impatience, without any signification of singling their courage, and the commanders lived to feel the scorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament of forty sail, commanded by Don Manuel de Monga, governor of that fortress. It consisted of six-and-thirty ships, from which four thousand men were landed at St. Simons'; and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress, and harassed them in their march with such activity and resolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprise.

§ XXXIII. In England the merchants still complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured against the conduct of the war. They said, their burthens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expense of inactive fleets and pacific armies. Lord C had by this time intimated himself into the confidence of his sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a secondary measure of the nation's consideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new minister was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The dispute with Spain concerned Britain only. The interests of Hanover were connected with that of Spain. In order to avoid this evil, he secured the wishes of his master, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had studied the policy of the continent with peculiar eagerness. This was the favourite subject of his reflection, upon which he thought and spoke with a degree of enthusiasm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity of standing armies, votes of credit, and foreign connexions, upon which he had so often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He saw nothing but glory, conquest, or acquired dominion. He set the power of France at defiance; and as if Great Britain had felt no distress, but deemed with treachery which she could not so easily employ, he proposed for his own gain with a rash and desperate hand, in purchasing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The Earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of August, and conferred with his majesty. A privy council was summoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland.

Lord Carteret was sent with a commission to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the barony of the king of Denmark, which had been sold to the Duke of Cumberland, was ordered to be brought on shore. The parliament met on the sixteenth day of November, when his majesty told them, that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be sufficient for the occasion. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the King of Saxony, and that prince's strict adherence to his engagements, through all his reverses, his conduct during the campaign. He mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia; the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the emperor of Germany, the King of Prussia, which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour, in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He said, the honour and interest of his crown and kingdoms, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions. The Marquis of Tweedale moved for an address of thanks, which was proposed by the Earl of Chesterfield, for the reason so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by Lord C. on his new adopted maxims, with those specious arguments which he had adopted at the commencement of his administration, without suspicion and assurance. The motion was agreed to, and the address presented to his majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majesty and the King of Prussia was signed at Westminster. In the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope, supporting the Earl of Northumberland's motion for reviving the place-ball; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected upon a division. This was also the fate of a motion made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford. As many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposition would be embraced by a great majority; but several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed their talents and interest in stifling the inquiry.

§ XXXIV. When the House of Lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expense occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great Britain, Earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address, to beseech his majesty to consider that the burthens of his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expenses than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects from the charge of oppressing them, if they were taken into the service last year, without the advice or consent of parliament. The motion was supported by the Earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover, and, in mentioning the royal family, seemed to forget that decorum which the subject required. He had, indeed, reason to talk with asperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great Britain. Levi-national was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only, and though not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the electorate; and it could have only advantaged his majesty and nation had he been engaged in the affairs of the continent. The Duke of Bedford enlarged upon the same subject. He said it had been suspected, or was the suspicion without foundation, that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interest of his majesty's subjects; and that these had been long considered as a gulf into which the treasures of Great Britain had been thrown: that the state of Hanover had been changed, without any visible cause, since the accession of the crown of Hanover to the crown of England: influence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery

In the month of September the Tilbury ship of war, of sixty guns, was accidentally set on fire, and destroyed, observed, in which occasion, out of sixteen hundred and twenty-seven men perished, the recollection of Captain Horn, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the same cruise.
of mines, or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new minister, the patriot Lord Bathurst, who, though his principles were declared, that he considered it as an act of cowardice and meanness, to fall passively down the stream of popularity, to suffer his reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamours, which had been raised against the new minister and government, of sedition, seditious speeches, seditious meetings, seditious resolutions, fallacious reasons, and partial representations.

This is the very language which Sir Robert Walpole had often used against Mr. Pitt soon after the year 1714. The present minister pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted upon the necessity of a land war against France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their suggestions were answered; their conduct was severely stigmatized by the Earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-general, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the Queen of Hanover, was a rash and ridiculous project: the taking sixteen thousand Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent. Their measures granted to the courts of civil and criminal justice employed against the emperor, whom they had already recognised: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether insufficient to raise the house of Austria to such importance as that the assembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner: that while Great Britain exhaled herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the Queen of Hanover, the Electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more absurd and impious than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under such intolerable burthens. "It may be proper (added he) to repeat what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, that this nation, after having exalted the Elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the highest dignity among its adversaries, had engaged that elector to fight their own cause: to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before; and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not engaged in the war against France, and that the ministry joined in the opposition to Earl Stanhope's rotation, which was rejected by the majority. Then the Earl of Scarborough moved for an address, to approve of the measures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewise carried by dint of numbers. It was not however a very eligible victory: what they gained in parliament they lost with the people. The new ministers became more odious than their predecessors; and the people began to think public virtue was an empty name.

§ XXXVI. But the most severe opposition they underwent, was in their endeavours to support a bill which they had concerted, and which had passed through the House of Commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on spirituous liquors and licences for retailing the liquors; and imposed others at an easy rate. When those severe duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, were imposed, the populace of London rushed hunk into the most brutal degeneracy, by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called gin, which was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of their persons, and to the confusion of the laws. A shameful degree of profugy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense they would be put to, which was the price of a dram of this drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they converse those wretches, who were overcome with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they had recovered some use of their faculties, and then were made wretched by theanguish of torture, thus consuming their health, and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beauty practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulation, and exercises of government over the greatest community of mankind, and the utmost submission to the will of the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace did not suffer this to be long continued: no licence was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets; informers were intimidated by threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indulgence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: but it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They, therefore, pretended, that should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and the duty increased, the revenue would be considerably greater. It was well known, that the lowest class of people would be debauched the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by increasing the revenue arising from the duty and the licences. Upon these maxim the new bill was founded, and passed through the lower House without opposition; but among the peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of this parliament. The first assault it sustained was from Lord Hervey, who had been invested of his post of privy seal, which was bestowed on Lord Gower; and these two noblemen exchanged principles from that instant. The first was hardened into a sturdy patriot; the other supplied into an obsequious courtier. Lord Hervey on this occasion made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that destructive spirit they were about to let loose upon their fellow-citizens. Several prelates expatiated on the same topics; but the Earl of Chesterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule. Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, were numbered among its adherents, yet the bill was advanced on both sides of the question. After very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it; and the peers for the first time in their memory were attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition insisted. When the question was put for committing this bill, and the Earl of Chesterfield saw the bishops join in his division, I am in doubt (said he) whether I have not got on the other side of the question; for I have not had the honour to divide with so many law-selves for several years."

§ XXXVII. By the report of the secret committee it appeared that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the elections of members of parliament. These prosecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial irregularities in the choice of magistrates. An appeal on such a process was brought into the House of Lords; and this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for securing the independency of corporations, but it tended to disturb the influence of the bishops and the ministry, they argued against it with their usual eagerness and success; and it was rejected on a division. The mutiny bill and several others passed through both Houses. The Commons granted supplies to the amount of six millions of pounds, of which all was to be paid by the imposition of spirituous liquors and licences, and a loan from the sinking fund. In two years the national debt had suffered an increase of two millions four hundred thousand pounds, at an interest of five per cent. A.D. 1744.
king in his speech to both Houses, told them that at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance: that he continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the Baltic, to supply his army for the future; and had sent a number of vessels to aid the Dutch in the Baltic, for the assistance of the United Provinces. The Dutch had been promised supplies by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction.

§ XXXVIII. At this period the Queen of Hungary secures a large foreign support. The French, who had been driven out of Bohemia and part of the upper Palatinate; and whose forces under Mareschal Broglie were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Hausnau; at the same time, three bodies of Croatians penetrating through the passes of the Tyrolese, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich. The emperor pressed the French general to hazard a battle; but he refused to run the risk, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France. His imperial majesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Ingolstadt. Charles had opened a communication from Hungary to the Rhine, through the mountains for the third time full into the hands of the Queen of Hungary. Her arms likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg, while Prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donauwörth, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. Broglie still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hallbrun. The emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Frankfort, where he lived in indignation and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the Queen of Hungary. His general, Suckendorf, had an interview with Count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowerenfeld, where a convention was signed, by which the treaty imported, that the emperor should remain neutral during the continuance of the present war: and, that his troops should be quartered in Franconia: that the Queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace; and that in the event of the emperor in this situation he made a movement to Aschaffenburg, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Main; but he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the town of Aschaffenburg, and the town of Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Frankfort. The Earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Klenzenbach, between the river Main and the forest of Thuringen; and the emperor, in the event of the above, he determined to make a movement to Aschaffenburg, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Main; but he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the town of Aschaffenburg, and the town of Oppenheim, posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overtook; and they found means by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Frankfort and the confederates. The Duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to above forty thousand men, in danger of starving; he received intelligence, that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect a junction, and to procure provision for his forces. With this view he was detained on the twenty-sixth day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburg, than it was seized by the French general: he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of thirty thousand, that had passed the river further down, at Selingenstadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburg behind, so as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Main, on the opposite side of which the French had formed their camp. His meditations only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former case no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French king was solely to gain time to repair his losses, that he might in the next year besiege the other empire, and suppress the Austrian dominions. The Elector of Mentz, who had favoured the emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest. He allowed this rescript to be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the protest which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed in the late election. The emperor complained in a circular letter of this transaction, as a stroke levelled at his imperial dignity, and in a successor to his predecessors, the members of the Germanic body. Several princes resented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success, of the House of Austria; while others pitied the deplorable situation of the emperor. The Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as Electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian majesty protested against the investment of the duchy of Saxe Lawenburg, claimed by the King of Great Britain; and he had an interview with Prince Charles of Aschaff-
was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the centre. Thus enveloped, the confederates must either have fought, which would have been a fatal ploy, or surrender, the prisoners of war, had not the Duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the allies, a battle ensued. The French were in great numbers, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder: but the infantry of the allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, and recall to the French what they had obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost above five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly pursued before they recolected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. TheEarl of Stair proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but his advice was overruled. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The Generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the Duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg; the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and several other officers of his troops, were wounded. The young king exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musketry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for their country. He himself returned to the army, and he continued his march to Haanu, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The Earl of Stair sent a trumpeter to Marshal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle: and cause the French general treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

§ XLI. The two armies continued on different sides of the Rhine till July, when the French general receiving intelligence that Prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The King of Great Britain was visited by Prince Charles and Count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the twenty-seventh day of August, the allied army crossed the Rhine at Mentz, as the king fixed his head-quarters in the episcopal palace of Worms, and remained there till the last end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Marshal Noailles having retreated, the French encamped on the left of the camp of Mershim, and demolished the entrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich; then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic Majesty, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy; the King of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined armies, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand crowns, which were payable in Dutch guilders, and being a part of a subsidy of one hundred thousand crowns, which King Louis had promised to pay to the Queen of Hungary, at the time of their engagement. This subsidy was to be paid in cash, and was the principal object of the treaty. But the Sardines, in violation of the terms of the treaty, did not pay the subsidy, and were not satisfied with the satisfaction which the Queen of Hungary granted them. The King of Great Britain, upon his representations, determined to send an ambassado to the Queen of Hungary, to inquire into his conduct, and he was acquiesced, but the Queen was not at all satisfied of his innocence. In February a defensive treaty of alliance was concluded between this princess and King of Great Britain.

§ XLI. By this time France was deprived of her eldest minister in the death of the Cardinal de Fleury, who
had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is said to have possessed a lively genius, and an
innamurating address; to have been regular in his deportment, and modest in his pretensions; but at the same time
he has been branded as deceitful, dissembling, and vindictive.
His scheme of policies was altogether pacific: he endeau-
ved to accomplish his purposes by raising and fomenting
enemies among foreign courts; he did not seem to pay
much regard to the military glory of France; and he too
much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since
Broglie was driven out of Germany, the French court af-
ected uncommon moderation. They pretended that their
troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in
the empire; being, however, apprehensive of an irruption
into their own dominions, they declared, that these troops
were no longer to be considered in that light, but as sub-
jects acting in the service of France. The campaign in
Italy proved unfavourable to the Spaniards. In the be-

beginning of February Count Gages, who commanded the
Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to four and
twenty thousand men, passed the Poavo, and advanced to
Campe-Santo, where he encountered the imperial and
Piemontese forces, commanded by the Counts Tram
and Asprimont. The strength of the two armies was re-
nounced, after a heated battle, bloody

though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thou-
sand men killed, wounded, or taken. The damage sus-
tained by the confederates was not quite so great. Some
cannon and enrols were taken on both sides; and each
evening they ran to the enemy. Count Gages
announced the danger of his situation, after having suffered severely by dezertion. Count Tram remained inactive in the Mo-
dese until September, when he resigned his command to
Prince Lobkowitz. This general entered the Bolognese in
October, and then advanced towards Count Gages, who
with his forces, reduced to ten thousand, retreated to
Fano; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and
fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. This season
was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded
by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all prob-
ability, the courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on
some private negotiation with the King of Sardinia. This
expeditious, Don Philip decamped from Chamberii
in the latter end of August, and delving through Daup-
hine towards Brancion, was joined by the Prince of Corn,
at the head of twenty thousand French auxiliaries. Thus
reinforced, he attacked the Piedmontese forces at Chateau-
Duamane; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat considerable.
The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphine and Provence;
and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.
§ XVI. The British fleet, commanded by Admiral
Matthews, oversaw all the states that bordered on the
Mediterranean. This officer, about the end of June, un-
derstanding that fourteen xebecs, laden with artillery and
ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa,
rushed thither from the road of Hercul, and demanded of
the republic that they would either discharge these vessels with the
stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their laden until a
general peace should be established. After some dispute it
was agreed that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the
capitol of Bonfaco, situated on a rock at the south-eastern
of Corsica; and that the xebecs should have leave to re-
tire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years
before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Ge-

under, which their island had remained for many cen-

turies. They found themselves oppressed, and resolved

to assert their freedom. They conferred the sovereign au-
dority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly pro-
claimed by the name of King Theodore. He had supplied
them with some arms and ammunition, which he had
brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of
being assisted by foreign powers in retrieving their indepen-
dency: but as these promises were not performed, they
}treated him so roughly, that he left thought proper to
leave the island, and they submitted again to their old masters.
The troubles of Corsica were now revived. Theodore re-
visited his kingdom, and was recognized by the principal
chiefs of the island. He published a manifesto: he granted
a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to
their obedience: he pretended to be countenanced and
supported by the King of Great Britain and the Queen of
Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper in-
strument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and was sup-
plied at this juncture with a sum of money to purchase
arms for the Corsicans: but a change soon happened in
the British ministry, and then he was suffered to relapse
into his original obscurity. Admiral Matthews, though
he did not undertake any expedition of importance against
the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the Brit-
ish empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediter-
anean. This was a period of composite war; the British
troops were sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some
troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of
Villa-Franca. Some stores having been landed at Civita-
Vecchia, for the use of the Spanish forces under Count
Gages, Don Philip sent a corvette to draw a favourable
impression of the neutrality which the pope had professed;
and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place. The city
of Rome was filled with consternation; and the pope had
recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian majesty, in
consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to
withdraw. The captains of single cruising ships, by
their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the com-
merce of Spain; conducted and burned some towns on the
sea-side; and kept the whole coast in continual alarm.

§ XVI. In the West Indies some unsuccessful efforts
were made by an English squadron, commanded by Com-
modore Knowles. He attacked La Gresin on the coast
of Curacao, in the month of February: but met with such
a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make
the best of his way for the Dutch island Curacao, where
he repaired the damage he had sustained. His ships being
repaired, he made another attempt upon Porto Cavallo in
April, which like the former miscarried. Twelve hundred
marines being landed in the neighbourhood of that place,
were seized with such a panic that it was found necessary
to reembark them without delay. Then the admiral al-
doned the enterprise, and proceeded to his station at the
Leeward Islands, without having added much to his repu-
tation, either as to conduct or resolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsider-
able. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence that
the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Au-
gustine, assembled a body of Indians, as a reinforcement
to part of his own regiment, with the highlanders and
rangers, and in the spring began his march, in order to an-
ticipate the enemy. He encamped for some time in the
neighbourhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance; but
they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and
when he was in condition to undertake a land expedition,
he marched to Georgia. In October the Princess Louisa, youngest
daughter of his Britannic majesty, was married by proxy,
at Hanover, to the Prince-royal of Denmark, who met her
at Alton, and conducted her to Copenhagen.
of the House, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was overruled. Prince derived the capacity, who engaged the House of Commons; nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the upper House that the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay was prejudicial to his majesty’s true interest, useful to his enemies, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquility of the nation. He was seconded by the Duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust; and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute: but victory declared, as usual, for the government.

§ II. In the House of Commons they sustained divers attacks. A motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places and pensions. Mr. Grenville moved for an address, to beseech his majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-general on certain stipulated proportions of force and expense, as in the late war. These proposals begat vigorous debates, in which the country party were always foiled by dints of superior numbers. Such was the credit and influence of the ministry in parliament, that although the national debt was increased by about three millions, and the commencement of the war, the Commons indulged them with an enormous sum for the expense of the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes amounted to six millions and a half; to this sum were added three millions and one hundred thousand pounds, and they were increased that this year’s expense rose to ten millions. The funds established for the annual charge were the land and malt taxes, one million paid by the East India company for the renewal of their charter, twelve thousand pounds by annuities, one million from the sinking fund, six-and-thirty thousand pounds from the coinage, and six hundred thousand pounds by a lottery; an expedient which for some time had been annually repeated; and which, in a great measure, continued by the courtesy of the public, by introducing the spirit of gaming, destructive of all industry and virtue.

§ III. The dissensions of the British parliament were suddenly suspended by an event that seemed to unite both parties in the prosecution of the same measures. This was the intelligence of an intended invasion. By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamours, and the general dissatisfaction of the people in Great Britain, the French ministry were persuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland. These were papists and Jacobites of strong prejudices and extreme imaginations, sent through the medium of passion and party, and spoke rather from extravagant zeal than from sober conviction. They gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the Chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son, Charles Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to Cardinal de Tencin, who, since the death of Fleury, had borne a share in the administration of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the Chevalier de St. George, and was seemingly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was satisfied with the prospect of giving a kingdom to Great Britain, of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. The ministry of France foretold, that even if this aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent on favour of France, and embolden and embarrass his Britannic majesty’s enemies, and supplant Austria and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the Chevalier de St. George at Rome, who, being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an enterprise, assigned the three great pretensions and authority to his sons Charles, a young and promising talent, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, annealed his person, grave, and even resired in his de-
portment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity: and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effec- tual friendship, with a gentle climate, a warm, kindly, and also a benevolent, liberal, of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adven-
turor now destined to fill the hope which the French
testation had conceived, from the projected invasion of
Great Britain.

§ IV. Count Saxe was appointed by the French king
commander of the troops destined for this expedition,
which amounted to fifteen thousand men. They began
the French enterprise, and a great number of vessels
was assembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais,
and Boulogne. It was determined that they should be
landed at Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron
equipped at Brest, and commanded by Monsieur de Ro-
quefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The
Chevalier de St. George is said to have required the per-
sonal service of the Duke of Ormond, who excused him-
self on account of his advanced age: be as that it will,
Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of
December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended
by one servant only, and furnished with passports by Car-
dinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa,
from both the Suits to Turin, where he embarked for Angiers,
and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was
indulged with a private audience of the French king: then
he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The
British ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once
concerted with the French cabinet, and the arrangements prepared
at Brest and Boulogne. Mr. Thomson, the English resident
at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the
French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by
which the pretender to the crown of Great Britain
was excluded from the territories of France. But he
was given to understand, that his most christian majesty
would not explain himself on that subject, until the King
of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated
complaints of the French minister, and to the rest of the
fractions of those very treaties, which had been so often
violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de
Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the
English channel with twenty ships of war. They were
immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran
into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by
land to the Board of Admiralty. Sir John Norris was
forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at
Spitehead, with which he sailed round to the Downs,
where he was joined by some ships of the line from Clat-
ham, and then be found himself at the head of a squadron
considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

When the preparations marched on the southern coast
of England; all governors and commanders were ordered
to repair immediately to their respective ports: the forts
at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a
fortitude of defence; and directions were issued to assemble
the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an inva-
sion. On the fifteenth day of February, the king sent a
message to both Houses of Parliament, intimating the
arrival of the pretender's son in France, the preparations
at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the
English channel. They joined in an address, declaring
their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in
favour of a papish pretender; and assuring his majesty,
that they would, with the warmest zeal and unreservedly,
take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and
defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt. Addresses
of the same kind were presented by the city of London,
both universities, the principal towns of Great Britain,
the clergy, the dissenting ministers, the quakers, and almost
all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A
requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries,
which were due for the general were by treaty obliged to furnish
on such occasions; and these were forthwith issued with great
alacrity and expedition. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his
wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to
government, and was invested with the chief command of the
town of Dunkirk. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was folled by
several noblemen of the first rank. The Duke of Monta-
gue was permitted to raise a regiment of horse; and
orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British
troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually
take place. His majesty was, in another address from
parliament, exhorting his subjects to preserve the
land; the habesacs corpus act was suspended for six
months, and several persons of distinction were appre-
hended on suspicion of treasonable practices: a proclama-
tion was issued for putting the laws in execution against
papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten
miles from London; and every precaution was taken
which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public
transport.

§ VI. Meanwhile the French court proceeded with their
preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of
the young pretender; and seven thousand men were
actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the
channel as far as Dunkesness, a promontory on the coast
of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five
ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the
French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on
the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet
under Sir John Norris, doubling the South Foreland from
the Downs; and though the wind was against him, taking
the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the
French admiral, he resolved, without waiting for a
visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the
great superiority of his enemies: but the tide failing, the
English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short
of the enemy. In this interval, M. de Roquefeuille called
together the council of war, and the French negotiators
engagement, weigh anchor at sunset, and make the best of
their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This
resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind,
which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them
down the channel with incredible expedition. But the
same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet
from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of
invading England. A great number of their transports
came on shore, and were lost in the attempt, and the rest
damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The
English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so
well guarded, that the enterprise could not be prosecuted
with any probability of success. The French generals
nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris,
and the young pretender resolved to wait a more favourable
opportunity. In the meantime he remained in Paris, or
that neighborhood, incognito, and almost totally neglected
by the court of France. Finding himself in this disas-
sorable situation, and being visited by John Murray
of Broughton, who magnified the power of his friends in
Great Britain, he resolved to make some bold effort, even
though it should be attended with some hazard. He renewed his
thoughts of visiting England, and the pretender, who had
no fear, and forthwith took proper measures to obtain
exact information touching the number, inclinations, and
influence of his father's adherents in England and Scot-
land. The French king no longer preserved any secrets
with the court of London: the British resident at Paris
was given to understand, that a declaration of war must
ensue; and this was actually published on the twentith
day of March. The King of Great Britain was taxing
with having dissolved the court of Venice from entertain-
ing any thoughts of an accommodation; with having
infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised
pravity upon the subjects of France, and with having block-
aded the harbour of Toulon. The French king no longer preserved any
secrets with the court of London: the British resident at Paris
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day of March. The King of Great Britain was taxing
with

an illiberal expeditious contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion: an expeditious that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undeniably considerably by no means; but it was not the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the Commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by Lord Strauge, Lord Guerneve, Mr. W. B. P. Huskisson, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Huskisson, and several others. and the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the Commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by Lord Strauge, Lord Guerneve, Mr. W. B. P. Huskisson, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Huskisson, and several others.

2 The opposition had sustained a heavy blow in the death of the Duke of Argy, a moderate of strong qualifications for the senate and the field, whose character would have been still more illustrious, had not some parts

that he might be joined by the ships a-star. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them and got the better of them. Admiral Matthews, not without the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Portsmouth, to repair the damage he had sustained. Meanwhile the combined squadrons continued their course together; and on the 20th M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alcident; and Don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Cartagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undignified; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, running, and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his erreur to explain this passion he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and, in that case, the fleets of France and England would have had a much better chance of success. He had been unwillingly engaged, but he entrenched himself within the punichments of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled, and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been handled, without the assistance of the nation, reflect upon these instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England. The Commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had accused Matthews, and all the captains of his division who misbehaved on the day of battle. The court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered: Vice-Admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted; and Admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. It was the first time that public opinion was so loudly phalmed; and Matthews sent a fire-ship to destroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ship ordered to cover this machine did not obey the signal; so that the captain of the fire-ship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking; and being within a few yards of the Real, he set fire to the fuses. The ship was immediately in flames, in the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with twenty men, perished. This was likewise the fate of the Spanish launch, which had been wa,ved with fifty sailors, to prevent the fire-ship from running on board the Real. One ship of the line belonging to a Spanish squadron struck to Captain Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards taken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by order of Admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased; and the admiral having observed the enemy's line of battle, moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity; but the loss of men was very considerable, and the admiral gave chase till night, when he brought to

of his conduct subjected him to the suspicion of self-sacrifice and insubordination. He was succeeded in that title by his brother, Archibald, Earl of Ilay.
crowned, and to interpose his good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favourably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed. The court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their dominions on Bavaria and the Lower Bavarian. The Queen trusted too much to the valor of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used with the King of England, that certain it was that negotiation would be dropped, on pretence that the articles were disapproved by the ministry of England. The emperor, environed with distress, renewed his application to the King of Great Britain, and declared that he must refer to the determination of the maritime powers; but all his advances were disconcerted: and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In this manner did the British ministry reject the fairest opportunity that could possibly occur of terminating the war in Germany with honour and advantage, and of freeing their country from that insufferable burthen of expense under which she groaned.

§ X. The inflexibility of the house of Austria and its chief ally proved servileable to the emperor. The forlorn situation of this unfortunate prince excited the composition of divers princes: they presented the insolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the court of Vienna; and they were alarmed at the increasing power of a faction of ragged, tyrannical, and intractable wavering ministers. These considerations gave rise to the treaty of Frankfort, concluded in May between the emperor, the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden and Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Burgundian Confederation. They engaged to preserve the constitution of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire: they promised to assist one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the King of Poland, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the King of Great Britain and her Hungarian majesty, for the operations of the campaign. In the meantime, the French king declared war against this prince, on pretence that she was obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declarations the taxed Louis with having infringed the most solemn engagement, with respect to the pragmatic sanction; with having violated the different promises to lay claim to the succession of the late emperor; with having endeavoured to invigorate the common enemy of Christianity against her: and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the czarina might be prevented from assisting the House of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire and desolated her hereditary countries. These recriminations were literally true. The houses of Bourbon and Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe.

§ XI. The King of France, though in himself pacific and enterprising, was stimulated by his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief command was vested in the Marquis Count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of seventy thousand effective men, were in the month of May assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, from whence they marched towards the north-west, and penetrated the Scheldt, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The French monarch, attended by his favourite ladies, with all the pomp of eastern luxury, arrived at Luton on the 22d of July, and prepared to review his army. The States-general, alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and entertained his most Christian majesty with the design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances were answered with threats and the declaration of war upon that monarch, to enforce their former representations, and repeat their entreaties: but no regard was paid to his request. The French king told him, he was determined to pursue his conquest in the Netherlands, and having served to had served to no other purpose but that of rendering his enemies more intractable. Accordingly, his troops invested Menin, which was in seven days surrendered upon capitulation, there being six thousand men of the same nation of their dominions had been signed between those two
powers in December; and now Prince Charles of Lorraine was reinforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops, under the conduct of the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. The combined army was superior to that of his Prussian majesty; but he thought fit to disunite them, and having evacuated all the places he had garrisoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Silesia. There his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he hurried his army to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

§ XIV. During these transactions, Count Seckendorf marched into Bavaria, at the head of a strong army, drove the allies from the Rhine, and regained possession of Munch, his capital, on the twenty-third of October. In August, the French army passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Fribourg, defended by General Demanitz, at the head of nine thousand veterans. The King of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh day of October; and the siege was carried on with uncommon vigour. The Austrian governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the truces had been concluded during which they had killed above fifteen thousand of the besiegers. With this conquest the French king closed the campaign, and his army was cantonized along the Rhine, under the inspection of the Count de Mailhebons. By the detachments drawn from their armies, the French army was himself considerably weaker than the confederates: he threw up strong entrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until he was reinforced by the Count de Clermont, who commanded a separate body on the side of Newport. The allies, to the number of seventy thousand, passed the Schelde, and advanced towards Hel- dans; but the enemy being so advantageously posted, that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tourna; and on the eighth day of August encamped in the plains of Lisle, in hope of drawing Count Saxe from the situation in which he was so strongly fortiued. Here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution; however, they made no attempt on the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands, had they invested it at their first approach; for then there was no other communication with the battles of military but Count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The allies were unprovided with a trum of battering cannon: and their commandants would not debar from the usual form of war. Besides, they were divided in their opinions as to the advantage of advancing. The Duke of Saxe, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian general, the Duke d'Armenberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoted of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisle, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they soon marched into winter-quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and by way of retaliation sent out detachments to ravage the Low Countries to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied generals was severely censured in England, and reeded in France, not only in private conversations, but also on their public theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes.

§ XV. The campaign in Italy produced divers vicissitudes of fortune. The King of Naples having assembled an army joined Count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He main- tained his stance, his cause having been undervalued by the courts of Lorraine and Vienna. He was as� sociated with the calamities of war; and that the Queen of Hungary made no secret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The Austrian government had not only attempted to excite a rebellion in Naples, which Prince Lobkowitz had
men, the place was taken: the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian majesty was now disposed more and more to hazard a siege of the city: and, therefore, posted himself at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the strong and important town of Cooi, which was invested in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the governor made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as rendered the siege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The King of Sardinia being reinforced by ten thousand Austrians and fifteen thousand French, Palavicino, advancing to its relief, was engaged in a battle action. The action was maintained with great vigour on both sides, till night, when his majesty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's entrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Marussi. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement and supply of provisions into Cooi; and the heavy rains that fell at this period not only retarded, but even dispirited, the besiegers. Nevertheless, the princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions, and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the Chevalier de Soto entered the place with six hundred fresh men. This incident was no sooner known than the princes and the army repaired to the assistance of their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont. Having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harassed by the Vaudois and light troops of the dauphin. His Sardinian majesty, who had again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné, but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he passed without mercy.

§ XVII. After the action at Toulon, nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was during the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, Commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly observed, that he sailed with a small squadron to the South Sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru. Two of his large ships having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape Horn, had put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil, from whence they returned to Europe. A frigate commanded by Captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South Sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful tempest, which dispersed his fleet, argued at the island of Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by another ship, belonging to the line, a sloop, and a ship laden with provisions. These were the remains of his squadron. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Pavia; set sail from the coast of Mexico, for the Philippine Isles: and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed for want of means to navigate them, so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ship and the scrofulous disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Timor, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla one of the Philippine islands. In hopes of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered her course the strait of Magdalen, when she actioned herself, fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Neustria Signora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred men, worth, with naval stores, to the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling:1

1 Mr. Pepys, the celebrated post, died in the month of June, in Octo-

ber, the old Duchess of Marlborough resigned her breath, in the eighty-

with this windfall he returned to Canton, from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived safely. Though his voyage was so dangerous, and, considering the expense and the services that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expense of the expedition: and the original design was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the British, Commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated captain, and died in obscurity: but his great wealth invested him with considerable consideration. He was now, at the time he was lord, became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations; and the king raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour and great experiences, sailed from Synthep with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rohanchat. In the bay of Biscay he was over-

broken by a violent storm, that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English Channel. Admiral Stewar, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first-rate in the world, founded

and stranded at Ushant, where, after the loss of his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice seamen. On the fourth day of October, after the siege of Fribourg, the Marshal Duke de Belleisie and his brother, happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at Dusseldorf, a large town in the principality of his Hertorite of Hanover. There they were apprehended by the bulif of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England. They resided in Windsor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great Britain and France at France, and released from confinement. After this, he was appointed to the command of the Hanoverian, with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit.2

§ XVIII. The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time Earl Granville in consequence of his mother's death, had engaged the royal favour so much, that the Duke of Newcastle and his brother are said to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatness. He had incurred the resentment of those who were distinguished by the appellation of patriots, and entirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary interest: they knew their influence on the Duke of Newcastle, and the leading men in the opposition, against the prime minister and his measures. This coalition was dignified with the epithet of "The Broad Bottom," as if it had been established on a true constitutional foundation, composed of individuals of every class, without distinction of party. The appellation, however, which they assumed was afterward converted into a term of derision. The Earl of Granville perceiving the gathering storm, and foreseeing the impossibility of withstanding such an opposition in parliament, wisely avoided the impending danger and disgrace, by a voluntary resignation of his employments. The Earl of Harrington succeeded him as secretary of state. The Duke of Bedford was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty, and the Earl of Chesterfield declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Lords Gower and Cobham were re-established in the offices they had resigned: Mr. Lyttelton was admitted a commissioner of the treasury; even Sir John Huyse Cotton received a place at court; and Sir John Philips sat at the board of trade and plantations, though he soon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of measures, and the men of the time and place, where she actioned herself, fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Neustria Signora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred men, worth, with naval stores, to the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling:1

6th year of her age; immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.
by the land, the malt, and the salt taxes, the sinking fund, and the additional duty on wines. In January, the Earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-General of Holland to join him, but at the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the maritime powers. This was a mutual guarantee of the possessions belonging to the contracting parties, but his Polish majesty was paid for his concurrence with an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two-thirds of which were delayed by England, and the remaining one-third by France.

§ XIX. The business of the British parliam­ent being discussed, the session was closed in the beginning of May; and, immediately after the prorogation, the king set out for Hanover. The death of the Emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, and all the princes of Germany were in commotion. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial crown; while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late emperor’s death, sent an army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and the elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburg, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions. In this emergency he yielded to the earnest solicitation of the empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the Elector of Cologne, and of his general, Count Seckendorf, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negotiation was immediately entered into, by which, April 23, the treaty was concluded. The queen consented to recognise the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the territories, artillery, stores, and ammunition which she had taken; on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of his father, and became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction: he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bavaria; and in return, the emperor had given his voice for the grand duke, at the ensuing election of the King of the Romans. Until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingolstadt should be garrisoned by Austrian troops; and that Brunswick and Schardingen, with all the castle and fortress in the same, and the Saltza, should remain in the queen’s possession, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the elector’s revenue. In the mean time he dismissed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without molestation.

§ XX. The court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the electors, except those of Brandenburgh and the palatinate. Nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, in order to influence the election. But the Austrian army, commanded by the grand duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the Prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the grand duke repaired to Frankfort, where, on the second day of September, he was by a majority of voices declared King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany. Meanwhile the King of Prussia made great progress in the conquest of Silesia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Prussian General Lewald defeated a body of troops, which was commanded by General Helscher; the town of Ratibor was taken by assault; and the king entered Silesia, in May, at the head of seventy thousand men. Prince Charles of Lor­raine, being joined by the Duke of Saxe Wessenfel and twenty thousand Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut, and were attacked by the Prussian majesty in the vicinity of Strehlau, near Friedberg. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, Prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loss of twelve thousand men, and a great number of colours, standards and artillery. This victory, gained on the fourth day of June, complete as it was, did not prove decisive; for though the victor transferred the seat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raising contributions in that country, the Austrians were resolved to hazard another engagement. Their aim was to surprise him in his camp at Soh; which they attacked on the thirtieth of September, at day-break, but they met with such a warm reception, that notwithstanding their repeated efforts during the space of four hours, they were repulsed with considerable damage, and retreated to Jaro­nitz, leaving five thousand killed upon the spot, besides two thousand that were taken, with many standards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of this battle was in a great measure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who having penetrated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage with great eagerness, giving the king an opportunity to rally and restore his forces. Nevertheless, they retired with the plunder of his baggage, including his military chest, the officers of his chancery, his own secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

§ XXI. After this action, his Prussian majesty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In August he had signed a convention with the King of Great Britain, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslau; and he promised to vote for the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the King of Poland and the Elector of Saxony were assembled to invade Brandenburgh with three different armies; and that, for this purpose, his Polish majesty had demanded of the czarina the succours stipulated by treaty between the two crowns. Alarmed, or seemingly alarmed, at this informa­tion, he solicited the maritime powers to full their en­gagements, and interpose their good offices with the court of Petersburgh. Yet, far from waiting for the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption in Lus­tia, took possession of Gortitz, and advanced Prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Leipzic, and laid Saxony under contribution. The King of Poland, unable to resist the torrent, quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, reinforced by a multitude of Saxons and Poles, on the fifteenth day of December; and his Prussian majesty became master of Dresden without further opposition. The King of Poland, thus deprived of his heredi­tary dominions, was fan to acquiesce in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded under the mediation of his Britannic majesty. By this convention the King of Prus­sia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was entitled to a million of German crowns, to be paid to his Polish majesty at the next fair of Leipzic. He and the Elector Palatine consented to acknowledge the grand duke as Emperor of Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian majesty certain privileges de non evocando, which had been granted by the late emperor with regard to some territories possessed by the King of Prussia, though not belonging to the electorate of Bran­denburgh. Immediately after the ratification of said treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony; and the peace of Germany was restored.

§ XXII. Though the French king could not prevent the elevation of the King of Poland, he was resolved to humble his house of Austria, by making a conquest of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was

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*Robert Earl of Orford, late prime minister, died in March, after having for a very short time enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds granted by the king in consideration of his past services. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the public treasury, his conduct was not unfavourable: he was liberal in his dispossession, and had such a number of vigorous dependants to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.*
there assembled, under the auspices of Mareschal Count de Saxe; and his most exalted majesty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they invested the strong town of Tournay, which, on the thirtieth day of April, the garrison consisted of eight thousand men, commanded by the old Baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defense. The Duke of Cumberland assumed the chief command of the allied army assembled at Soignies; he was assisted with the advice of the Count Konigseck, an Austrian general, and the Prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the French, but they were determined to match their enemy, in the hope of relief from Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuze; and on the twenty-eighth days of April took post at Mauldre in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, about seven miles beyond Vezen, having Fontenoy in their front. The next day was employs by the allies in driving the enemy from some outposts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland, having made the proper dispositions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the afternoon; and in front came a detachment under sale; and at that hour both armies were engaged. The British infantry drove the French beyond their lines; but the left wing, falling in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they measured battle, and at last the French were driven from the field in front and to a dreadful fire, which did great execution. The duke was obliged to make the necessary disposition for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and was succeeded in this operation by the French. The battle was continued with great obstinacy, and the carnage on both sides was very considerable. The allies lost about twelve thousand men, including a good number of officers; among these were Lieutenant-General Campbell, and Major-General Powney. The victory cost the French almost an equal number of lives; and no honour was lost by the vanquished. Had the allies given battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had taken their measures, and received all their reinforcements, they might have succeeded in their endeavours to relieve Tournay. Although the attack was generally judged rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such integrity and spirit that it had been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flag was not covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprise. The Duke of Cumberland left his sick and wounded to the humanity of the victors, and to the care of Mr. Phipps, whom had been appointed the Hessians were not suffered to pass beyond the river. The enemy, therefore, was not able to form an advantageous situation at Lesnes. The garrison of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of succour, maintained the place to the twenty-first day of June, when the governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conquest of this frontier, which was dismanted, the Duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent, sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city; but they fell into an ambuscade at Pass-dumelle; and were killed or taken, except a few deviators that escaped to Ostend; on that very night, which was the tenth of June, Ghent was surprised by a detachment of the French army. Then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was, after a short siege, surrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth day of August. Dendermonde, Oudearde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the same fate; while the city of Ghent, as it was evacuated by the French, was captured by the Antwerp. The French king having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

Of XVIII. The campaign in Italy was unprospective to the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia. Count Gages passed the Arno, and entered the State of Lucca; from thence he proceeded by the eastern coast of Genoa to Lestrade-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accomplished, and reinforced with ten thousand men; meanwhile Prince Lobkowitz detached with a thousand men from Modena. The Duke of Parma was so speedily succeeded by Count Schuylenberg, and sent to command the Austrians to Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milanese without further opposition. Count Gages, with thirty thousand men, took possession of Genoa; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Austrians to retire under the cannon of Tortona; but when Don Philip, at the head of forty thousand troops, made a determined attack, the Austrians were defeated. The French, and the Austrian general, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and foreseeing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po. Then Pavia was won by Scalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the infamy, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel; all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria, in Italy, were wholly subdued; and the Kingdom of Sardinia was free. After having slain Genoa, the commodore Barnett, in the East Indies, made prize of several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townsend, in the latitude of Martinique, took about thirty merchantmen near the isle of St. Christopher. The capture of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape Breton, in North America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense. The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by the general assembly, and approved by his majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren, stationed off the Looe-

Water Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and cooperate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men was formed under the command of Mr. Peleg Phipps, with an English fleet of Placentia, whose influence was extensive in that country: though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Cape with ten ships of war; and the troops were landed at New York, then engaged in an advantageous situation at Losnes. The garrison of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of succour, maintained the place to the twenty-first day of June, when the governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conquest of this frontier, which was dismanted, the Duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent, sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city; but they fell into an ambuscade at Pass-dumelle; and were killed or taken, except a few deviators that escaped to Ostend: on that very night, which was the tenth of June, Ghent was surprised by a detachment of the French army. Then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was, after a short siege, surrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth day of August. Dendermonde, Oudearde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the same fate: while the city of Ghent, as it was evacuated by the French, was captured by the Antwerp. The French king having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

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Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen carted ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into this port, and are still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron. § XXV. The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperell was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King as signifying his majesty's pleasure.

The possession of Cape Breton was doubtless a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fear of enemy's ships in the harbours of New England. The French fishermen on the banks of Newfoundlans, in France, and at Rochefort, and few of their ships have ventured into those harbours, and perhaps they would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concouring motives. Certain it is, he was engaged by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him, that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize this opportunity of crowning his standard. On the other hand, he knew the British government had taken some effectual steps to alienate the friends of his house from the principles they had adopted; and, that the adherents of the Pretender and accepted posts and pensions: others were preferred in the army; and the parliament were so attached to the reigning family that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected no material success from the court of France; he foresaw that delay would diminish the number of his adherents in Great Britain; and, therefore, resolved to seize the present occasion, which in many respects was propitious to his design. Without doubt, had he been possessed of proper support, he could have formed a more formidable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion in Great Britain: for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops; King George was in Germany; the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of the British army, was employed in Flanders, and a great part of the highlanders were keen for insurrection. Their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war, a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service, by promises and assurances that they should not be sent to the field; and, as they were. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinnioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death in court parade; and three were sentenced to transportation. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged. It was considered as a national outrage; and the highlanders, who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

§ XXVII. The young pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place where he intended to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June. These precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the Marquis of Tallard, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macloud, with a few Irish and Scottish adventurers. He sailed from the island of St. Michael, on the fourteenth of July was joined off Bellisire by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty guns, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lighthouses guarded by the English, they were obstructed and bloody action ensued. The Elizabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

2 The Elizabeth, a king's ship, was purchased as a convoy, by the interest of Mr. Walsh, an Irish merchant at Norwich, and on board of her fifty

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was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. The disaster of the Elizabeth was a great misfortune to the adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about nine hundred able officers, who were already living beneath the protection of his majesty's ex pounded. Had this ship arrived in Scotland, she could easily have reduced Fort William, situate in the midst of the clans attached to the Stuart family. Such a conquest, by giving lustre to the prince's arms, would have allured many to his standard, who were indifferent in point of principle; and encouraged a great number of highlanders to join him, who were restricted by the apprehension, that their wives and families would be subject to imprisonment and the loss of their goods. By the command of Charles, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland. After a voyage of eighteen days he landed on a little island between Isara and South Is, two of the Hebrides; then re-embarked, and in a few days arrived at Borrowdale in Argyll, on the confines of Loch- ranach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountaineers, under their respective chiefs or leaders. On the sixteenth day of August, the Marquis of Tullibardine erected the pretender's standard at Glentannan. Some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended, now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of their master, or directing their steps to the interests of the friends, who did not fail to represent, in aggravated colours, all the dangers of embarking in such a desperate enterprise. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received intelligence of his arrival, he would have been wholly crushed in the spring of the year; but before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together; but the lords of the regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. They were soon convinced of their mistake. Prince Charles having assembled about twelve hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A handful of Kepoch's clans, commanded by Major Donald Macdonald, even before they joined the pretender, attacked two companies of new raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute; another captain of the king's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manufactures, and a passport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed. The lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of five hundred pounds sterling to any person who should apprehend the prince adventurer. The same price was set upon the head of the Elector of Hanover, in a proclamation published by the pretender. A courier was despatched to Hовер, and returned with his majesty's commission, which was translated into French, and published at the court of London, to give notice to the inhabitants of the approach of Prince Charles. The king's army was divided into four divisions, the rear of which consisted of four thousand English. The vanguard was composed of a strong body of horse, all well armed, under the command of General Guest, an old officer of experience and capacity.

§ XXIX. During these transactions, Sir John Cope marched with a strong force from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the seventeenth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the highland army. With this reinforcement, his troops amounted to near three thousand men; and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston Pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about two thousand four hundred highlanders half armed, who charged him in such a manner as to impetuous, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset; and the king, having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expedient retreat towards Coldstream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and all manner of chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expense; for not above fifty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the dragoons were killed on the field of battle; and among those Colonel
Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expense of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Prince Charles endeavored to dissuade him. He replied:

"It was my part to guard the road, and to make the enemy suffer as much as possible; I have done this several times, and this I will do now."

He exhibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were liberally entertained, and a portion of the spoil was given, or contributed to his own ruin. While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the Marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as envoy from the French king, with several officers, some canons, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that adventurer.1

§ XXXI. While the young pretender endeavored to improve the advantages he had gained, the ministry of Great Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Several powers in Europe were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The Duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals; but not before he had obtained the sanction of the legislature. Twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland; the Lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field; the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald declared for King George, and the Land of Lead sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skye, to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen, supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Dr. Sancton Forbes, president of the University of Edinburgh, and possessed of a strong mind, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these lie bestowed upon individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and greatly injurecl an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several colonels in their commissions; and the princely men were actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet without taking any care in the present troubles.

Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the pretender; and, therefore, he may be said to have been one great cause of that adventurer's misfortune. The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majesty; and, by his vigilance, overawed the disaffected chiefs. He procured several detachments of men to be openly engaged in the rebellion immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were detailed for the service of the government. They forthwith began their march to the north, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The parliament meeting on the sixteenth day of October, his majesty gave them to understand that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the habeas corpus act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the defeated Dutch army had retired from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The train-bands of London were reviewed by his majesty: the country regiments were completed; the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed

1 He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the Chevalier de St. flour the parade of prisoners and some of the most prominent of all the highlanders. They were composed of the men who had been in garrison at Tournay and DeLandernau when those places were taken, and engaged by re-
Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

§ XXXII. This enterprising youth, having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accomplished by the west boundary of Scotland on the eleventh day of November. His men were not experienced officers, and intelligence was greatly wanting. He had no naval preparations and no experience in the art of war; his men were not used to arms, and he was badly provided with provisions and money. He was accompanied only by a small body of French soldiers, the greater part of whom had been sent upon service in the Low Countries, but had been repulsed by General Wade. He was reinforced by some Scotch volunteers from the north, but his army was recruited so imperfectly that it was not formidable. He was not accompanied by any sick persons, and his army was entirely without any provisions for the sick.

He entered the kingdom by the south-western coast, and marched to London, where he was joined by a considerable number of French soldiers, who had been collected from various parts of the kingdom. He was joined also by some Scotch volunteers from the north, who had been collected on his request. He was not accompanied by any naval preparations, and his army was entirely without any provisions for the sick.

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tigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a few very stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemies. Having fallen back into Aberdeenshire, the King sent his young son, Prince Charles, to raise a regiment of nine hundred men under the command of the Earl of Kinnoull. When this skillful movement was discovered, the Duke of Richmond moved two of his regiments to meet it and routed all the Scottish troops. The shattered rebel army made a gallant stand; but the loss of men did not exceed a hundred, including Sir Robert Monro, Colonel Whittey, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preston Pans, and convicted of treason at Edinburgh, finding themselves unbowed, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, no pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts.

§ XXXIV. General Hawley, who had boasted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. He proceeded to London, and above his being beloved by the army, it was suggested, that the appearance of a prince of the blood in Scotland might have a favourable effect upon the minds of the people in that maritime province. By his order, the 3rd regiment, consisting of two thousand Highlanders, was detached from the 1st regiment. Meanwhile the French minister at the Hague represented to the States-general, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great Britain were part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term, the States thought proper to recall them, rather than come to an open rupture with this most Christian nation. In the room of those troops six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederic of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannic majesty. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen regiments of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred highlanders from Argyllshire, under the command of Colonel Campbell.

On the last day of January, the royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling castle, not only abandoned it, but retired, after losing eight hundred men, and some of their officers, by an engagement. The Prince of Wales, having received fresh supplies and reinforcement from Flanders, and from the troops in France, was determined to attack him with all the forces at his command. The Prince of Wales's body of men consisted of four regiments of步兵, a detachment of King's horse, and about seventy Argyllshire highlanders, under the command of the Earl of Grant, the Laird of Grant, and the Earl of Fife, with a few other gentlemen, suffered piously at their parole, and their conduct was approved by his majesty.
strange from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the king's garrison in Fort William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by Braggard Stapleton, an engineer in the army, but this enterprise was so vigorous and so vigorously maintained by Captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprise. The Earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taking refuge at Monrose, where he lived in great security, was attacked by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the Duke of Perth; a major and sixty men were taken prisoners; and the earl was obliged to take shelter in the last degree. Very little check was put to the rebellion by any advantages which its majesty's arms obtained. The sloop which the rebels had surprised at Montrose was retaken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender. In the same county the Earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie. This action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

CHAP. IX.

I. The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden. II. The Duke of Cumberland takes possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort William. III. A treaty is made with the Pretender. IV. Effets of this treaty. V. The British and French captured at Grouville. VI. Resolution of the ministry. VII. Liberty of the Commons. VIII. The British and French are beaten on the river Wye. IX. The French and Spanish are compelled to abandon Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. X. Captures of Dunkirk and Collioure, and Mr. Hamilton's return. XI. French and Spanish ships are boarded on lower river. XII. The Sedan guards alarmed at the passage of the French forces. XIII. The French and Spanish are masters of Dunkirk. XIV. French and Spanish go to sea. XV. England, France, and Spain are in a state of war. XVI. The Austrian troops pass through Germany. XVII. Prussia takes possession of the frontiers. XVIII. The British take possession of Hamborough. XIX. Parliament dissolve. XX. The French and allies take the field in Flanders. XXI. Prince of Orange elected Elector of Holland, Captain general, and Admiral of the United Provinces. XXII. The French and allies under the sdlge of Namur. XXIII. The Austrian under the siege of Grenada, which, however, they abandoned. XXIV. The Chevalier de Vildriea slays some of the victors, at the attack of Exton. XXX. A French squadron defeated and taken by the Admiral Bruce and the men of War. XXXI. Admiral Ayrton discovers another victory over the French, at sea. XXXII. Other naval transactions. XXXIII. Congress of Antwerp assembled, and the king despatches an assistant-squadron to the West Indies. XXXIV. The British capture the Spanish at Sheerness. XXXV. Congress of attack. XXXVI. Transactions in the East and West Indies. XXXVI. Conclusion of the definitive treaty at Antwerp.

A. D. 1746. I. The beginning of April, the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not cross is not easy to conceive; but after all, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infinitation. His royal highness proceeded to Naum, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprise the duke's army at day-break; for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the fifteenth the highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters; but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were fatigued and hungry, and many of them were overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible for the duke's camp to be carried. The design being thus frustrated, the prince pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon by his general officers to measure back his way to Culloden; at which place he laid no spencer arrived, than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provi; and many, overcome with weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repose, however, was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner. Their princes, receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose. On the sixteenth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland having made the proper dispositions descended from Naum, and early in the evening sent a body of horse to raise the camp of highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was reduced to a few thousand armed men, was drawn up into three lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little damage; but that of the king's troops made a great noise, and after a very short time, the dragons under the command of Argyles and his lorrus, pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels sword in hand, completed their confusion. The French and Spanish followed their left covering the retreat of the highlanders by a close and regular fire; and then retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing, and the pretender's standard on a handkerchief. The French then debouched into a PIECE the soldiers of the army of the allies of the rebels, the French and Spanish, a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguished vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were slain on the field, and in the pursuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days Lord Kelmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, at whose house he presented himself for this purpose. The glory of the victors was subdued by the laudations of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgrace to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not content with the blood which was so profusely shed in the field of battle, they traversed the country, and butchered and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: now, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination, the triumph of low illiberal minds unshamed by sentiment, unshackled by humanity. The victors, roused to unbridled fury and lust of revenge, went to the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and a few horsemen; he crossed the water to Naum, and retired to the house of a gentleman in Strathbutt, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat; then dismissed his followers, and wandered, abed, with a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the islands and mountains for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, no other person ever outlived. Thus, in one short hour all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was entirely extinguished. One would almost imagine, the conductors of this desperate enterprise had conspired their own destruction, as they certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success. They might have opposed the Duke of Cumberland at the passage of the Spey; they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards taken the advantage that the victors might have had in a good prospect of success. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for provision, re- cruited their men, and been in a state of prepared and acknowledged forment, which was actually in full march to their assistance. But they were distracted by dissensions and jealousies; they obeyed the dictates of despair, and wil- lfully devoted themselves to ruin and death. When the
news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the Duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both Houses of parliament supported and majesty on the suspensive conduct. The decree, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the Commons, by bill, added five-and-twenty thousand pounds ye annual salaries to former revenue.

§ II. Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the duke took possession of Inverness, where six-and-threey desirers, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed; and two others, who had been condemned to run the gantlet, were sent to the north of the country. One of these apprehended the Lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness. They did not plunder her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of Lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Perth: Kilmarrock, Ballmerino, Cromartie, and his son the Lord Nicleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The Marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunmore, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion of being a Jacobite. At the same time, Murray, the pretender's secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the goals of Great Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with persons of all sorts, and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise. Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on this coast, Buochary, and conveyed to Norway, from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the highlands, as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned; every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provision were carried off; the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were left to the mercy of the cabinet, and were either burnt in the open air, or turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance who were so alert in the execution of their tyrannical power, a few days after, there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

§ III. The humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene without grief and horror: what thou must have been the sensation of the frightful prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition? He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from his house, his castle, and his cushion to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in a boat, by the execution of their tyrannical power, a few days after, there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

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barely qualified to be elected member of parliament, when he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, where he soon outshone all his contemporaries. He displayed a surprising command of facts and general knowledge, peculiar energy of argument, and such power of eloution, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration. He flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of corruption, blasting at the roots that support the great tree of rebellion. He inspired the hopes of opposition at his most stanch praise was founded upon his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the interest and happiness of his country.

§ V. The quiet of the ministry being re-established, the House of Commons provided for forty thousand seamen, nearly the same number of land forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thousand marines. They settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well for the subsidy to the landgrave. They granted three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thousand pounds to defray the expense of eighteen thousand Hanoverians; about three-and-thirty thousand pounds in subsistence of Maitre and about five hundred thousand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was raised by land and malt taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glass and spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking fund, and exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of parliament.

§ VI. The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had wounded the public tranquility; courts of enquiry were opened in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen persons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful terrors which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, eleven at York; of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and landed as such; about fifty had been executed as deserters in different parts of Scotland; eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the piedmont of France. The authorities of indemnity found by the county of Surry against the Earls of Kilmarrock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the lord chancellor presiding as lord high-steward for the occasion. The two earls confessed their crimes, and in pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty; he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was overruled; then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expatiated on the hardship of being tried by an ex post facto law, and on the course and actions of the allies already in the country, where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connexions, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge. Balmerino wavered this plea, and submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death upon him and his two associates. Cromartie's life was spared, on the other two pretending to his majesty, that the fault lay with the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penceutice and contion. Balmerino had been bred up to arms, and acted upon principles of politics, for which he was pardoned; he shed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings. In November, Mr. Hadsell, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, who had been in a ship bound to Seamen's Island, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission to the service of his nation and country. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and on the eighth day of December he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the Commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the lord high-steward. John Murray, secretary to the prince pretender, and some of his own domestics, appearing against him, he was convicted of treason and condemned. Notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, "plus ci je tourne est plus patria mori." He suffered on the 18th of January, and was beheaded after the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life, one would have concluded, that he had approved himself to the nation from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

§ VII. The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events; for the force that was before divided being now united to one body, exerted itself with great vigour and rapidity. The States-general were overwhelmed with controversies and squabbles. The French were joined by all the nations of Europe; they had soothed and supplicated the French monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their banner, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the republic were intrusted from action by capitulations to which they had subscribed. The States were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted. They trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded and reduced. All nations in Europe saw the great necessity that was felt for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigour. The common people, fired with novelty, dazzled by the splendid of greatness, and the seditious disposition of the populace. An ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republic, and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of Britannic majesty. Britannic majesty could have a supremacy in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The king was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the domestic inquisitions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy.

§ VIII. The King of France, with his general, the Count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the allies, who, to the number of four-and-thirty thousand, were entrenched behind the Deine, under the care of the count of his forces and the count of the dukes who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Mareschal
Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered. Then he appeared before the strong town of Mous in Hainault, with an irresistible train of artillery, an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements towards the town. At the same time, the French officers of the day began to dispatch detachments of their garrison, in the order of the Emperor, to the places they had newly conquered.

The French king found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, than to attempt investing the town. The garrison could sustain, and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place, with all its fortifications. St. Ghaulan and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp, so that by the middle of July the French king was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

§ IX. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time assumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which being reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under Count Paoli, amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the Prince of Waldeck. The garrison of Namur, under General de Beaufort, marched towards that place, and took post in an advantageous situation on the eighteenth day of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth day of August, when they determined to move towards the town of Lowenau, where he found a large magazine belonging to the confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off. Mareschal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence. Then Prince Charles, retiring across the Meuse, abanoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested. On the seventeen thousand men and two thousand seven hundred and fifty men of the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution; but the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbish; and on the twenty-third day of the month the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks. Meanwhile the allied army encamped at Maestricht, and were reinforced by some British battalions, and Bavarian battalions; and Prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he passed the Meuse on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards the garrison, which was unexpectedly posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht. On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. But Count Saxe being reinforced by a body of troops, under the Count de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed the Jaar; while he took possession of the villages of Liern, Warem, and Roucoux, they drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonade began. At this time Prince Charles, who had been on the left charged with great fury; and after an obsti- nate defence was overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, cost the French general a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawford and Robies, Brigadier Douglas, and other commanding officers of the French army, were killed or wounded in their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign. The allies passing the Meuse, took up their winter-quarters in the ditches of Limbourg and Luxembourg, while the French continued their troops to the places which they had newly conquered.

§ X. The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavourable to the French and Spaniards. The house of Austria being no longer possessed of the Silesian provinces, was not capable of making the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the King of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Mareschal Mallebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about thirty thousand men. Don Philip and the Count de Cages were at the head of a greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the Duke of Modena, with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The King of Sardinia augmented his forces to six-and-thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the Prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantua. In February, Lord Lecester, the Duke of Savoy, invested and took the strong fortress of Asti. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valenza, and obliged Maille-Bois to retire to the confines of the Venetian state. The King of Austria and Count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Mallebois. All this:

§ XI. Before this junction was effected, the Spanish general, Pegnatielli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of the French, under the Duke of Saxe. The latter, discovering his error, fell down upon the rear of the French, and made the enemy retire. They were prepared for the attack, which they conducted with great vigour till morn. They then quoted their entrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the combined army was broken, and retired with great confusion. On the next day five thousand men killed, wounded, and taken, together with forty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese: the King of Sardinia assumed the chief command; and Prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the Marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his conquests in the open country of the Milanese. The King of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the enemy on one side: while the Marquis de Botta should march up the Tidone, to cut off their communica- tions. They pursued with great vigour till night; they had occupied between the Lambro and the Adda, resolv- ing to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth day of August in the evening. They were attacked at Biotto Frodito by a division of Austrians, under General Serbelloni, who maintained the
engagement till tea in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Genoa, with the loss of 3,000 killed and wounded, and a good number of colours and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men killed upon the spot, including the gallant General Beaulieu. The victory immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought six-and-twenty thousand into the territories of Genoa.

§ XIII. The Peronneenses and Antibras, rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance, while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation: for on the twenty-second day of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of Count Cages, recalled that general, and sent the Marquis de las Minas to resume the command of the forces. In the meantime, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December; and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very moderate extortation, by which four hundred and sixty vessels were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition; and the city was subjected to the most cruel contributions. The Marquis de Botta being left in command, the King of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but, that monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was intrusted to Count Brown, an Austrian general of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by Vice-Admiral Medley, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterm. The French forces had fortified the post of the pass of the Var, under the command of General Bellesle, who thought proper to abandon his post at the approach of Count Brown; and this general, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river, without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Dragouman, laying the open country under contribution, Baron Roth, with four-and-twenty battalions, invested Antiles, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September; but Bellesle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, Count Brown abandoned the enterprise, and passed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

§ XIV. The court of Vienna, which has always patronized oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its executions were so rigorously put into execution, that the people were reduced to despair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprised some battalions of the Austrians; surprised others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter. The Marquis de Botta neted with caution and spirit; but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retraced to the pass of the Brochetta on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he could receive reinforcements. The loss he had sustained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Sarona, a sea-port town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi. The Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures to carry on a vigorous defence in case they should again be insulted.

§ XV. The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honour on the British nation. Commodore Penrose, on the 29th of April, having proceeded with six ships of the line, inquired to the articles of the treaty agreed upon by the British and French, regarding the indemnity in case of war. The British admiral, under the command of Lord St. Vincent, in his squadron of fifteen ships, thought it his duty to submit to the terms of the treaty, on account of the disaster which had happened to the British fleet in the month of January, and the injury sustained by Admiral Keppel. The British admiral proceeded, however, to the translation of the squadron to the Spanish coast. He was, however, not without the appearance of good reason for this transaction. The British squadron was reduced to a very small number of men, from the capture of the squadron of Rear-Admiral Keppel, Commodore of the squadron. The British squadron, which, at the beginning of the year, consisted of seventeen ships of the line, nine frigates, and four sloops, now consisted of only eight ships of the line, six frigates, and four sloops, commanded by Commodore Horne, and Admiral Knowles. The British admiral, however, after having proceeded to the translation of the squadron to the Spanish coast, went to Cadiz, which was not far from the place of his arrival.
expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, General Sucnar abandoned the siege. Having
caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be melted, the French began to burn, however, the
works where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very
inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected
reformations from England, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their completion, thoughts being alive
to annoy the enemy more effectuantly. In the beginning of
October the fleet sailed to Quiberon bay, where they de-
stroyed the Ardent, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns :
and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession
of Brest, and madey':'round the little islands of Illot and Heydic reduced by the sailors.
In this situation the Admiral and general continued till the
seventeenth day of the month, when the forts being dis-
mantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleets sailed
from the French coast: the admiral returned to England,
and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland,
where they arrived in safety.
§ XVI. This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may
seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the
greatest insults they had ever sustained; and demon-
strated the possibility of hurting France in her tenderest
parts by means of an armament of this nature, well-timed,
and conducted with the greatest prudence. But it was
more absurd or precipitate than an attempt to distress the
enemy by landing a hundred of troops, without draft horses,
tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ships lying on an open
beach; or to raise with one hundred and fifty thousand pounds
in the most tempestuous season of the year, so as to render the
retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The
British squadrons in the West Indies performed no exploit
of consequence in the course of the year. The commerce
was but indifferently protected. Commander Lee,
stationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant
ships, and their convoy, to pass by his squadron unmo-
mented; and Commander Mitchell behaved scandalously in a
encounter with the French, France, and Holland–in a
hundred of his ships lying on the coast of Martinique; and
the French, in return to England took the Severn, an English ship of fifty guns. The
the cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were
extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater
number of ships, this difference was more than over-
balanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from
the enemy. In the course of this year two-and-twenty
Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, includ-
ing ten register ships, fell into the hands of the British
cruisers; from the French they took seven ships of war,
nineteen privateers, and about three hundred ships of com-
merce. The new king of Spain being supposed well
afflicted with economic manias, fell a prey to the de-
hun from the interest of France, by means of the Marquis
de Taberniera, who had formerly been his favourite, and
resided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman
proceeded to Lisbon, where a negotiation was set on foot
with the court of Madrid. But his efforts miscarried;
and the influence of the queen-mother continued to predomi-
nate in the Spanish councils. The States-general had for
some years endeavored to promote a pacification by
remembrances, and even entreaties, at the court of Versailles: the
French king at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda,
the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries of
the emperor of Germany, the king of Spain, Holland, and France
were assembled: but the French were so insolent in their
demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.
§ XVII. The parliament of Great Britain meeting in
November, the king exerted them to concert with all pos-
sible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war
with vigour, that the confederate army in the Netherlands
might be seasonably augmented; he, likewise, gave them
to understand, that he expected of the minister of state
of his civil government had for some years past fallen short of
the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and said
he relied on their known affection to find out some method
to make good this deficiency. As all those who had con-
ducted the opposition were now concerned in the adminis-
tration, little or no objection was made to any demand or
proposal of the government; and its members, having consid-
ered the estimates, voted forty thousand
seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about sixty
thousand land-forces, including eleven thousand five hun-
dred privateers, four hundred and thirty-three
thousand pounds to the Empress Queen of Hungary;
three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardina;
four hundred and ten thousand pounds for the maintenance
of eighteen thousand Hanoverian auxiliaries; one hundred
and sixty-two thousand for thirty thousand six hundred and
six thousand Hessian; subsidies to the Electors of Co-
logne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the sum of five hundred
thousand pounds to enable his majesty to prosecute the
war with advantage. In a word, the supplies amounted to
nine million four hundred twenty-five thousand two hun-
dred and fifty-four pounds; a sum almost incredible, if
we consider how the kingdom had been already drained of
its treasure. It was raised by the usual taxes com-
rejert, with new impositions on windows, carriages, and
spirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the sinking
fund. The new taxes were mortgaged for four millions
by transferable annuities, at an interest of four, and a pre-
sumption of one hundred thousand pounds of the
ere- mous grants, one would imagine the ministry had been
determined to impoverish the nation; but from the eagerness
and expedition with which the people subscribed for
and concluded these loans, one might almost conceive that
the kingdom were inexhaustible. It may not be amiss to ob-
serve, that the supplies of this year exceeded, by two mil-
ions and a half, the greatest annual sum that was raised
during the reign of Queen Anne, though she maintained as
great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great
Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year fresh
harvests of glory and advantage; whereas this war had
proved an almost uninterrupted series of events big with
misfortune and disaster; and the greatest annual sum the
naval expense of England had exceeded that of France
about five millions sterling; though her fleets had not ob-
tained one signal advantage over the enemy at sea, nor
been able to protect her commerce from their depredations.
She was at once a prey to her declared adversaries and
professed friends. Before the end of summer she number-
ed among her mercenaries two empresses, five German
princes, and a more powerful monarch, whom she hired
to assist her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which
they themselves were immediately interested, and she had
no more than a secondary concern. Had these fruitless
subsidies been saved; had the national revenue been ap-
plicable to the public purposes; had the money
employed in liquidating gradually the public encumbrances;
in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encour-
gaging and securing the colonies, and extending trade
and navigation; corruption would have become altogether
unnecessary, and dissatisfaction would have vanished: the
people would have been eased of their burthens, and ceased
to complain; commerce would have flourished, and pro-
duced such wealth as most has raised Great Britain to
the highest pinnacle of maritime power, above all rival-
ship or competition. She would have been dreaded by
her enemies; revered by her neighbours oppressed
nations would have crept under her wings for protection;
the empire of the Great Elector of Germany would have
contended; and she would have shown the universal arbiter of
Europe. How different is her present situation! Her debts are
enormous, her taxes are intolerable, her people discontent-
ed, and the sinews of her government relaxed. Without
conduct, confidence, or concert, she engages in blundering
negotiations: she involves herself rashly in foreign quar-
rels, and lavishes her substance with the most dangerous
devoted spirit; she is ever deserted by her worthless vigour,
steadiness, and industry; she grows more odious and pusilllimous; her arms are despised by her enemies;
and her councils ridiculed through all Christendom.

In the month of July, Philip King of Spain, dying, in the sixty-third
two days survived his daughter, the Dauphiness of France. The
three years of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Mar-
his marriage with the infanta Juana of Portugal, by Maria Magdalena, Infanta of Portugal, but had no issue. Philip was but
§ XVIII. The king, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the public expense, ordered the third and fourth regiments of his life-guard, who were at this time disestablished, and the reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. The House of Commons presented an address of thanks for this instance of economy, by which the annual sum of seventy thousand pounds was saved to the nation. Notwithstanding this seeming harmony between the king and the great council of the nation, his majesty resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present parliament, though the term of seven years was not yet expired since its last meeting. The minister intimated to insinuate, that the States-general was unwilling to concur with his majesty in vigorous measures against France, during the existence of a parliament which had undergone such a vicissitude of complexion. The allies of Great Britain, far from being suspicious of this assembly, which had supplied them so liberally, saw with concern, that according to law, it would soon be dissolved; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purposes. In order to remove this doubt, the ministry resolved to surprise the kingdom with a new election, before the malcontents should be prepared to oppose the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the business of the dissolved parliament was at an end, having given the royal assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them in the month of June, with an affectation speech, that breathed nothing but tenderer sentiments. The States was immediately dissolved by proclamation, and new writs were issued for convoking another. Among the laws passed in this session, was an act abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, and taking away the tenure of warholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions that had been excited since the revolution. In the highlands they certainly kept the common people in subjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act their inmigrants were legally emancipated from slavery; but as the tenants enjoyed no leases, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they still depended on the pleasure of their lords, notwithstanding this interposition of the legislature, which granted a valuable consideration in money to every noleman and petty baron, who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forlorn estates, indeed, were divided into small farms, and let by the government on leases at an under-value; so that those who had the good fortune to obtain such leases tasted the sweets of independence; but the highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and wretchedness, the disparity of their manufactories and fisheries being established in different parts of their country, they would have seen and felt the happy consequences of industry, and in a little time would be effectually detached from all their slavish connections.

§ XIX. The intention of the convention of the States-general, when it had been converted in the winter at the Hague, between the Duke of Cumberland and the States-general of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach upon their territories. They, therefore, determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbour. The allied powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians and Piedmontese should once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch minister, however, were not roused into this exertion, until all their remonstrances had failed at the court of Versailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the English ambassador, and stimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was exposed; for France was by this time possessed of all the Austrian Netherlands, and seemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United Provinces. In this emergency, the Duke of Cumberland, by letter to his minister, in the assembly of the States-general, invested with the power and dignity of Stadholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces. The vicissitudes of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited:

* Not the person who commanded in the West Indies.
the peasants were armed and exercised: a resolution was made for making a universal augmentation of the army: a council of war was established for inquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French. For a while the army was divided.

§ XXI. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Netles, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht; and Marscholl Saxe called to his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. To the latter end, he entered at Brussels; and his general resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates receiving his drift, began their march to take post between the two armies.

On the twentieth day of June, they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Heleen, and their left extending to Wille, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffelt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights of Herderen, immediately above the village, and both armies commanded each other till the evening. In the morning the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffelt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in the assault; and were repulsed with horrible slaughter.

The Duke of Cumberland, who was present, had the courage and resolution to push on through the enemy's retreating columns, which was served with surprising dexterity and success; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musketry as they could not withstand: but, when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The confederates were driven out of the village: yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter.

Nevertheless, Count Saxe continued pouring in other bodies, and the French maintained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this part, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. At noon the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way; Prince Waldeck led up the centre; Marschall Bathini made a motion with the right wing towards Herderen, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice. Several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the centre, gave way, and flying at the head of their host, the French could not be checked. The Dutch were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided along the left wing against the centre. The Saxon, who exerted himself with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligoni re-taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army.

At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with such intrepidity and success, that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. He himself was taken by a French carabinier, after his horse had been killed; but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The confederates retreated to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except sixteen pieces of cannon. Their loss did not exceed six thousand men killed and taken; whereas the French general purchased the victory at a much greater expense. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pursuit, and the French disposed of the prisoners they made.

The evening of the battle, when the detachment of the Count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herderen, Marschall Bathini asked permission of the commander-in-chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the execution of the enterprise. It was paid to this proposal: but the superior asked in his turn, where the marschall would be in case he should be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be found at the head of my troops," and retired in disgust; the subsequent dispositions was likewise been blamed, insomuch as not to leave one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

§ XXII. The confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the duchy of Limburg, so as to cover Maestricht; while the French king remained with his army in the near-by quarter, near the town of Maestricht, which was occupied by the British. The famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the governor to surrender. The Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled; the former were to be entered the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, where a determined in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old Baron Cronstrom, whom the statesholder had appointed governor of Brabant, assigned the latter post for its strength and resources, of the garrison. The enemy, by his operations on its operations with great vivacity; and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: Count Lowendiil received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of Baron Schwartzemburg, to co-operate with the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen. The French general was surprised at the number of French troops that close and continual fire of the besiegers; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an unmitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate salutes were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered; the town was laid in ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage; nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing was heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But still the damage fell chiefly on the besieged, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and the French were baffled in their efforts. In a word, it was generally believed that Count Lowendiil would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-Zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some ineffectual breaks made by the French were opposed by the Saxon garrison, and these the French general resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and so that supposition presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason Count Lowendiil resolved to hazard the attack, before the preparations should be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning on the eleventh day of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place, almost without resistance. In a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Through the French had taken possession of the ravelin, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the States-general, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such vigour that the troops were in danger of being taken in the street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. Then they brought off the old governor, abandoning the town to the enemy; the troops that
were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. The French king was no sooner informed of it, than he sent the Prince of Salm, commander-in-chief of the French fleet, to the assistance of Mareschal of France; supported Count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands; and returned in triumph to Versailles. In a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters and the Duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

§ XXII. In Italy, the French arms did not triumph with equal success, though the Mareschal de Belleisle saw himself in a position of a powerful advantage. In Provence, April he passed the Var without opposition, and took possession of Nice. He met with little or no resistance in reducing Montblan, Villarrose, and Ventimiglia; while General Brown, with eight-and-twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the meantime, another large body, under Count Schuleyberg, who had succeeded the Marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French king had sent them supplies and succours, and engineers, with the Duke de Boufflers, as ambassador to the republic, who likewise acted as commander-in-chief of the forces employed for its defence. The allied army hastened upon Genoa. Having forced the passage of the Boecketa on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the River was ravaged without mercy. On the last day of March he appeared before the city at the head of forty thousand men, and summoned the consuls to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republic had fifty-four thousand men in arms, two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provisions; that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the court of Versailles, except by an honourable capitulation, guaranteed by the kings of Great Britain and of Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides; a furious sally was made by the Duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuleyberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and in all places where the Austrians had reduced all to desolation, he had been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the King of Sardinia and Count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning this enterprise, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont from the danger of being detached from the dominions of Mareschal de Belleisle. Accordingly, he raised the siege on the tenth day of June, and returned into the Milanesian, in order to join his Sardinian majesty; while the Genoese made an irruption into the Pavian and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

§ XXIV. While the Mareschal de Belleisle remained at Venetia, his brother, at the head of four-and-thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont: on the sixth day of July he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphine, situated on the north side of the river Dorn. The defence of this important post the King of Sardinia had committed to the care of the Count de Briguerra, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along the passes of the Alps. On the eighth day of the month the Piedmontese entrenchments were attacked by the Chevalier de Belleisle, with incredible intrepidity; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in the first attacks. In the course of this obstinate conflict, the Count de Briguerra was taken prisoner by the French, with five thousand men in arms, and driven to surrender the post. The Austrians, as soon as they saw the French king's troops take the field, were immediately forced to retreat, and the Piedmontese and Spaniards to the rear. The French king, alarmed with the success of the Austrians in this engagement, was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral. A considerable quantity of fuzlons was found in the pouches, which was brought to Spital in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty wagons to the bank of London. Admiral Anson was emollied, and Mr. Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

§ XXVI. About the middle of June, Commodore Fox, with six ships of the line, of the British East India company, took above forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October. Rear-Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the begin-
ning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West Indes. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, would seem to have been, and the other being intercepted by Monsieur de Letendre. On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships, and the frigates, to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon Admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle in the main was a short one, except the Intrepide and Tonnant, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution; and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including Captain Scamoner, a great officer, who was killed under Lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific ocean. Indeed, it must be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, possessed the elevation with Sr Johnathan Swift's set of commands to which they were prepared. Immediately after the action, Admiral Hawke despatched a sloop to Commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Lizard Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant ships, outward-bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and the other French islands. In consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the board of admiralty declared, that all his captains behaved like men of honour during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whose conduct he desired might be inquired into. That gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and suspended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment: but he was soon restored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whose courage never incurred suspicion, still lay ordered on a suspension for that which had been successfully practised in both these late actions, namely, engaging the enemy without the prospect of escape. 

§ XXVII. In the Mediterranean, Vice-Admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthagena; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villafrauca; and interested himself in the capture of the Genoese. At his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved upon Rear-Admiral Hyne, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant ships bound to North America, fell in with the Glorioso, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western Isles. She had sailed from the Havana, with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each captain done his duty. Captain Erskine, in the Warwick of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was entirely disabled; but being unsustained by his consort, he was obliged to retire. Finding Hyne, the commander of the Frigate at Ferrol there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the Dartmouth, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by Capt. Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation; but in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he and twenty-seven men with him, and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favourable as this accident may seem to the Glorioso, she did not escape. An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of Captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short, but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent, with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's and kept off a large convoy of the enemy, he could do no more than check the insouciant of Monsieur de Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprise of importance against the enemy; the ministry of England, therefore, resolved to equip a fresh armament, that when pressed by the ships to India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service a good number of independent companies was raised, and they were reduced to a fighting force of considerable conduct of Rear-Admiral Boscaewen, an officer of unquestioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year the British cruisers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loss of Great Britain in the same time did not exceed five hundred and fifty.
them on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces. His majesty gave them to understand that a congress would be speedily opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a lasting pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negociation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings. He received such addresses as the minister thought necessary, and the representation now being gus-salled at their feet. The Duke of Bedford was become a courtier, and in a little time appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office, which he now resigned; and the Earl of Chatham was appointed for the administration of that business. This new House of Commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the subsidies for the Queen of Hungary, the czarina, the King of Sardinia, the Electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessian, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel; the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburse them for the expense of reducing Cape Breton: five hundred thousand pounds were given for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions, of which the greater part was awarded on a loan by successive advances, charged annually upon new or old of this kind; and on the charge of the merchants imported into Great Britain. Immediately after the revolution was suppressed the legislature had established in Great Britain, and the custom-house in Scotland, which was necessary to prevent such commotions for the future. The highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed for abolishing their peculiarities of gait, which was supposed to be a means of rendering them incapable of resorting in the future to their former mode of dis- position, and to preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors. In this session a bill was brought in to enforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act for the more effectual settlement of the land in the Highlands of Scotland. The practice of in- troducing French and Spanish ships at London being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those countries, it was prohibited by law under a penalty; and this step of the British parliament accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. Several other prudent measures were taken in the course of this session for the benefit of the public, and among these we may mention the encouragement of the manufacture of dyes in the British plantations of North America: an article for which Great Britain used to pay two hundred thousand pounds yearly to the subjects of France. The session was adjourned without coming to a close. A.D. 1785. May, when the king declaimed to both Houses, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the con- quests which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament his majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to rule the kingdom during his absence. § XXX. The articles might have been made much less unfavourable to Great Britain and her allies, had the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with the czarina; and if the confederates had acted with more vigour; and if the expedition in the beginning of the campaign. The Russian auxiliaries might have been transported by sea to Lubeck before the end of the preceding summer, in their own galleys, which had been long building. But the month of July. Had this expedient been used, the Russian troops would have joined the confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign. But this easy and simple system of conquest by force since this time has been long abandoned. A.D. 1785. They made a small march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accomplished till Midsummer. The operations of the campaign had been concertted at the Hague, in January, by the respective ministers of the allies, who resolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thousand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barren projects they were entered into. The towns of Holland became the scenes of tumult and insur- rection. The populace plundered the farmers of the re- venue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates; so that the collection now began to threaten the very existence of the state. The king of Prussia, already a brink of anarchy and confusion, authorized the Prince of Orange to make such alterations as he should see convenient. They presented him with a diploma, by which he was constituted hereditary Stadholder and Captain-general of all the Dutch provinces south of the Rhine, including Guelderland; and the East India company appointed him director and governor-general of their commerce and settle- ments in the Indies. Thus invested with authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion in new modelling, augmenting, and assembling, the troops of the republic. The confeder- dates knew that the Count de Saxe had a design upon Maestricht; the Austrian General Bathnau made repeated remonstrances to the British ministry, entreating them to take speedy measures for the preservation of that fortress. He in the month of January proposed that the Duke of Cumberland should be remitted to Maestricht, and that the Prince of Orange on this subject: he undertook, in the peril of his head, to cover Maestricht with seventy thousand men, from all attacks of the enemy; but his repre- sentatives seemed to have made very little impression on these two great requisitions, charged with the necessity of save- ing England did not depart from England till towards the later end of February; part of March was elapsed before the transports sailed from the Nore with the additional troops, which were threaten; but the foot guards were not embarked till the middle of August. § XXXI. The different bodies of the confederate forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Houthem, near the French possessions in the western part of the kingdom of Scotland; and the French army invested Maestrich, without opposition, on the third day of April. The garr- son consisted of imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor, Baron d'Ailleler, with unequalled the place with extraordinary skill and resolution. He be- ninned the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the confederates, and for a time were successful in the ob- tigation of the garrison. These hostilities were sud- denly arrested by the declaration of peace, which was signified at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his christian majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored with all the arms and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by Prince Reipnitz, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their imperial majesties; and then proceeded to the confines of Transylvania, where they were ordered to halt, and accordingly marched to the bank of the Szamos at the beginning of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should return to their own cou- ntry; and that the French king should disbanded an equal number of his forces. On the 17th of September, by a convention at Hubetan, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemian and Moravia, where they continued till the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the meantime seven- and-a-half thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders and Picardy, and the two armies were set till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The suspension of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals
of the contracting powers: orders were sent to the respective admirals in different parts of the world to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. As the vessels of commerce were numerous on the campaign in Italy. The French and Spanish troops who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic, amounted to thirty thousand men, under the command of the Duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command. The design of the Duke de Boullons; while Marshal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrians and French under Marshal Zentovsky. At the same time General Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and recommence the siege of Genoa. But these attempted operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

§ XXXII. In the East Indies, Rear-Admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of August, he blockaded by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army of four thousand Europeans, and about two thousand natives of that country. He proceeded the enterprise with great spirit, and took the fort of Atria Coupam, at the distance of three miles, without loss, and forced the surrender of the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping. But the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the reinforcement so great a force of fresh troops, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length, his army being diminished by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be landed, and raised the siege on the thirteenth of October. He then took Fort de David, after having lost about a thousand men in this expedition. In the sequel, several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred sailors, perished in a hurricane. This was the first instance of losses in the West Indies. Rear-Admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships, attacked Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, after a warm action of three hours was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment, which he imputed to the misconduct of Captain Denham, who was tried in England by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. Meanwhile, he was at the West Indies, admiral cruising in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, with eight ships of the line, encountered a Spanish squadron of nearly the same strength, under the command of the Marques de la Calera, and the engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loss of two ships; one of which struck to the British admiral, and the other was, two days after, set on fire by order of his own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains with mutineering, and they recommenced on his conduct. On their return to England, a court-martial was the consequence of the mutual accusations. Those who adhered to the commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed against each other, with the most rancorous resentment. The admiral would not give an unreserved answer: two of his captains were reprimanded: but Captain Holmes, who had displayed uncommon courage, was honourably acquitted. Their animosities did not end with the court-martial. A bloodless encounter happened between the admiral and Captain Powell: but Captain Innes and Captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde Park with pistols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning: a circumstance, which, as well deserved for murder, was indulged with his Majesty's pardon.

No naval transaction of any consequence happened in the European seas, during the course of this summer. In January, indeed, the Maganuna, a French ship of the line, was taken in the channel by two English cruisers, after an obstinate engagement: and the privates took a considerable number of merchants and consuls in the exigency.

§ XXXIII. The plenipotentiaries still continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, discussing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and signed on the seventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now considered as expired, and Anne of Pal- phia to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, That the prisoners on each side shall be mutually released without ransom, and all conquests restored: That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, but Guastalla, should be ceded as a settlement to the Infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male issue, that they should revert to the house of Austria: that the King of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction, to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conquests which His Britannic majesty should have achieved in the East or West Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: that the assiento contract, with the article of the annuity ships, should be immediately restored to the Spaniards, and the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war; that Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea continuing in force as a fort, or at least, as a garrison; the contracting powers became guarantors to the King of Prussia for the duchy of Slesia and the country of Glatt, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the Emperor of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of hereditary hereditary acquisitions, by the various articles of the pragmatic sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the lives of subjects of the Emperor of China, who had been deprived of the privileges of the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertainment. This and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissioners. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles. It became a continental contest, and was prosecuted not so much for the purpose of injuring the enemy, as for the purpose of subservient to the spirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were outnumbered and outwitted by the enemy. They never The war was a battle without sustaining a defeat. Their vast armies, paid by the British, his Majesty's forces, by order of Commons, the Russian allies would have secured an undoubted superiority in the field; when the British fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their supplies of treasure, and cut off all their resources of commerce: the British ministers seemed to treat without the least regard to the honour and advantage of their country. They left her most valuable and necessary rights of trade unmourned and undecided: they subordinated to the impatient demand of sending the riches of the realm to grace the court and adorn the triumphs of her enemy; and they tamely gave up her conquests in North America, of more consequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended. They gave up the important isle of Cape Breton, in exchange for a petty factory in the East Indies, belonging to a private company, whose existence had been deemed prejudicial to the commerce of all the nations of Europe, the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and desperate war? A dreadful expense of blood and treasure, disgrace
upon disgrace, an additional load of grievous imposition, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of eighty millions sterling.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.


A. D. 1782.

§ 5. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, however unstable or inglorious it might appear to those few who understood the interests, and felt for the honour, of their country, was nevertheless not unwelcome to the nation in general. The British ministry will always find it more difficult to satisfy the people at the end of a successful campaign, than at the conclusion of an unfortunate war. The English are impatient of miscarriage and delay, and despise the signal and final step of victory. At this period they were tired of the burdens, and sick of the distractions, to which they had been exposed in the course of seven tedious campaigns. They had suffered considerable losses and interruption in the article of commerce, and some inconvenience from the occasional absence of their sovereign from court; and with even some degree of satisfaction and applause.

§ 9. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications at Aix-la-Chapelle the armies were broken up; the allies in the Netherlands withdrew their several corps of distinguished troops; the French began to evacuate Flanders; and the English forces were re-embarked for their own country. His Britannic majesty returned from his German dominions in November, having landed near Margate in October, after a dangerous passage; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month he opened the session of parliament. By this time the misunderstanding between the first two persons of the royal family had been increased by a fresh succession of matter. The Prince of Wales had held a court at Stannary, in quality of Duke of Cornwall; and revived some claims attached to that dignity, which, had they been successful, would have raised him to a high influence among the Cornishboroughs. These efforts roused the jealousy of the administration, which had always considered them as an interest wholly dependent on the Crown, and therefore the pretensions of royal highness were opposed by the whole weight of the ministry. His adherents, resuming these hostilities as an injury to their royal master, immediately joined the remnant of the former faction in parliament, and unanimously concurred all the ministerial measures that should fall under their cognizance; at least they determined to seize every opportunity of thwarting the servants of the crown, in every scheme or proposal that had not an evident tendency to the advantage of the nation. This band of auxiliaries was headed by the Earl of E—t, Dr. Lee, and Mr. N—t. The first possessed a species of eloquence rather plausible than powerful: he spoke with fluency and fire: his spirit was bold and enterprising, his apprehension quick, and his repartee severe. Dr. Lee was a man of extensive erudition, and irreproachable morals, particularly versed in the civil law, which he professed, and perfectly well acquainted with the civil law of his country. Mr. N—t was an orator of middling abilities who had acquired what all subjects indiscriminately, and supplied with confidence what he was wont in capacity: he had been at some pains to study the business of the House, as well as to understand the nature of his functions and government. He was, as he was heard, as he generally spoke with an appearance of good humour, and hazarded every whimsical idea, as it rose in his imagination. But Lord Bolingbroke is said to have been the chief speaker, which, in several actuated the deliberations of the prince's court. That nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a public life, resided at Battersea, where he was visited like a sainted shrine by all the disingenuously votaries of war, eloquence, and political ambition. Before he was cultivated and adorned for the eloquence of his manners, and the ebullions of his conversation. The prince's curiosity was first captivated by his character, and his esteem was afterwards secured by the irresistible address of that extraordinary personage, who continued in a regular progression to insinuate himself still farther and further into the good graces of his royal patron. How far the conduct of his royal highness was influenced by the private abilities of this man, shall not pretend to determine: but, certain it is, the friends of the ministry propagated a report, that he was the dictator of those measures which the prince adopted; and that, under the specious pretext of attachment to the heir apparent, he had an intention of insinuating himself to perpetuate the breach in the royal family. Whatever his sentiments and motives might have been, this was no other than a revival of the old ministerial clamour, that a man cannot be well affected to the king, if he pretends to censure any measure of the administration.

§ 11. The weight which the opposition derived from these new confederates in the House of Commons was still greatly overbalanced by the power, influence, and ability that sustained every ministerial project. Mr. Pelham, who chiefly managed the helm of affairs, was generally esteemed as a man of honesty and candour, actuuted by a sincere love for his country, though he had been educated in the kennel of government, and in some measure obliged to prosecute a fatal system, which descended to him by inheritance. At this time he numbered Mr. Pitt among his fellow-ministers, and was moreover supported by many other individuals of great personal abilities; among whom the first place in point of genius was due to Mr. M. who executed the office of solicitor-general. This gentleman, the son of a noble family in the north of England, having been raised to a great estate by the bar, by a most keen intuitive spirit of apprehension, that seemed to seize every object at first glance; an innate sagacity, that saved the trouble of intense application;
and an irresistible stream of eloquence, that flowed pure and classical, strong and copious, reflecting, in the most conspicuous point of view, the subjects over which it ruled. It was at once the great author of the negotiations, and all the entangling weeds of chicanery. Yet, the servants of the crown were not so implicitly attached to the first minister as to acquiesce in all his plans, and dedicate their fame and reputation to the support of even the most absurd measure indiscriminately. This was one material point in which Mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predecessor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-servants, but insisted on sacrifice of all principle to expediency, and discretion and disposal. That sordid deference to a minister no longer characterized the subordinate instruments of the government. It was not unusual to see the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the secretary at war opposing with great vehemence a clause suggested by the chanceller of the exchequer. After all, if we could consider those arguments which have been handed about, and retrieved with such eagerness and ceremony in the House of Commons, and divest them of those passionate tropes and declamatory metaphors which the spirit of opposition alone had produced, we should find very little left for the subject of dispute, and accordingly, we are surprised to discover any material source of disagreement.

§ IV. In the month of November his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, acquainting them, That he had entered into this session with the same views and objects as in all the previous ones: That he had made the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his own subjects; and procured for his allies the best conditions, which in the present situation of affairs could be obtained. He said, he had found a general good disposition in all the parties to bring the negotiation to a happy conclusion; and observed, that we might promise ourselves a direct effect to a great part of the blessings they expected. Finally, after having remarked that times of tranquillity were the proper seasons for lessening the national debt, and strengthening the kingdom against future events, he recommended to the Commons the improvement of the public revenue, the maintenance of a considerable naval force, the advancement of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. This speech, as usual, was echoed back by an address to the throne from both Houses, containing general expressions of the warmest loyalty and gratitude to his majesty, and implying the most perfect satisfaction and acquiescence in the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The negotiations in the opposition, according to custom, cavilled at the nature of this address. They observed, that the late pacification was the worst and most inglorious of all the bad treaties to which the English nation had ever subscribed; that it was equally disgraceful, indefinite, and abysmal; and, in short, that it had gained such an ascendancy over the French at sea, that the sources of their wealth were already choked up; that the siege of Maestricht would have employed their arms in the Low Countries till the arrival of the Russians; and that the accession of these auxiliaries would have thrown the superiority into the scale of the allies. They did not fail to take notice, that the most important and original object of their attack was lost wholly undiscarded; and demonstrated the absurdity of their promising, in the address, to make good such engagements as his majesty had entered into with his allies, before they knew what those engagements would be. On this question, the ministers replied, that the peace was in itself rather better than could be expected; and that the smallest delay might have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They affirmed, that the Dutch were upon the point of concluding a neutrality in consideration of the National Rights of the Hapsburgs, and that the war would have been withdrawn from the allied army; and in that case, even the addition of the Russian auxiliaries would not have rendered it a match for the enemy. They asserted, that a declaration of the nature, granted to a power which they had literally snatched from the brink of ruin—a power whose quarter they had espoused with a degree of enthusiasm that did much more discredit to the party who betrayed the strength of Great Britain must have been entirely ruined, many of the public funds having sunk below par in the preceding season, so that the ministry had begun to despair of seeing the money paid in on the new subscription. With respect to the restoration of Cape Breton, the limits of Nova Scotia, and the right of navigating without search in the American seas, which rights had been established in the treaty, they declared, that the first was an unnecessary expense, of no consequence to Great Britain; and that the other two were points in dispute, to be amicably settled by commissioners duly authorized; but by no means articles to be established by a general treaty.

§ VII. What the opposition wanted in strength, it endeavoured to make up with spirit and perseverance. Every minister, every letter, every argument, was anguished, and stilled, and deemed with uncommon art and vivacity: but all this little availed against the single article of superior numbers; and accordingly this was the source of certain triumphs in all debates in which the servants of the crown were united. The nation had reason to expect an immediate mitigation in the article of annual expense, considering the number of troops and ships of war which had been reduced at the ratification of the treaty; but they were disagreeably undeceived in finding themselves again loaded with very extraordinary impositions, for the payment of a vast debt which government had contracted in the course of the war, notwithstanding the incredible aids granted by the nation. The committee of the house of commons established four points of consideration, in their deliberations concerning the sums necessary to be raised; namely, for fulfilling the engagements which the parliament had entered into, for the maintenance of the fleet; the first for the success of the war; for discharging debts contracted; by government for making good deficiencies; and for defraying the current expense of the year. It appeared, that the nation owed four-and-forty thousand pounds to the Elector of Bavaria; above thirty thousand to the Duke of Brunswick; the like sum to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and near nine thousand pounds to the Elector of Meuts. One hundred and twenty thousand pounds was declared an arrear of one hundred and thousand pounds. The city of Glasgow, in North Britain, presented a petition, praying to be reimbursed the sum of ten thousand pounds, extorted from that corporation by the son of the pretender, during the rebellion. One hundred and twelve thousand pounds were owing to the forces in North America and the East Indies; besides near half a million due on extraordinary expenses incurred by the land forces in America, Flanders, and North Britain, by the office of ordinances, and other services of the last year, to which the parliamentary provision did not extend. The remaining debt of the ordinance amounted to above two hundred and thirty thousand pounds: but the army bills could not be discharged to the satisfaction of the creditors. An addition of two millions three hundred and seventy-four thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds fifteen shillings and two pence was also required for the current service of the year. In a word, the whole annual supply exceeded eight millions sterling—a sum at which the whole nation expressed equal astonishment and disgust. It was charged upon the duties on malt, mum, evder, and perry, the land tax at four shillings in the pound, annuities on the sinking fund, an application of one million from that deposit, and the loan of the like sum to be charged on the first aids of next session. The number of seamen was reduced to seventeen thousand, and that of the land forces to eighteen thousand and hundred and fifty-seven, including guards and garrison.
she squandered away, in the idle pageantry of barbarous magnificence, those ample subsidies which they advanced in aid of the late war: and all through the latter part of the war, the leaders of the opposition neglected no opportunity of imputing the triumphs of their adversaries; they inveighed against the extravagance of granting sixteen thousand pounds for the pay of general staff officers, forming a party that required no such entrenchment, especially at a juncture when the national encumbrances rendered it absolutely necessary to practise every expedient of economy. They even contended the request of the city of Glasgow, to be indemnified for the extraordinary execution it underwent from the rebels, though it appeared from unquestionable evidence, that this particular contribution was exacted on account of that city's peculiar attachment to the reigning family: that it had always invariably adhered to revolution principles; and, with an unequalled spirit of loyalty and zeal for the Protestant succession, distinguished itself both in the last and preceding rebellion.

§ VIII. But the most violent contest arose on certain regulations which the ministry wanted to establish in two bills, relating to the sea and land service. The first, under the title of a bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into a more equal and constitutional light the laws relating to the navy, was calculated solely with a view of subjecting half-pay officers to martial law—a design which not only furnished the opposition with a plausible handle for accusing the ministry of a design to encroach upon the constitution, in order to extend the influence of the crown; but also alarmed the sea-officers to such a degree, that they assembled to a considerable number, with a view to deliberate upon the proper means of defending their privileges and honour. The measure was resisted by the sea-officers; and a petition was the House of Commons, subscribed by three admirals and forty-seven captains, not members of parliament, representing, That the bill in question contained several clauses, tending to the injury and dishonour of all naval officers, as well as to the detriment of his majesty's service; and that the laws already in force had always found effectual for securing the service of officers on half-pay upon the most pressing occasions: they, therefore, hoped, that they should not be subjected to new hardships and discouragements, and begged to be heard by their counsel, before the committee of the whole House, touching such parts of the bill as they apprehended would be injurious to themselves and the other officers of his majesty's navy. This petition was presented to the House by Sir John Norris, and the motion for its being read was seconded by Sir Peter Warren, whose character was universally esteemed for its elevated principles, and which he had always endeavored to promote, both in the constitution and personal interests. His character was such, that many officers and subalterns had repaired to the admiralcy, and threatened, in plain terms, to throw up their commissions, if the bill should pass; and a general ferment was begun among all the subordinate members of the navy. A motion was made, That the petitioners, according to their request, should be heard by their counsel; and this proposal was strongly urged by the first orators of the anti-ministerial association; but the minister, confiding in his own strength, reinforced by the abilities of Mr Pitt, Mr. Luttemon, and Mr Fox the secretary at war, strenuously opposed the motion, which, upon a division, was thrown out by a great majority. The several articles of the bill were afterwards separately debated with great warmth; and though Mr. Pelham had, with the most disinterested air of candour, repeatedly declared that he required no support even from his own adherents, but that which might arise from reason unreserved, and full conviction, he, on this occasion, recapitulated all the fruit from their zeal and attachment which could be expected from the most implicit compliance. Some plausible amendments of the most exceptional clauses were offered, particularly of that which imposed an oath upon the members of every court-martial, that they should not, on any account, discharge, on transgression of such oaths, and which was considered as a sanction, under which any court-martial might commit the most flagrant acts of injustice and oppression, which even parliament itself could not repress, because it would be impossible to ascertain the truth, externally sealed up by this absurd obligation. The amendment proposed was, that the members of a court-martial should be liable, in all cases wherein the courts of justice, as the law now stands, have a right to interfere, if required thereto by either House of parliament: a very reasonable mitigation, which, however, was rejected by the majority. Nevertheless, the suspicion of an intention to extend and broaden such discour- clamour without doors, and diffused the odium of this measure so generally, that the minister thought proper to drop the projected article of war, subjecting the reformed officers of the navy to the jurisdiction of courts martial, and the bill being also softened in other particulars, during its passage through the House of Commons, at length received the royal assent.

§ IX. The fame which this act had kindled, was rather increased than abated on the appearance of a new military bill replete with divers innovations, tending to augment the influence of the crown, as well as the authority and power of a military jurisdiction. All the articles of war established since the reign of Charles the Second, were submitted to the inspection of the Commons; and in these appeared a gradual spirit of encroachment, almost imperceptibly deviating from the civil institutes of the English constitution, and obstructing the operations of the utmost importance. By this new bill a power was vested in any commander-in-chief, to revise and correct any legal sentence of a court-martial, by which the members of such a court, and the proceedings of it, were not prescribed. The measures were absolutely useless, and the commander-in-chief a great measure absolute; for he had not only the power of summoning such officers as he might choose to sit on any trial, a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature; but he was able to declare liberty to the prisoner, or as far as a man was subject to two trials for the same offence, and the commander-in-chief was judge both of the guilt and the punishment. By the final clause of this bill, martial law was extended to all officers in the queen's service, the same arguments which had been urged against this article in the navy bill, were now repeated and reinforced with double force. Many reasons were offered to prove that the half-pay was allotted as a recompence for past services; and the opponents of the bill affirmed, that such an article, by augmenting the dependants of the crown, might be very dangerous to the constitution. On the other hand, the partisans of the ministry asserted, that the half-pay was granted as a retaining fee, and that originally all those who enjoyed this indulgence were deemed to be in actual service, consequently subject to martial law. Mr. Pitt, who at this time exercised the office of paymaster-general of the army, and had charge of the establishment of all his predecessors in that department, espoused the cause in dispute, as a necessary extension of military discipline, which could never be attended with any had the same conclusion arrived to the same result, by which he made on this occasion implied an opinion, that our liberties wholly existed in dependence upon the direction of the sovereign, and the virtue of the army. "To that virtue (said he) we trust even at this hour, small as our army is; to that virtue we must have trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest opponents could have wished; and without this virtue, should the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England, entertain themselves behind parliaments up to the feet, the sword and find a passage to the vials of the constitution." All the disputed articles of the bill being sustained on the shoulders of a great majority, it was conveyed to the upper House, where it excited another violent contest. Upon the question whether officers on half-pay had not been subject to martial law, the judges were consulted and divided in their sentiments. The Earl of Bath declared his opinion, that martial law did not extend to reformed officers; and opened all the sluices of his ancient eloquence. He ad-
now his opinion was entirely changed. He observed, that when the forementioned rebellion first broke out, the House presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be pleased to employ his officers, and gratify them with whole pay; and, indeed, a large number were voted on whole pay by the House of Commons. They were afterwards apprized of this vote, by an advertisement in the Gazette, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to receive orders from the House of Commons, and finally commanded to repair by such a day to those places on pain of being struck off the half-pay list. These precautions would have been unnecessary, had they been deemed sufficient to prevent mutiny; but the penalty of death, and the threat of privation, could not have been merely a privation of their pensions, but they would have fallen under the punishment of death, as deserters from the service. His lordship distinguished, with great propriety and precision, between the step which had been precipitately taken in a violent crisis, when the public was heated with apprehension and resentment, and a solemn law concerted at leisure, during the most profound tranquillity. Notwithstanding the spirited opposition of this nobleman, and some efforts to insert additional clauses, the bill having undergone a few incon siderable amendments, passed by a very considerable majority.

§ X. Immediately after the routine bill had passed the lower House, another fruitless effort was made by the opposition. The danger of a standing army, on whose virtue the constitution of Great Britain seemed to depend, did not fail to meet the attention of the House. But there was nothing attached to the liberties of their country, and gave birth to a scheme, which, if executed, would have enabled the legislature to establish a militia that must have answered many national purposes, and acted as a constitutional bulwark against the pretensions of the House of Commons, as the standing force, under the immediate influence of government. The scheme which patriotism conceived, was, in all probability, adopted by party. A bill was brought in, limiting the time during which a soldiery officer, should be compelled to continue in the service. Had this limitation taken place, such a rotation of soldiers would have ensured among the common people, that in a few years every peasant, labourer, and inferior tradesman in the kingdom would have understood the exercise of arms: and perhaps the people in general would have concluded that a standing army was altogether unnecessary. A project of this nature could not, for obvious reasons, be agreed to by the administration; and therefore the bill was rendered abortive; for, after having been twice read, it was postponed from time to time, till the parliament was prorogued, and never appeared in the sequel. Such were the events of the times, and events of the times were, in their turn, the cause of the other bills of such a nature, which were proposed, and of such a nature, which were opposed, composed, as we have already observed, of the prince's servants and the remnants of the country party, this last being headed by Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, and Sir Francis Dashwood; the former a nobleman of distinguished abilities, keen, penetrating, eloquent, and sagacious; the other frank, spirited, and sensible.

§ XI. It must be owned, however, for the honour of the ministry, that if they caused a few unpopular measures with a high hand, they seemed earnestly desirous of making amends to the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the benefit and improvement of commerce, which actually took place in the ensuing session of parliament. One of the principal objects of commerce, and the cause of all subsequent cogitation, was the trade to the coast of Guinea: a very important branch of traffic, whether considered as a market of British manufactures, or as the source that supplied the English plantations with negroes. This was unusually monopolized by a joint-stock company, which had from time to time derived considerable sums from the legislature, for enabling them the better to support certain forts or castles on the coast of Guinea, and protect the merchants. In the sequel, however, the exclusive privilege having been judged prejudicial to the national trade, the coast was had open to all British subjects; and the proprietors, instead of receiving any benefit from the protection of the company, industriously avoided their castles, as the receptacles of tyranny and oppression. The company, whether from the misconduct or knavery of their directors, contracted such a load of debts as their stock was unable to discharge. They seemed to neglect the traffic, and allowed their castles to decay. In a word, their credit being exhausted, and their creditors growing clamorous, they presented a petition to the House of Commons, and imploring such assistance as should enable them not only to pay their debts, but also to maintain the forts in a defensible condition. This petition recommended to the House in a manner that rendered it difficult to be rejected, by another in behalf of the company's creditors. Divers merchants of London, interested in the trade of Africa and the British plantations in America, petitioned the House, that, as the African trade was of the utmost importance to the nation, and could not be supported without forts and settlements, some effectual means should be speedily taken for protecting and extending this valuable branch of commerce. A fourth was offered by the merchants of Liverpool, representing that the security and protection of the trade of Africa must always principally depend upon his majesty's ships of war being properly stationed on that coast, and seasonably relieved; and that such forts and settlements as might be judiciously provided, for the exertion of sovereignty and possession, would prove a nuisance and barthen to the trade, should they remain in the hands of any joint-stock company, whose private interest always counter-balanced the public good. In short, the House, in the interest of the separate and open trader. They therefore prayed, that the said forts might either be taken into his majesty's immediate possession, and supported by the public, or committed to the merchants trading on that coast; in such a manner that they might be maintained, without vesting in them any other advantage, or right to the commerce, but what should be common to all his majesty's subjects. This remonstrance was succeeded by another, to the effect, that in such cases, the assembled assistants, and commonalty of the society of merchant adventurers within the city of Bristol. All these petitions were referred to a committee appointed to deliberate on this subject; who agreed to certain resolutions, implying that the trade to Africa should be free and open; that the British forts and settlements on that coast ought to be maintained; and put under proper direction; and that, in order to carry on the African trade in the most beneficial manner to the nation, the coast of Africa should be united in one open company, without any joint stock, or power to trade as a corporation. A bill was immediately founded on these resolutions, which alarmed the company's directors, and gave birth to another petition, demonstrating their right to the coast of Africa, and expressing their reliance on the justice of the House, that they should not be deprived of their property without an adequate consideration. In a few days, a second address was offered by their creditors, complaining of the company's mismanagement, promising to surrender their right, as the wisdom of parliament should prescribe; praying that their debts might be indemnified; and that the equivalent to be granted for the company's possessions might be secured and applied, in the first place, for their benefit. The Commons, in consequence of this petition, ordered the company to produce a list of their debts, together with all the British subjects engaged in the remonstrances, which their creditors had presented to them before this application to parliament. A committee of the whole House, having deliberated on these papers and petitions, and heard the company by their counsel, resolved to give them a reasonable compensation for their charter, lands, forts, settlements, slaves, and effects, to be, in the first place, applied towards the payment of their creditors. A bill to this effect was introduced in the Commons, and was conveyed to the upper House, where a great many objections were started; and for the present it was dropped until a more unexpected plan should be concerted. In the meantime, the lords address their majesties, that the lower committees of the trade and plantations might be directed to prepare a scheme on this subject, to be laid before both Houses of parliament.
at the beginning or next session: that instant orders should be given for the preserving and securing the forts and settlements on the coast of Guinea belonging to Great Britain; and, that proper persons should be appointed to sit in the committees connected with these forts, as well as of the military stores, slaves, and vessels belonging to the African company, so as to make a faithful report of these particulars, with all possible expedition.

§ XIII. The government professed an inclination to promote and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the Commons resolved to take some steps for encouraging the white fishery along the northern coast of the island, where there is a natural connection between the sea and the rivers, so that the stock of herring may be increased, and employed annually a great number of hands and vessels in this branch of commerce. The sensible part of the British people, reflecting on this subject, plainly foresaw that a fishery under due regulations, undertaken with the protection and encouragement of the legislature, would not only prove a fund of national riches, and a nursery of seamen; but likewise, in a great measure, prevent any future insurrections in the highlands of Scotland, by diffusing a spirit of industry among the natives of that country, who, finding it in their power to become independent, on the fruits of their own labour, would soon extricate themselves from their present necessary servitude; and that much their trade, which they were at length connected with their landlords the cluehans. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to deliberate on the state of the British fishery; and upon their report a bill was founded for encouraging the whole fishery on the coast of Great Britain, by allowing a bounty on the per cent for every ship equipped for that undertaking. The bill having made its way through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent, the merchants in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in North Britain, began to build and fit out ships of great burthen, and peculiar structure, for the purposes of that fishery, which ever since hath been carried on with equal vigour and success. Divers merchants, of London, and others, being represented to his Majesty, by the House of Commons a petition, representing the benefits that would accrue to the community from a herring and cod fishery, established on proper principles, and carried on with skill and integrity, this remonstrance was referred to a committee, upon whose resolutions a bill was formed; but, before this could be discussed in the House, the parliament was prorogued; and on consequence this measure passed for the present.

§ XIV. The next regulation proposed in favour of trade, was that of having open the commerce of Hudson's bay, in the most northern parts of America, where a small monopoly maintained a few forts and settlements, and property which was advantageous for the trade of that continent. It was suggested, that the company had long ago enriched themselves by their exclusive privilege; that they employed no more than four annual ships; that, contrary to an express injunction in their charter, they did not encourage any attempts to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies; that they dealt cruelly and rigidly with the poor Indians, who never traded with them, except when compelled by necessity, so that the best part of the fur trade had devolved to the enemies of Great Britain; and that their exclusive patent restricted to very narrow limits a branch of commerce, which might be cultivated to a prodigious extent, as well as to the infinite advantage of Great Britain. It is true, but be it known, that the trade of Hudson's bay might be had open, were presented to the House by the merchants of London, Great Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; and a committee was appointed to deliberate upon the subject, and lay the other branches of the company's trade before the House, as well as in petitions and private applications, for their own preservation. The committee examined many papers and records: and the report was taken into consideration by the House. Many views were entertained of the question. At length a majority seemed satisfied that the traffic on the coast of Hudson's bay could not be preserved without forts and settlements, which must be maintained either by an exclusive company or by the state; and partly this was not judged a proper puncture to encumber the nation with any charge of that kind, the design of dissolving the company was laid aside till a more favourable opportunity.

§ XV. The government had, during the war, found great difficulty in pressing men for the service of the navy and army; and it was resolved to bestow certain encouragements to these services, as well as the land forces, by in time of peace, by means of a certain allowance, a number of seamen who should be registered for the purpose, and be ready to man a squadron upon any emergency. Such a plan, properly regulated, and introduced into the commerce, which is always distrest by the practice of pressing men: and at the same time, a great security to the kingdom in dangerous conjunctions, when it may be necessary to equip an armament at a minute's warning. The House of Commons being moved upon this subject, agreed to divers resolutions, as a foundation for the bill: but the members in the opposition affecting to represent this measure in an odious light, as an imitation of the French method of registering seamen without their own consent, Mr. Pelham dropp it, as an unpopular project.

§ XVI. Information having been received, that the French intended to settle the neutral islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, in the West Indies, the nation had taken the alarm in the beginning of the year; and a motion was made in the House of Commons to address his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the House copies of the instructions given to the commanders of the consulship two years last past, so far as they related to these neutral islands: but whether the minister was conscious of a neglect in this particular, or thought such inquiries trenches upon the prerogative of the crown, he was分辨率ed not to be exposed the nation with a collision; and after some debate, the previous question passed in the negative. This was also the fate of another motion made by the Earl of E—— for an address, extolling his Majesty's conduct; which was refused, but the House all the proposals of peace that had been made by the French king since the year which preceded the last rebellion, to that in which the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. This they proposed as a previous step to the parliament's forming any opinion concerning the utility or necessity of the peace which had been established. Violent debates ensued, in which the opposition was as much excelled in oratory as out-numbered in votes. In the month of June was closed as usual with a speech from the throne; in which his majesty signified his hope, that the parliament, at their next meeting, would be able to reflect on these important events, and determine the trade and navigation of the kingdom. He likewise expressed his satisfaction at seeing public credit flourish at the end of an expensive war; and recommended unanimously as the worst balast of national state by certain worthless individuals, who, having no reliance on their own intrinsic merit, hoped to distinguish themselves as the tools of party, and to obtain favour with the ministry by securing to the company exclusive privileges in navigation and formation. Though neither the rank, age, nor connections of the delinquent were such as ought to have attracted the notice of the public, the vice-chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors of the university, knowing the invicious stratagy to which their conduct was subjected, thought proper to publish a declaration, signifying their abhorrence of all seditious practices, their determined resolution to punisb all offenders to the utmost severity and rigour of the law, all in the university; and to wait for the regulation of the university. Notwithstanding these wise and salutary precautions, the three boys, who, in the
of subsistence, engage in desperate courses, and prey upon the community, it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which these unquiet spirits might extricate themselves from the community with impunity. The first act of the new colony in North America, which, by being properly regulated, supported, and improved, might be the source of great advantage to its mother country. Many disputes had arisen between the subjects of England and France, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, which no treaty had as yet properly ascertained. A fort had been raised, and a small garrison stationed by the French, without the consent of this very country, called Annapolis Royal, to overawe the French neutrals settled in the neighbourhood; but this did not answer the purpose for which it was intended. Upon every rupture or dispute between the two crowns, these planters, forgetting their neutrality, intrigued with the Indians, communicated intelligence to their own countrymen, settled at St. John's and Cape Breton, and did all the ill offices their hatred could suggest against the colonies and subjects of Great Britain. A scheme was now formed for making a new establishment on the same peninsula, which should further confirm and extend the property and dominion of the crown of Great Britain in that large tract of country, and constitute communities, diffuse the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fisheries of that coast, which might be rendered a new source of wealth and commerce to Old England. The particulars of the plan of the project, which was laid before the council, were approved of the design, and referred the execution of it to the board of trade and plantations, over which the Earl of Halifax presided. This nobleman, endowed by nature with an excellent capacity, which had been diligently and judiciously cultivated, anointed with liberal sentiments, and fired with an eager spirit of patriotism, adopted the plan with the most generous ardor, and cherished the infant colony with paternal affection. He commenced for trade and plantations immediately advertised, under the sanction of his majesty's authority, That proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed from the land and sea service, as were willing to settle with or without families, in the province of Nova Scotia: that the fiscible, or perpetual property, of fifty acres of land should be granted to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes, for the term of ten years: at the expiration of which no person should pay more than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres so granted: that, over and above these fifty, each person should receive a grant of ten acres of land for himself and his family, and children, of which his family should consist: that further grants should be made to them as the number should increase, and in proportion as they should manifest their abilities in agriculture: that every officer, under the rank of ensign in the land service, or lieutenant in the navy, should be gratified with fourscore acres on the same conditions: that two hundred acres should be bestowed upon ensigns, three hundred upon lieutenants, four hundred upon captains, and six hundred on every officer above that degree, with proportionable considerations for the number and increase of every family: that the lands should be parcelled out as soon as possible after the arrival of the first adventurers, who should be placed in the hands of proprietors, and their property established; by virtue of which they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects, with proper security and protection: that the settlers, with their families, should be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and maintained for twelve months after their arrival at the expense of the government; which should also supply them with arms and ammunition, as far as should be judged necessary for their defence, with proper materials and utensils for clearing and cultivating their land, and for erecting habitations, as far as the nature of the purposes for which they were established might require. This scheme was so feasible, and the encouragement so inviting, that in a little time about four thousand adventurers, with their families, arrived upon the shores of the new settlement, and, under the direction of Colonel Cornwallis, whom the king had appointed their
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[Appendix 748—Book III.]

governor, and towards the latter end of June arrived at the place of their destination, which was the harbour of Tobago, on the south coast of the peninsula, about midway between Cape Cañóo and Cape Sable. It is one of the most secure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well situated for the fishery; yet the climate is cold, the soil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and some oak, unfit for the purposes of timber; but at the same time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Governor Cornwallis no sooner arrived in this dominion, than he was joined in the negotiations of the treaty from Cape Breton, and a company of runners from Annapolis. Then he pitched upon a spot for the settlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying out their town. The first inconvenience in this situation, he chose another to the northward, hard by the harbour, on an easy ascent, commanding a prospect of the whole peninsula, and well supplied with streams of fresh and wholesome water. Here he began to build a town on a regular plan, to which he gave the name of Halifax, in honour of the nobleman who had the greatest share in founding the colony; and before the approach of winter above three hundred comfortable wooden houses were built, the whole surrounded by a strong palisade. This colonist, however, has by no means answered the expectations of the projectors; for notwithstanding the ardour with which the interests of it were supported, the wild population, the repeated injuries it has reaped from the bounty of the legislature, the inhabitants have made little or no progress in agriculture; the fishery is altogether neglected, and the settlement entirely subordinated in the same manner by the individuals of the rich and noble, whose duty obliges them to reside in this part of North America.

§ XVI. The establishment of such a powerful colony in Nova Scotia could not fail giving umbrage to the French in this part of the world, who, thinking they had not thought proper to propagulatc their jealous and disgust, nevertheless employed their emissaries clandestinely stimulating and exciting the Indians to harass the colonists with hostilities, in such a manner as should effectively hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the settlement. Nor was this the only part of America in which the French court counteracted such pernicious practices. More than ever convinced of the importance of a considerable navy, and an extensive plantation trade, they not only excited uncommon industry in re-establishing their marine, which had suffered so severely during the war; but they resolved, if possible, to extend their sway over the West Indies, by settling the negroes on the islands, which we have already mentioned. In the beginning of the year the governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to settle the island of Tobago, recommended Captain Tyrrel that he should make a frigate, and learn the particulars. That officer found above three hundred men already landed, seemed by two batteries and two ships of war, and a daily expectation of a further reinforcement from the Marquis de Cavil, governor of Martinique, who had published an ordinance, authorizing the subjects of the French king to settle the island of Tobago, and promising to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies. This assurance was in answer to a proclamation issued by Mr. Fremville, governor of Barbadoes, and stuck up in the different parts of the island, commanding all the inhabitants to remove, in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution. Captain Tyrrel, with a spirit that became a commander in the British navy, gave the French officers to understand, that his most christian majesty had no right to settle in the island, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that, if they would not desert, he should be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new settlement. Night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrel's ship falling to leeward, the French captain seized that opportunity of sailing to Martinique; and next day, being informed that the French had returned, had no power to commit hostilities. These tidings, with a copy of the French governor's ordinance, were no sooner transmitted to the ministry, than they despatched a courier to the English envoy at Paris, with directions to make representations to the court of Versailles on this subject. The ministry of France, knowing they were in no condition to support the consequences of an immediate rupture, and understanding how much the merchants and people of Great Britain were alarmed and incensed at their attempts to possess these islands, thought proper to disown the proceedings of the Marquis de Cavil, and to declare the government by that measure, by sending his orders to discontinue the settlement, and evacuate the island of Tobago. At the same time, however, that the court of Versailles made this sacrifice for the satisfaction of England, the government of France observed to the English resident, that France was undoubtedly in possession of that island towards the middle of the last century. He ought in candour to have added, that although they had never sent a governor to the island, the Hollanders, during his war with that republic, it was restored to them by the treaty of Nyegeen, and since that time France could not have the least shadow of a claim to number it among her settlements. It was before this answer could be obtained from the court of Versailles, that the motion, of which we have already taken notice, was made in the House of Commons, relating to the subject of the neutral islands; a motion discouraged by the court, and defeated by the ministry.

§ XXII. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was celebrated by fire-works, illuminations, and rejoicings, in which the English, French, and Dutch, seemed to display a spirit of emulation. The affection which the representatives expressed of the probability, these three powers were sincerely pleased at the cessation of the war. England enjoyed a respite from intolerable supplies, exorbitant insurance, and interrupted commerce. France had re-established her navy; and France had obtained a breathing time for re-establishing her naval power, for exerting that spirit of intrigue, by dint of which she has often embroiled her neighbours, and for executing plans of immense advantage, which make much more noise and ado than the progress of open hostilities. In the affair of Tobago the French king had manifested his inclination to avoid immediate disputes with England; and had exhibited another proof of the same disposition in his behaviour to the prince pretender, who had excited such a dangerous rebellion to the island of Great Britain.

§ XXIII. Among those princes and powers who excepted against different articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Chevalier de St. George, foreseeing that none of the plenipotentiaries would receive his protest, employed his agents to fix it up in the public places of Aix-la-Chapelle; a declaration of very little servitude to his cause, which was a hint to the states of Christendom, to be abandoned. So little was the interest of his family considered in this negotiation, that the contracting powers agreed, without reserve, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of this treaty; and no provision whatever was made for the annexation of the island of Tobago, with a free trade to the French navy, and the rights of the Grand Banks, which the British minister had recommended to the king of France, that neither the pretender nor any of his descendants should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the subscribing parties. At the same time the plenipotentiaries of France promised these of Great Britain that Prince Charles Edward should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his most christian majesty. Notice of this agreement was accordingly given by the court of Versailles to the young adventurer, and as he had declared he would never return to Italy, Monsieur de Corentin, the French envoy to the cantons of Switzerland, was directed by his sovereign to demand an asylum for Prince Edward in the city of Fribourg. The regency having complied in this particular, the young pretender, with the advice of his christian majesty, Mr. Barnaby, the British minister to the Helvetic body, took the alarm, and presented the magistracy of Fribourg with a remonstrance, couched in such terms as gave offence in that regency, and drew from them the answer. In vain had the French king exerted his influence in procuring this retreat for the young pretender, who, being pressed with repeated messages to withdraw, persisted. After the other pretenders had surrendered, the Senate of Fribourg had been so cordially invited by his cousin the King of France, that he would not forsake his in distress, nor abandon the interests of his family. Louis was not a little perplexed at this obstinacy of Prince Ed-
ward, which was the more vexatious, as that youth appeared to be the darling of the Parmaus; who not only admired him for his own accomplishments, and pitied him for his misfortunes, but considered him as his brother, being of the same family as his father, both being descendants of the renowned Henry the Fourth. At length, the two English noblemen arriving at Paris, as hostages for the performance of the treaty, and seeing him appear at all public places of diversion, composed of the court itself, and the palace and the Tuileries, as well as the Tuileries, as well as the Tuileries, it was evident that the Emperor had not been able to influence his conduct: but this resolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he despatched to the Chevalier de St. George; who being thus informed of his son's departure, wrote a letter to him, laying strong injunctions upon him, to yield to the necessity of the times, and acquiesce with a good grace in the stipulations which his cousin of France had found it necessary to subscribe, for the interest of his realm. Edward, far from complying with this advice and instruction, signed his resolution to remain in Paris; and even declared, that he would pistol any man who should presume to lay violent hands on his person. In consequence of this bold declaration, an extraneous person, who was a thousand leagues from the Tuileries, determined to arrest him without further delay, and the whole plan of this enterprise was finally adjusted. That same evening, the prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the Tuileries, was met by the ambassador of France, who reads the edict of the king called "To arms!" on which Monsieur de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward, "Prince, said he, I arrest you in the king's name, by virtue of this order." At that instant the youth was surrounded by four grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief he might have done with a case of pocket-pistols which he always carried about him; and a guard was placed at all the avenues and doors of the opera-house, lest any other escape should ensue among the population. These precipitations were taken, Vaudreuil, with an escort, conducted the prisoner through the garden of the palais royal to a house where the Duke de Bordeaux waited with a coach and six to convey him to the castle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman. He had not remained above three days in his confinement when he gave the French ministry to understand, that he would conform himself to the king's intentions: and was immediately enlarged upon giving his word and honour that he would, without delay, retire from the dominions of France. Accordingly, he set out in four days, the French troops having been engaged, conducted him as far as Pont-Bavoisin on the frontiers, where they took his leave of him, and returned to Versailles. He proceeded for some time in the road to Chambery; but soon returned into the French dominions, and, passing through Dauphine, repaired to Arvignon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the Pope's legate. In the meantime, he arrested great murmurs at Paris; the inhabitants blaming without scruple, their king's conduct in this instance, as a scandalous breach of hospitality, as well as a mean proof of censudescence to the King of England; and many severe pamphlets relating to this transaction, were fixed up in the most public places in that metropolis.

§ XXIV. Although peace was now re-established among the principal powers of the continent, yet another storm seemed ready to burst upon the northern parts of Europe, in a fresh rupture between Russia and Sweden. Whether the czarina had actually obtained information that the French faction meditated some revolution of government at Stockholm, or she wanted a pretence for annexing Finland, is not easy to say, in either view of the transaction, that the Prince-successor of Sweden waited only for the decease of the reigning king, who was very old and infirm, to change the form of government, and resume that absolute sovereignty, which for a long time he and his ancestors had enjoyed. She seemed to think that a prince thus vested with arbitrary power, and guided by the councils of France and Prussia, with which Sweden had lately engaged in close alliance, might become a very troublesome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltic; she, therefore, recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, filled her magazines, and seemed to expect the arrival of a large body of troops towards the frontiers of Finland, and declared in plain terms to the court of Stockholm, that if any step should be taken to alter the government, which she had been able to support by treaty as an ally to their sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty so lately concluded. The French king, after some hesitation between punctilio and convenience, resolved to employ violence upon the person of this troublesome stranger, since mere honour had not been able to influence his conduct: but this resolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he despatched to the Chevalier de St. George; who being thus informed of his son's departure, wrote a letter to him, laying strong injunctions upon him, to yield to the necessity of the times, and acquiesce with a good grace in the stipulations which his cousin of France had found it necessary to subscribe, for the interest of his realm. Edward, far from complying with this advice and instruction, signed his resolution to remain in Paris; and even declared, that he would pistol any man who should presume to lay violent hands on his person. In consequence of this bold declaration, an extraneous person, who was a thousand leagues from the Tuileries, determined to arrest him without further delay, and the whole plan of this enterprise was finally adjusted. That same evening, the prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the Tuileries, was met by the ambassador of France, who reads the edict of the king called "To arms!" on which Monsieur de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward, "Prince, said he, I arrest you in the king's name, by virtue of this order." At that instant the youth was surrounded by four grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief he might have done with a case of pocket-pistols which he always carried about him; and a guard was placed at all the avenues and doors of the opera-house, lest any other escape should ensue among the population. These precipitations were taken, Vaudreuil, with an escort, conducted the prisoner through the garden of the palais royal to a house where the Duke de Bordeaux waited with a coach and six to convey him to the castle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman. He had not remained above three days in his confinement when he gave the French ministry to understand, that he would conform himself to the king's intentions: and was immediately enlarged upon giving his word and honour that he would, without delay, retire from the dominions of France. Accordingly, he set out in four days, the French troops having been engaged, conducted him as far as Pont-Bavoisin on the frontiers, where they took his leave of him, and returned to Versailles. He proceeded for some time in the road to Chambery; but soon returned into the French dominions, and, passing through Dauphine, repaired to Arvignon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the Pope's legate. In the meantime, he arrested great murmurs at Paris; the inhabitants blaming without scruple, their king's conduct in this instance, as a scandalous breach of hospitality, as well as a mean proof of censudescence to the King of England; and many severe pamphlets relating to this transaction, were fixed up in the most public places in that metropolis.

§ XXV. This declaration in all probability did not produce such effect as the interposition of his Prussian majesty, the most enterprising prince of that time, at the head of one hundred and thirty thousand men: even if the Prussian army was ever trained. Perhaps he was not sorry that the Empress of Muscovy furnished him with a plausible pretext for maintaining such a formidable army, after the peace of Paris had been so soon concluded, and all the surrounding states had diminished the number of their forces. He now wrote a letter to his uncle the King of Great Britain, complaining of the insults and measures that had been offered by the czarina to Sweden, declaring, that he was bound by a defensive alliance, to which France had acceded, to defend the government at present established in Sweden; and that he would not sit still, and tamely see that kingdom attacked by any power whatsoever without support: and as the czarina had most effectually entered this British nation to interpose his good offices, in conjunction with France and him, to compromise the disputes which threatened to embroil the northern parts of Europe. By this time the Russian army had approached the frontiers of Finland: the Swedes had assembled their troops, rephased their magazines, and repaired their marine: and the King of Denmark, jealous of the czarina's designs with regard to the duchy of Sleswick, which was contested with him by the Prince-successor of Russia, kept his army and navy on the most respectable footing. At this critical juncture, the courts of London, Versailles, and Berlin co-operated so effectually by remonstrances and declarations at Petersburg, that it was evident to the czarina that the Empress of Russia thought proper to own herself satisfied, and all those clouds of trouble were immediately dispersed. Yet, in all probability, her real aim was disappointed; and, however she might dissemble her sentiments, she never heard by force, the King of Prussia for the share he had in this transaction. That monarch, without relaxing in his attention to the support of a very formidable military power, exerted very extraordinary enterprises in cultivating the civil interests of his country. He reformed the laws of Brandenburgh, and reduced the administration of justice from the frauds of chicanery. He encouraged the arts of agriculture and manufacture; and even laid the foundation of naval commerce, by establishing an East India company in the port of Eminak.

§ XXVI. Nor did the French ministry neglect any measure that might contribute to repair the damage which the kingdom had sustained in the course of the war. One half of the army was disbanded; the severe imposition of the tenth penny was suspended by the king's edict; a scheme of economy was proposed, with respect to the finances; and the king's orders were sent to all the manufactories, as well as workmen, for ship-building, that the navy of France might speedily retrieve its former importance. In the midst of these truly patriotic schemes, the court of Versailles betook itself to the paradise of gaiety and dissipation, to which the tyranny, joined to fanaticism, in quarrelling with their parliament about superstitious forms of religion. The sacraments had been denied to a certain person on his death-
bed, because he refused to subscribe to the bull Unigeni-

tus. The nephew of the defunct preferred a compliant to
the parliament, whose province it was to take cognizance
of the affair; a deputation of that body attended the king
with the report of the resolutions; and his majesty com-
mended them to suspend all proceedings relating to a
matter of such consequence, concerning which he would
take an opportunity of signifying his royal pleasure. This
interposition was the source of disputes between the crown
and parliament, which had like to have filled the whole
kingdom with intestine troubles.

§ XXVII. At Vienna the empress-queen was not more
successful. She was the first to demand the trade and
mercantile interests of her dominions, by summptuary regulations,
necessary restrictions on foreign superfluities, by opening her
ports in the Adriatic, and giving proper encouragement to
commerce, than she was careful and provident in reforming
the economy of her finances, maintaining a respectable
body of forces, and guarding, by defensive alliances,
against the enterprises of his Prussian majesty, on whose
military policy she looked with jealousy and distrust. In
Hesse, all the authority and influence of the state were
scarcely sufficient to alloy the fermentis excited among
the people, by the provisional taxation which had
succeeded the abolition of the pockets, and was indeed
viewed as a tax no more than the other. As an
expedient, the Prince of Orange proposed a
more equitable plan, which was approved by the States,
and established with great difficulty. In Italy the system
of commerce was carried to such a degree of perfection
in the connection of the Hapsburgs with Sardinia, that
the commerce of Spain and France in a
defensive alliance, comprehending the King of the Two
States, the Republic of Genoa, and the Dukes of Modena
and Parma. Its most catholic majesty, sincerely disposed
to elevate the king of Sicily to the rank of a
Soissons, he engaged with the Kings of France and Spain in a
defensive alliance, comprehending the King of the Two
States, the Republic of Genoa, and the Dukes of Modena
and Parma. Its most catholic majesty, sincerely disposed
to elevate the king of Sicily to the rank of a

§ XXVIII. The preparations for refining and increasing
the navy of Spain were carried on with such extraordinary
vigour, that other nations believed an expedition was
instituted a project of the French, who had for some
period grieved to provoke the trade and commerce of the
Mediterranea, except France and Tuscany, who were at perpetual
war with the Moors of Barbary, and for that reason
obliged to employ foreign ships for the transportation of their
merchandize. This employment naturally devolves
upon those nations, whose vessels are in no danger from the
depredations of the Barbary corsairs: namely, the subject,
the maritime powers, who for this piny advantage, not only
receive the economical profits of the
wealth of all the rich and opulent states of Europe, but
themselves, by arms and armament, solicit their passage,
and purchase their forbearance with annual presents,
which, in effect, equivalent to a tribute; whereas, by
unavailing exertions on their part, they would only
befall the loss of their interests, and the inability
to redeem those precarious breaches of despicable
habitants. Even

All the condensation of those disgrace themselves
with the title of allies to these miscreants is not always
sufficient to restrain them from acts of cruelty and
violence. At this very period four cruisers from Algiers made a
capture of an English packet-boat, in her voyage from Lisbon,
and conveyed her to their city, where she was plundered
of money and effects to the amount of one hundred
thousand pounds, and afterwards dismissed. In consequence
of this outrage, Commodore Keppel was sent with seven
ships of war to condoime satisfaction, and to impose
some extents from the Barbary corsairs, which had arisen on account of
arrears claimed of the English by the Day of Algiers.

The Musselocke, the corsairs, who, having been divided among the captors, could not possibly be
re-formed into one body, was attacked and defeated by some of
the vessels of war. The pates of Algiers were invested with the
sequl, an Almanni ambassador arrived in London
with some presents of wild heats for his British
majesty. This transaction was succeeded by another
injunction from the British ambassador, who
succeeded to his post. Mr. Lutton, an English ambassador, sent thither to redeem
the British subjects, who had been many years enslaved in
the dominions of the King of Morocco. A resolution
having lately happened in this empire, Muley Abdallah, the
regnang ryllian, insisted upon the ambassador's paying
a pretended balance for the ransom of the captives, as well
as depositing a considerable sum, which had already
been paid to a released bawab; alleging that as (he
emperor) received no part of it, the payment was illegal. Mr.
Lutton refusing to comply with this arbitrary demand, his
house was surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, who
violently dragged his secretary from his presence, and
threw him to the dungeon; but no more than the
continued twenty days. The English slaves, to the
number of twenty-seven, were doomed to the same fate,
and the ambassador himself was degraded from his character,
deprestable and deplorable. On the sixteenth day, all
letters directed to him were intercepted, and interpreted to the alcaide: two negro
porters were instructed with the keys of all his apartments, and
a couple of soldiers posted in his chamber-door; nay, this
Moorish governor threatened to load him with irons, and
violently seized part of the presents designed by his
British majesty for the emperor. At length, finding that
nothing but Mr. Lutton, or the governor of Gibraltar,
whom he had written, would deposit the money, without
fresh instructions from the court of London, the barbarian
thought proper to relax in his severity: the prisoners were
enforced, the restrictions removed from the person of the
ambassador, and, after all these indignities offered to
the honour of the British nation, the balance was paid,
and the affair quietly adjusted.

§ XXIX. Britain, in the meanwhile, was alternately lacer-
ated by wars which might deserve a place in a general
history. Commerce and manufactures flourished again to
such a degree of increase as had never been known in the
island; but this advantage was attended with an irre-
availing increase of that commerce and manufactures,
which were a source of so much danger to the peace of all
the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil
polity, and opening a way for license and immorality.
The highways were infested with rapine and manslaughter;
the cities teemed with the tumults, the riot, the
roughness, and the procuages of towns all over the
place. The whole land was overspread with a succession of tumult, riot, and
tumult, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection
of new turnpikes, which the legislature judged necessary
for the convenience of inland carriage. In order to quell
these disturbances, recourse was had to the military power:
several individuals were slain, and some were executed as
examples.

§ XXX. In the month of November the session of parlia-
ment was opened with a speech from the throne, in
which his majesty expressed a particular pleasure in meet-
ing them at a time when the perfect re-establishment of a
general peace was to be expected, and every one was
quiet and tranquillity. He said, the good effects of these
already appeared in the flourishing condition of national
commerce, and in the use of public credit, which were
the fruits of the prosperity of commerce, and the
wealth of all ages. He declared, that, during the summer, he had used
every opportunity of cementing and securing the peace;
that it was his firm resolution to do every thing in his
power for the preservation of it, and religiously adhere
to the engagements into which he had entered. Finally, he
took notice of the good disposition he had found in the
other contracting parties in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle
to cherish the public tranquillity of Europe; and he
economically recommended to the two Houses the maintenance of a strong naval power, as the bulwark of national security.

§ XXXII. When the motion was made for an address of thanks to the House of Commons, the first paragraph of his majesty's speech furnished the opposition with a handle to declaim against the late treaty. Sir John Hylde Cotton observed, That the peace could not be properly styled complete, as nothing had been added thereto with respect to the article of "no search," alluding to the interruption of our commerce had sustained from the Spaniards in the West Indies; a stipulation, without which both Houses of parliament would never have consented to a peace with that kingdom. In the present conjuncture of affairs such an objection savoured rather of party than of patriotism: and indeed Sir John declared, that the remarks he made upon the occasion were rather in discharge of the duty he owed to his country, than in hope of seeing his sentiments espoused by the majority. Some sharp altercation was used in the debate which arose on this subject; and many severe invectives were levelled at those who negotiated, as well as at those who approved and confirmed, the treaty. But Mr. Pelham, who sustained the whole weight of the debate on the side of administration, answered every objection with equal energy and decision. He contended that the terms of peace were as favourable as could be expected, considering the unfortunate events of the war, and the situation of the contending powers: he at least demonstrated, that it would be the interest of the kingdom to accept such a ratification of the treaties as was proposed. He observed, that the terms of peace were as advantageous as could be, considering the different powers of Europe were, in effect, disadvantageous and prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. In answer to these assertions, Mr. Pelham undertook to prove, from the register of imports and exports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extensive at this than at any former period; and that the public credit was strong enough to admit of an experimental measure, which he recommended, as the establishment of peace. He reminded them, that a parliament of Great Britain had once voted "no peace while any part of the West Indies should remain in possession of the Spanish king;" yet a train of incidents, which they could not possibly foresee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace, without insisting upon the accomplishment of that condition. In a word, we must own, that in the majority of debates, excited in the course of this session, to promote the interest of the nation, as of reason, as well as from the weight of influence. We shall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land forces to fifteen thousand, and the reduction of their pay to two pounds sterling each, as a measure proposed. On these constitutional points the Earl of Egmont, and the other chiefs of the opposition, expounded with all the energy of eloquence, which, however, was frustrated by the weight of superior numbers. Ten thousand seamen were voted for the services of the ensuing year, notwithstanding his majesty's injunction to maintain a considerable navy; and the number of land forces was continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven. The sums granted for making good his majesty's engagements with the Electors of Bavaria and Meutz, and the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, amounted to fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. The services due from the subscribers to the nation, which had already been paid, were gratified with the sum of one hundred twenty-two thousand two hundred forty-six pounds. The expense incurred by the new colony of Nova Scotia exceeded seventeen thousand pounds.

A small sum was voted for the improvement of Georgia; and ten thousand pounds were granted towards the support of the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa. The sum total granted in this session arose to four millions one hundred forty-one thousand six hundred sixty-one pounds nine shillings five pence, and eleven shillings ten pence, or fifteen pounds, at three shillings in the pound; the malt and other duties, and the surplus of divers impositions remaining in the bank and exchequer; one million by annuities, at three per cent. charged on the sinking fund, until redeemed by parliament; and nine hundred thousand pounds out of the excess or overplus of monies denominated the sinking fund.

§ XXXII. But the capital measure which distinguished this session of parliament was the renewal of the sinking fund on the public funds; a scheme which was planned and executed by the minister, without any national disturbance or disquiet, to the astonishment of all Europe; the different nations of which could not comprehend how it would be possible for the government, at once, to discharge a long and expensive war, which had so considerably drained the country, and augmented the enormous burthen of national debt, to find monies for paying off such of the public creditors as might choose to receive the principal, rather than submit to a reduction of the interest. It was not very much for the honour of the opposition, that some of its leading members endeavoured to impeach this great measure of property by taking what they, perhaps, thought, was a ground of personal objection for refusing to make it known; affirming in parliament, in opposition to his majesty's speech, that the nation, far from being in a flourishing condition, was almost entirely exhausted; that commerce dropped and declined; that public credit was tottering on the brink of ruin; that all the treaties had been concluded among the different powers of Europe were, in effect, disadvantageous and prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. In answer to these assertions, Mr. Pelham undertook to prove, from the register of imports and exports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extensive at this than at any former period; and that the public credit was strong enough to admit of an experimental measure, which he recommended, as the establishment of peace. He reminded them, that a parliament of Great Britain had once voted "no peace while any part of the West Indies should remain in possession of the Spanish king;" yet a train of incidents, which they could not possibly foresee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace, without insisting upon the accomplishment of that condition. In a word, we must own, that in the majority of debates, excited in the course of this session, to promote the interest of the nation, as of reason, as well as from the weight of influence. We shall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land forces to fifteen thousand, and the reduction of their pay to two pounds sterling each, as a measure proposed. On these constitutional points the Earl of Egmont, and the other chiefs of the opposition, expounded with all the energy of eloquence, which, however, was frustrated by the weight of superior numbers. Ten thousand seamen were voted for the services of the ensuing year, notwithstanding his majesty's injunction to maintain a considerable navy; and the number of land forces was continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven. The sums granted for making good his majesty's engagements with the Electors of Bavaria and Meutz, and the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, amounted to fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. The services due from the subscribers to the nation, which had already been paid, were gratified with the sum of one hundred twenty-two thousand two hundred forty-six pounds. The expense incurred by the new colony of Nova Scotia exceeded seventeen thousand pounds.

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with the terms proposed, and subscribed their respective annuities before the end of February; but the three great companies at first kept aloof, and refused to subscribe any part of their capital, till the end of March.

§ XXX. About the middle of March the

Commons ordered the proper officers to lay before them an account of the sums which had been subscribed, and they were then to cause the said proportionation by a committee of the House; and it was then that Mr. Pelham, as chancellor of the exchequer, observed, that besides the debts due to the three great companies in their corporate capacity, all the rest, everyone four per centum interest, had been subscribed. In this case, the proprietors, or subscribers, the proprietors of those companies of which had forfeited the favour designed by them to parliament: but as many of these had been misled by evil counsellors, who perhaps were more intent on distressing the government, than solenmly to serve their friends; and as many were foreigners, residing beyond sea, who had not time to take proper advice, and give the necessary instructions; and as these could not possibly be distinguished from such as refuse to subscribe from mere obstinacy or deceitful, it might be thought cruel to take the most rigorous advantage of the forfeiture they had incurred. With respect to the proprietors of the stock or capital belonging to the three great companies, he asserted, that many of them would have subscribed their proportions within the prescribed time, but were necessarily excluded by the majority on the ballot; and as it was equally impossible to know those who were against the question on the ballot, he thought that the present necessity was due even to the proprietors of those three companies: his opinion, therefore, was, that they and the uncomplying annuitants should be indulged with further time to complete their subscriptions; but, in order to preserve the authority of parliament, and the respect due to that august assembly, they ought not to be gratified with such advantageous terms as were allowed to the annuitants who at first cheerfully complied with the proposals offered by the legislature. For these reasons he proposed that the subscribers should not be proscribed till the thirteenth day of May, the encouragement of three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should not be continued to the second subscribers longer than till the fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

The proposal being approved, a bill was framed for this purpose, as well as for redeeming such annuities as should not be subscribed, which passed through both Houses, and was enacted into a law, after having received an additional clause, empowering the East India Company, in case they should subscribe all their stock bearing an interest of four per centum, to borrow, with the consent of the treasury, any sums not exceeding two hundred thousand pounds, for a period of several rates of interest before proposed to be paid by the public, and one million more at three per centum per annum. They were also vested with a power to raise money by bonds as formerly; yet so as the whole, including the annuities, should not exceed what they were by former acts empowered to borrow. The objections to the execution of this project, which by many were deemed insurmountable, entirely vanished before the fortune, perseverance, and caution of the minister; who had secured, among the most wise of the nation, the promise of such sums as would have been sufficient to pay off the capital belonging to those creditors who might refuse to accept the interest till reduced. The second subscription had the desired effect. The three great companies acquiesced, and their example was followed by other scrupulous annuitants; the national burthen was considerably lightened, and the sinking fund considerably increased, without producing the least perplexity or disturbance in the commonwealth; a circumstance that could not fail to give the most universal admiration and envy of all Christians.

§ XXXIV. The mutiny bill for the ensuing year was mitigated with an essential alteration, relating to the oath of secrecy imposed upon the members of every court-martial who were to try offenders in the service; to give evidence, by due course of law, in any court of justice; and whereas, by the former mutiny bill, a general was empowered to order the revulsion and sentence by a court-martial as often as he pleased, and, on that pretence, he kept the drum beating, both on the land and sea, upon a fair trial, it was now enacted, that no sentence pronounced by any court-martial and signed by the president, should be more than once liable to revulsion. Colonel George Townshend, son of Lord Viscount Townshend, who had equally distinguished himself by his civil and military accomplishments, proposed another clause, for preventing any non-commissioned officer being broke or reduced into the ranks; or any soldier being punished, but by the sentence of a court-martial. He gave the House to understand, that certain persons attended at the door, who from the station of non-commissioned officers had been broke, and reduced into the ranks, without trial, or any cause assigned; and that these were capable of extending both to the existing officers, as well as to the new establishments; but also upon the danger of leaving such arbitrary power in the hands of an individual officer. A warm debate was the consequence of this motion, which, however, was not carried by a large majority.

§ XXXV. Among other regulations made in the course of this session for the encouragement of the British manufactures, a large duty was laid upon Irish silk-cloth, which being sold at an under price, was found to import the same species of commodity fabricated in the island of Great Britain; and, for the further benefit of this last, the bounty on the exportation of it, which had been deducted from a defective fund, was now made payable out of the common fund, the same year a considerable addition to a duty was made upon sugar, in the proportion of a duty of two pounds, would be levied on forty pounds of sugar. This was thought sufficient to discourage the importation of foreign sugar, and in consequence of its being the only commodity in which the Swedes again entered into competition with the French, and other mercantile powers, those necessaries and superfluities with which they might have been as cheaply furnished by Great Britain. In the meantime the English importers of foreign sugar were taking advantage of the making advantage of their own produce, in exchanging their manufactures for such commodities as they were under the necessity of procuring from their mother-country. Such restriction was not only a cruel grievance upon our own settlements, but also attended with manifest prejudice to the interest of Great Britain, annually drained of great sums, in favour of an ungrateful nation, from which no part of them returned; whereas the iron imported from America must of necessity come in exchange for our own manufactures. The Commons having appointed a day for taking this affair into consideration, carefully examined into the state of the British manufactures, and having with Sweden, as well as into the accounts of its imports from the plantations in America; and a committee of the whole House having resolved, that the duties on American pig and bar-iron should be removed, a bill was brought in
for that purpose, containing a clause, however, to prevent his majesty's subjects from making steel, and establishing rolls for sitting and rolling iron within the British colonies of America; this precaution being taken, that the embargo might not interfere with the manufactories of their mother-country.

§ XXXVI. The next commercial improvement, of which we shall take notice, was the bill for the encouragement of the British while building and equipping ships. This was the result of the expense of transporting, importation, that a bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be granted, and paid out of the customs to all new vessels from twenty to fourscore tons burthen, which should be built for that purpose, and annually employed in the coasting trade, should be incorporated, under the name of the Free British Fishery, by a charter, not exclusive, with power to raise a capital not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds; and that three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should be granted and paid out of the customs to the proprietors for fourteen years, for so much of the capital as should be actually employed in the said fisheries. Corresponding chambers were proposed to be erected in remote parts of North Britain, for taking in subscriptions, and prosecuting the trade, under the directions of the company at London; and the nation seemed eager to dispute this branch of commerce with the subjects of other countries, and particularly with the French and English traders.

In the House of Peers, however, the bill met with a formidable opposition from the Earl of Winchelsea and Lord Sandy's, who justly observed, that it was a cruel, inconsistent, and dangerous, project, intended to answer the expectations of the people; that in contending with the Dutch, who are the patterns of unwearied industry, and the most rigid economy, nothing could be more absurd than a joint-stock company, which is always clogged with extraordinary expense; and the resolution of fitting out vessels at the port of London, where all sorts of materials, labour, and seamen are so much dearer than in any other part of the united kingdom, exclusive of the great distance and dangerous voyage between the metropolis and the sound of Brassa in Shetland, the rendezvous at which all the herring vessels were to assemble in the beginning of the fishing season. They likewise took notice of the heavy duty on salt, used in curing the fish for sale, and the beef for provision to the warrows; a circumstance of itself sufficient to discourage adventurers from embarking in a commerce, which, at best, yields but very slender profits. The clauses of this bill, therefore, might prove to the community in general. These objections were answered by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Granville, who seemed to think that this branch of trade could not be fairly set on foot, unless some provision were made for the money of a single individual would be able to prosecute the fishery at a smaller expense than that which particular traders must necessarily incur; that the present spirit of the nation, which was cagerly bent upon trying the experiment, ought not to be baulked by delay, lest it should evaporate; and that though the plan was not unexceptionable, the defects of it might in the sequel be remedied by the legislature. In a word, the bill was adopted by the majority, with a small amendment in the title, which produced some dissuasives in the lower House; but this dispute was compromised, and it was enacted into a law. The consequences of this measure would be more agreeable to the public than the sanction of the legislature to this favourite plan, which was ardently promoted, and patronized by men of the greatest eminence for wealth and popularity. The company chose for their governor the Prince of Wales, who received this proof of their attachment and respect with particular marks of satisfaction: the president and vice-president were both aldermen of London; and the council was composed of thirty gentlemen, the majority of whom were members of parliament. Great skill was used, to learn the Dutch method of curing the fish. People crowded with their subscriptions; a number of hands were employed in building and equipping the hundreds of vessels used to the fishery; and the most favourable consequences were expected from the general vigour and alacrity which animated these preparations. But the success did not gratify the sanguine hopes of the projectors and adventurers. The objections made in the House of Lords soon appeared to have been well founded; these co-operating with mismanagement in the directors, the spirit of the company began to flag, the natural consequences of commercial disappointment, and now the British fishery seems to languish under the neglect of the legislature.

§ XXXVII. Touching the trade to the coast of Africa, petitions were renewed by the company and its creditors, the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and Lancaster; and a remonstrance was presented by the planters and merchants interested in the British sugar settlements in America; but the Commons adhered to their former resolutions of laying open the trade, and limiting the number of vessels, and the public expense, and reducing the commerce by a combination of merchants, representing the chief trading towns in the kingdom, to be superintended by the board of trade and plantations. The bill was accordingly framed and presented; but it was rejected by his majesty's ministers, and opposition, obtained the royal assent. Over and above these wise, salutary, and patriotic measures for the improvement of commerce, they encouraged the importation of raw silk by an act, reducing the duties formerly payable on that which was the growth of China to the same that is raised on the raw silk from Italy, and allowing the same drawback upon the exportation of the one which had been there. They then usually granted it to those vessels that were brought in for the encouragement of the growth and culture of silk in Carolina and Georgia, where it had been lately produced with extraordinary success, by freeing all duties that should be imported from his majesty's dominions in America; and a third was framed, permitting raw silk of the growth or produce of Persia, purchased in Russia, to be imported into Great Britain, from any port or place belonging to the empire of Russia. The measures of the crown were supported by assent, to rectify certain abuses in the army and administration; some bills were brought in, and several petitions were left on the table; but all of them proved abortive, and the whole spirit of the measures of his majesty was resolved that no benefit should flow upon the nation through any channel but his own. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged for the honour of his memory, that there is no session on record so productive as this was of measures advantageous to the community.

§ XXXVIII. The people, however, were not entirely satisfied with the conduct of the administration, if we may judge from the ferment and commotions raised during the progress of an election for a citizen to represent the city of Westminster in parliament. The seat which had been filled by Lord Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, having become vacant in consequence of that nobleman's accepting the office of lord mayor of London, it was determined to use their utmost endeavours to baffle the choice of the voters, and considerable sums of money were saved to the nation. They observed, that the importations of iron from America could no more affect the ironworks and friends of iron than the tobacco of Virginia from any other country; but they proved that the people of America must be reined forth from the power and provisions of the ministry, and resolved that no benefit should flow upon the nation through any channel but his own. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged for the honour of his memory, that there is no session on record so productive as this was of measures advantageous to the community.

They likewise suggested, that if all the iron manufacturers of Great Britain should be obliged to depend upon a supply of iron from the producers, this would not only be a violation of the rights of the free agents and the enemy, the manufacturers would probably decay in consequence of the return of their original produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the foreign, and therefore the greatest benefit from the importation of the metal of the same kind. But it was observed, that the importation of iron from America was no more to be considered as endangering the commerce of Great Britain than the introduction of foreign silk from that quarter, which would improve the manufactures of the nation, and be supplied from the colonies in America, the importation would cease.
designs of the court, and at the same time take vengeance on the family of Earl Gower, who had entirely abandoned the opposition, of which he was formerly one of the most resolute supporters.

With this view, a general consultation was held, and the members agreed to resolutions, and set up a private gentleman, named Sir George Vandremar, as the competitor of Lord Trentham, declaring that they would support his pretensions at their own expense, being the more encouraged to this enterprise by the sudden and most unexpected elevation of the Prince of Wales and his adherents. They accordingly opened houses of entertainment for their partisans, solicited votes, circulated remonstrances, and propagated abuse: in a word, they exercised, with surprising spirit and perseverance, against the whole interest of St. James's. Nobles were hired and processions made on both sides, and the city of Westminster was filled with tumult and uproar. The mutual animosity of the parties seemed every day to increase during the election, and a great number of unqualified votes were presented on both sides: all the powers of instigation, obliquity, and ridicule, were employed to vilify and depreciate both candidates. At length the poll being closed, a majority of votes appeared in behalf of Lord Trentham: but a scrutiny being demanded by the other side, the returning officer complied with their request. The speaker of the lower House had issued his warrant for an election about the middle of November, and towards the end of February Mr. Fox, secretary at war, standing up, and observing that no return had yet been made, thought proper to move, that the clerk of the crown should be ordered to the election of the western side, the under sheriff of Middlesex, and the high bailiff of Westminster, should attend next morning, and give an account of their issuing, delivering, and executing the writ of election. These being examined, and the high bailiff declaring that he would proceed with all possible dispatch in the scrutiny, which had been demanded and was begun, Mr. Speaker explained to him some particulars of his duty; in the discharge of which, he was given to understand, he should be honest, zealous, and sedulous; and that he should meet with any obstruction which he could not otherwise surmount. By the violence and caprice with which a great number of votes were contested on both sides, the scrutiny was protracted a long time, and the return attended with some extraordinary consequences, which shall be particularized among the transactions of the next year. In the meantime, the present session of parliament was closed on the twelfth day of April, with a speech from the throne, commanding the Commons for having seized the very first opportunity of reducing the interest of the national debt, without the least infringement upon the faith of parliament; and congratulating them on the prosperity of the public in general, which could only fail to add strength and reputation to the government, both at home and abroad. Immediately after the rising of the parliament, his majesty appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; and embarked for the continent, in order to visit his German dominions.

§ XXXIX. The month of January and the beginning of February were distinguished, the first day, by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis, appearing at night to the north-east, of a deep and dusky red colour, like the reflection of some great fire, for which it was by many people mistaken; and the confusions, unlike those that are generally observed, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point some degrees to the southward. February was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as, overwhelming with fear and astonishment the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged. On the eighth day of the same month, between twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which shook all the houses within a considerable distance, and that the furniture, fixed on the floors, the pewter and porcelain rattled on the shelves, the chamber bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noise resembling that produced by the explosion of gunpowder. The shock was felt throughout the cities of London and Westminster, and was felt on both sides the river Thames, from Greenwich to the westward of London; but not perceptible at a considerable distance. On the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a second earthquake, yet not so violently amusing as it waked the greater part of the people from their repose. It was preceded by a succession of thick low flashes of lightning, and a rumbling noise, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. The shock lasted but a few seconds, and produced no more than a violent convulsion, which lasted some seconds, and violently shook every house from top to bottom. Again the chairs rocked, the shelves clattered, the small bells rang, and in some places public clocks were heard striking, and persons roused by this terrible visitation, started from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in distraction; yet no life was lost, and no house overturned by this concussion, though it was so dreadful as to threaten an immediate dissolution of the globe. The circumstance, however, did not fail to make a deep impression upon ignorant, weak, and superstitious minds, which were the more affected by the consideration, that the two shocks were periodic; that the second, which happened exactly one month after the first, had been the more violent; and that the next increasing in proportion, might be attended with the most dismal consequences. This general notion was confirmed, and the most extraordinary visions, and prodigies, and adorations of a fanatic soldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day in April, and totally destroy the city. The heart was filled with astonishment at the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the emphatic manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepossessed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illustrious enthusiast should have contributed in a great measure, to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent sinners: the songs of riot and profanity were overawed into sobriety and decorum. The streets no longer resounded with excursions, or the crowd of the House of Commons, by which the hope of charity was liberally opened. Those, whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages. Many who had, in the beginning, combated these groundless fears with the weapons of reason and ridicule, began insensibly to imitate the contagion, and felt their hearts fail, in proportion as the hour of probation approached, and even science and philosophy were not proof against the unaccountable effects of this communication. In afterages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the eighth day of April, the open fields that skirted the metropolis were so crowded with spectators, which could only be explained by an ambition to add to the strength and reputation of the government, both at home and abroad. Immediately after the rising of the parliament, his majesty appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; and embarked for the continent, in order to visit his German dominions.

§ XL. By this time all the grand objects in England were filled with the refuse of the army and navy, which having been dismissed at the peace, and either averse to labour, or excluded from employment, had naturally preyed upon the commonalty, who, without the benefit of proper regulations, might have been rendered serviceable to the community, were executed as examples; and the rest punished miserably, amidst the stench and horrors of noisome dungeons. Even the prison of Newgate was rendered so infectious by the uncommon crowds of confined felons, stowed together in close apartments, that the very air they breathed acquired a pestilential degree of infection, and consequently there was a very great number of deaths among the malefactors brought to trial at the bar of the Old Bailey in May, produced among the audience a pestilential fever, which infected and proved fatal to the people of the court, who were not employed. The judges, divers lawyers who attended the session, the greatest part of the jury, and a considerable number of the spectators. In order to prevent such disasters for the
future, the goals were cleansed, and accommodated with ventilators, which exhaust the foul and supply a circulation of fresh air; and other humane precautions were taken in the establishment of the resort.

§ LII. The affairs of the continent underwent no remarkable alteration. An ambassador extraordinary being sent to Petersburg from the court of London, declared, to the czarina's minister, that in case of a rupture between Russia and Austria, the latter country, for the honor and supremacy of the empire, which were contested against his Britannic majesty, the czarina's minister would consider Russia as the aggressor, and the czarina could not expect that he would supply her with the succours which he could give by treaty to furnish her with remonstrances in case she should be attacked. A declaration of the same nature was made by the ambassador of her imperial majesty the Queen of Hungary, while the ministers of France and Prussia, who were in strict alliance with Sweden, gave her to understand, that they would punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, should she actually invade the Swedish territories of Finland. The spirit with which the King of Prussia exerted himself on this occasion, gave infinite umbrage to the czarina, who, indeed, expressed her resentment, by treating the minister of Brandenburgh with contemptuous neglect, and even refused to favour him with an audience, till he should make a formal and public protest. These were some of the misunderstandings between those two powers, which, in the sequel, grew up to the most bitter animosity, and served to inflame those dissensions, which, as a result of the general spirit of mutiny with which the trooping of the guard was accompanied. The remonstrance of his Prussian majesty with respect to the troubles of the North, was couched in such terms as gave dissatisfaction to the court of Petersburg. The Russian minister recalled from Berlin, without the consent of taking leave, and the Prussian ambassador Warendorf was recalled from the court of the czarina.

§ XLII. The attention of his Britannic majesty was not wholly diverted by the disputes between Russia and Sweden. He had another object in view, which more nearly concerned the interest of his German dominions; and had set on foot two negotiations of the utmost importance to the commerce and advantage of Great Britain. His first and principal aim was, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, to take such measures as would secure the succession of the imperial dignity to the Archduke Joseph, eldest son and heir to the reigning emperor. As the previous step to that object, an embassy was composed to act upon the principles of the King of the Romans; and for this purpose it was necessary to procure a majority not only of the electors, but also in the diet of the empire, through which the proposal might be transmitted to the British plantations. In order to effect this expedient to the German princes. Subsidies were offered to the maritime powers of England and the States-general, to the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and a treaty of the same nature was concluded with the Elector of Bavaria, who, in consideration of an annual subsidy, amounting to forty thousand pounds sterling, two-thirds to be paid by Great Britain, and the rest by the States-general, engaged to keep in readiness a body of six thousand infantry, as auxiliaries to the maritime powers, though not to act against the emperor or empire; and to join the interest of his Britannic majesty in the diet, as well as in the elective college. In order to render the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, and the other princes of Germany, immodulated with the loan of a very considerable sum upon the mortgag of certain bailivlicks and lordships belonging to the Saxton dominions. Thus a majority of the electors was secured, and such foundations were laid for the success of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accomplished in his Britannic majesty's next visit to his German dominions. Hopes, it was said, were given to the other parties that they should be gratified, by erecting the house of Hesse Cassel, of which he was head, into a tenth electorate. Arguments of an interesting nature were used with the King of Prussia, and the Elector Palatine, that if possible, the diet might unanimously approve of his Britannic majesty's necessity for establishing the peace of the empire, and preventing such troubles as arose from a disputed succession at the death of Charles the Sixth. These endeavours, however, did not succeed in their full extent.

§ XLIII. The King of Prussia, as Elector of Brandenburgh, opposed to the courts of Vienna and England, on account of the health and vigour of the reigning emperor, and the tender years of the archduke. This monarch had set himself up as a balance to the power of the house of Austria, which had long aspired to absolute dominion in the German empire, its co-existent right of succession to the empire; he, therefore, employed all his influence to frustrate the measure proposed, either actuated by a spirit of pure patriotism, or inspired by hope that he had not yet throughproper declaration. The opposition was joined by the Elector Palatine, and counseled by the French king; who protested, that, for the sake of peace, he would not oppose this election, though contrary to the golden bull, provided it should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of the electoral college; but should any one member signify his dissent, and he or any state of the empire claim the protection and assistance of his most Christian majesty, he could not dispense with granting both, in consequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia: an engagement by which he was obliged to succour those princes and states of the empire who might have recourse to him, in case of any grievances that he might suffer with his allies stipulated in that constitution. This declaration co-operating with the known character of his Prussian majesty, whose great army overawed Hanover and Bohemia, in all probability dashed all hopes of Vienna, and the ministers of France had hitherto prosecuted this important negotiation.

§ XLIV. The second object that employed the attention of the British ministry was the establishment of the peace limits of Acadia to Nova Scotia, where the new colony had suffered great misfortune and interruption from incursions of the Indians, excited to these outrages by the subjects and emissaries of France. Commissioners had been appointed by both crowns, to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes, and to attempt to extinguish this abortive by every act of cavilling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicacity of the English claims. They not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject, but they carried the finesse of perfidy so far as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were not correctly represented. At this time the insincerity of the French court appeared in affected delays and artful objections, with respect to the evacuation of the neutral islands in the West Indies; and the governors of these islands did not participate in the transmitted intelligence, that the French had begun to make encroachments on the banks of the English colonies.

§ XLV. Perhaps the precarious footing on which the peace stood between Great Britain and France at this juncture, and the critical situation of affairs in Germany, determined the ministry of England to compromise all differences with Spain, upon such terms as at any other time they would hardly have embraced. In order to those points between the two nations, which had not been settled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were also begun at Madrid, and carried on by Mr. Keene, plenipotentiary to his Britannic majesty, and Don Joseph de la Carvaly, minister of Spain. At this time a treaty of commerce was concluded on these conditions: The King of Spain engaged to pay, in three months, to the South sea company of England, one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as an indemnification for all claims upon his crown by virtue of the Assiento. In other respects, the trade and navigation of the English to the ports of Spain were regulated by former treaties. It was stipulated, that they should be gratified by what they should be exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: That they should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nations; and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking salt at the island of Tortuga. But there was no article restricting the Spanish guards costs from searching the English vessels on the high seas: although, as we have already observed, this insolent prerogative, assumed without right,
and exercised without humanity, was, in effect, the original and sole cause of the late rupture, which had been attended with such enormous expense to the nation. It must be observed, however, that his subsequent treaty was at least an

period extremely well disposed to live upon good terms with Great Britain. He was resolved to indulge his people with the blessings of peace, to propagate a spirit of industri

and courage throughout his dominions, and in particular, to en-
courage commerce, which he foresaw would prove a much more certain and inexhaustible source of wealth, power, and influence, than all the treasures he could drain from the mines of Mexico and Peru. His resolutions on this important subject were chiefly directed by Don Ricardo

Wall, who now acted as his minister at London: a gentle-

man of Irish extract, who had distinguished himself in the

field as well as in the cabinet, and possessed the joint qualifications of a general and a statesman. He had, by virtue of a passport, come over privately to England before the peace, in order to pave the way for the treaty, by a secret negotiation with the English ministers; but immediately after the peace was proclaimed, he appeared in the character of ambassador. He was possessed of the most

insinuating address, shrewd, penetrating, and inquisitive. While he resided in London, he spared no pains in learning the insinuating address, shrewd, penetrating, and inquisitive. While he resided in London, he spared no pains in learning the

interest of both parties, and he had perceived, in a measure, that commerce, by which Great Britain had been so remarkably agrar-
dized; and on his return to Spain, where in a little time he was placed at the helm of affairs, he turned the know-

ledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country. He had the whole of Spain subservient to the

interest of Great Britain, but demonstrated the Dinsamerican advantage that would accrue from an active trade, which the Spaniards had for many ages neglected; and in a few years their ships were seen to swarm in all the commercial parts of

Europe. Of other foreign events which distinguished this summer, the most remarkable was the death of John,

King of Portugal, who perfectly understood, and steadily promulgated, the interest of his country; land and

many princes in the vast extent of his dominions, were debased by a cruel spirit of


corruption and superstition. He was succeeded by his eldest

son, Joseph, who, if he has fallen short of his father in some respects, cannot be justly charged with having

inherited this paternal weakness.

§ XLVII. The King of Great Britain, having returned to

England, opened the session of parliament in January

a speech, importing, that he had concluded a treaty

with the King of Spain, and amicably adjusted such
differences as could not be so properly compromised with

a general treaty: that the true commerce of this nation with that country was re-established upon the most advantage-

ous terms; and that there was the greatest reason to hope the ancient friendship between Great Brit-

ain and Spain would, from mutual inclination as well as inter-

est, be now effectually restored. He told them, that in

conjunction with the empress queen and the States-general

he had concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria; and

was employed in taking such further measures as might best tend to strengthen and secure the tranquility of the empire, support its system, and timely anticipate such
events as had been found by experience to endanger the

common cause, involve Europe in the calamities of war, and occasion the loss of much blood and treasure to these

kingdoms. He promised, that both these treaties should be

subjected to their prudential; he gave them to understand, that he had received from all the other contracting powers in the

definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the most full and clear

declarations of their resolution to preserve the general peace; and that he had taken care to consolidate the ties of union and friendship between him and his allies, the

to secure their mutual interests, maintain the peace

already subsisting, and prevent the occasion of any future

rupture. Finally, he recommended unanimity, the

improvement of the national credit, commerce, and the

suppression of such outrages and violences as are inconsistent with good

order and government, and endanger the lives and prop-

erties of the subject, whose happiness and flourishing con-

dition were the best indication that his Majesty's system had

succeede

§ XLVIII. When the motion was made for an address

of thanks, couched in terms that savoured of the most implicit

complaisance, approbation, and acquiescence in the mea-

ures which the crown had taken, the Earl of Egremont, and some other anti-courtiers, affirmed, that such an address would be equally servile and absurd. They observed, that the approbation of the most influential ministers, and the approbation of measures which they did not know: that nothing could be more ridiculous than their congratula-
tions on the present happy tranquility, when almost every day's newspaper was filled with some British subjects being seized in the Spanish colonies, or some new attack made by the French on our infant colony in Nova Scotia. With

respect to the continent of Europe, they affirmed, that the tranquility of Germany would have been upon a much

lower foundation, had more England been employed in the

affairs of the empire; in that case the princes would of

themselves have supported the constitution of their own

country; that the election of an infant for the King

of the Romans was much more likely to disturb than to

establish the tranquility of Europe; because it would

to overturn the constitution of the empire, by render-

ing the imperial dignity hereditary in one house, instead of being the result of a free election. They took notice, that the constitution had provided vicars to govern the empire during the vacancy of the imperial throne; but had made no provision of regents, protectors, or guardians for a more probable and certain event, and had thereby

chosen a worse fate. They inveighed against the late

treaty with Spain; in which, they said, the ministry, for the

paltry sum of one hundred thousand pounds, had

given up the claims of the South Sea company, and other

countries. They also asserted that the Spanish bringing in

the amount of one million three hundred thousand pounds;

and bartered away the freedom of our trade and naviga-

tion, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the

Spaniards have assumed of searching the British ships

in the open seas, and confisquing them should they find on

board the least particle of what they called contraband

merchandise. They produced an instance of an English

ship, which had recently been searched by the customs of

the Spanish West Indies, where she was searched, seized, and condemned, under this pretence. They re-

enounced the conduct of the French, who, in the midst of

their declarations of peace and moderation, were still employed in fortifying their settlements on the neutral

islands, as well as in harassing and encroaching upon our

plantations in North America. They exclaimed against

the treaty of subsidy with the Elector of Bavaria, or any

other peace in time of peace; observing, that for some

years the nation had paid such pensions to the Danes and

the Saxons; but, in the course of the late war, the former

abandoned our interests, and the latter actually took

arms against Great Britain; and that the subsidy of the

States-General, after the treaty, was so certain, that unless the land tax should be continued at four shilling

in the pound, they could not afford a shilling to any

prince in Germany, without encroaching upon the sinking

fund. "At such a juncture (said a certain member) will

any gentleman presume to propose the continuation of such an imposition on the land-holder, for the sake of

bringing the princes of Germany to do what?—to preserve

the freedom and independency of their native country. I

say, princes of Germany, because this subsidy to Bavaria

will signify nothing unless we take half a score more

of them into our pay; and when we have thus indulged them

for some years of peace, they will find it no easy task, as

others have done, whenever another war should be

declared." Against these objections the motion was sup-

ported by William Pitt, at this time an advocate for the

ministry. He observed, that the address was no more than

the usual compliment to the throne, which did not imply

an obligation on the parliament to approve of measures

which they might find cause to censure upon further

inquiry. He said, the trivial disquietes still subsisting be-

tween the two nations was, the checked attempts at

suppression of such outrages and violences as are inconsistent with good order and government, and endanger the lives and properties of the subject, whose happiness and flourishing condition were the best indication that his Majesty's system had successfully operated. He was convinced that his Majesty's wisdom in taking off from the French interest such a powerful prince as the Elector of Bavaria, and con-

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ereeting other salutary measures for preserving the balance of power on the continent. He defended the articles of the late treaty with Spain; observing, that what remained of its provisions, if the number of its annual contributions to the king of Spain were reduced to such a scale as to prevent a continuance of the war to the South Sea company; that the demands of this company, and other British merchants, were all conciliated by the rupture with Spain, and more than recom pense to the nation by a great balance of captives during the war, as well as by the great traffic carried on with the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, after it had been laid open by the demolition of their fortresses. He asserted, that a great number of important concessions; they had conceded to pay a great sum to the South Sea company; they had consented to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain, upon a very advantageous and solid footing, by agreeing that the subjects of Great Britain should pay no other duties on merchandise than those exacted of his catholic majesty's own subjects, and to abolish all innovations that had been introduced into the commerce. He affirmed, that the article of No Search was a stipulation which it would have been ridiculous to insist upon; and thought proper to obviate a reproach which he foresaw the opposition would throw upon him, from the circumstance of his having, upon the same subject, proposed a duty to people with grief, and that for an address, That no treaty of peace with Spain should be admitted, unless such a stipulation should be first obtained as a preliminary. He owned he had strenuously contended for such a motion, because at that time, being very great numbers of men all ready to go abroad: but he was now ten years older, had considered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of No Search, with respect to British vessels sailing near the American shore, would never be obtained, unless Spain should be brought so low as to acquiesce in any terms we, as victors, might propose. He likewise signified his conviction, that all addresses from the House of Commons, long andearnestly attached to the interest of Great Britain. That motion could not but be affected at seeing a prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the king had already attained to an advanced age, and the heir-apparent, George, now Prince of Wales, was a minor.

§ L. His majesty, foreseeing all the inconveniences which might arise from a minority, deliberated with his council on this subject, and resolved to obtain a parliamentary sanction for the measures judged necessary to secure the succession. With this view he sent a message to both Houses on the twenty-sixth day of April, importing, That nothing could conduce to the safety of the crown but the immediate marriage of his son, in his royal family as proper provisions for the tuition of the person of his successor, and for the regular administration of the government, in case the successor should be of tender years; his majesty, therefore, earnestly recommended this weighty affair to the deliberation of parliament; and proposed, that when the imperial crown of these realms should descend to any of the late prince's sons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, should be guardian of his person, and regent of these kingdoms, until he should attain the age of majority, with such powers and limitations as should appear necessary and expedient for these purposes. This message produced a very affective address, expressing a resolution of taking the affair into their serious consideration; and in the beginning of May the Duke of Newcastle presented to the House of Peers a bill to provide for the administration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor. The bill was read a second time, and committed, when a second message arrived from his majesty, recommending to their consideration the settlement of such a council of regency as the bill proposed, consisting of the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Lindsey, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Lindsey, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Earl of Exeter. These measures were approved of by the king; and the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Lindsey, the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Exeter, and the Duke of Grafton, were appointed the regency council of the admiral, the two principal secretaries of state, and the lord chief justice of the king's bench; all these great officers, except his
royal highness the duke, for the time being. This bill did not pass through the lower House without violent debate and bitter satire. The council of regency, though supported by all the ministry, including the parsimony general, met with fierce opposition, as an unnecessary and fatal restriction, that would impede the machine of government, and, as the council was constituted, might be put on the most pernicious consideration. Some persons among the ministers ventured even to insinuate the danger of leaving at the head of a large standing army a prince of the blood vested with a share of the regency, possessed of great personal influence, the darling of the soldiers, having a popular, and enterprising; supposed not wholly devoid of ambition, and not at all remarkable for any symptoms of extraordinary affection towards the person of the heir-apparent. The history of England was ransacked with invidious instances of royal uncles and regents, who had injured the sovereigns, and distressed the government, by their pride, cruelty, and ambition. The characters of John Lackland, and John of Gaunt, Humphrey and Richard Dukes of Gloucester, were called in review, compared, and quoted, with some odious applications: but the majority, being convinced of the loyalty, virtue, integrity, and great abilities of his royal highness, to whom the trust over the control of the nation passed the bill with a few amendments, in which the Lords acquiesced; and in a little time it received the royal sanction. § 5. The death of the Prince of Wales was fatal to a bill which had been brought into the House of Commons, for naturalizing all foreign protestants who should settle within the dominions of Great Britain. Political antime-
tications have generally taken it for granted, that to every commercial advantage there is an increase of population is an increase of opulence; and this maxim is certainly true, on the supposition that every individual is industrious, and that there is a sufficient field for employment; but all these general maxims could not be received under certain qualifications. When all branches of manufacture are overstocked, an addition of workmen will doubtless be an additional encumbrance on the community. In the debates which this bill produced, the members of the ministry were divided among themselves. The measure was enforced by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. W. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton; and in opposing it the Earl of Egmont was joined by Mr. Fox, secretary at war. Petitions and counter-petitions were presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, and other trading towns of the kingdom. All merchants and traders of foreign extraction exerted themselves vigorously in its behalf, and it was without doubt countenanced by the spirit of the times about the project which was general. The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, in common council assembled, composed a remonstrance to the lower House, setting forth the danger and dangers which would be attended on naturalization foreign protestants. A petition of the merchants and principal inhabitants of Bristol represented that such a law would be prejudicial to the trade and commerce of this kingdom, by preventing many industrious artificers from procuring a sufficient support for themselves and their families, and on consequence increasing the rates of the poor: that the introduction of such a number of foreigners, instead of being a support to the present happy establishment, might danger the very basis of our constitution; that it would greatly tend to the diminution of our manufactures, as many strangers would doubtless come and reside in England for a time, in order to learn the methods and management of our manufacturers and artificers; and, after having obtained this instruction, return to their native countries, where they would establish and carry on works of the same nature. The twentieth day of March being appointed for the third reading of the bill, it was postponed, in consequence of the unfortunate death of the Prince of Wales; and other petitions from different cities of the kingdom being mustered against it in the sequel, the ministry did not think it proper in any serious measure to adopt such a delicate conjunction; so the bill was no more brought upon the carpet. Divers other regulations relating to civil policy as well as to the commerce of Great Britain, were proposed in the House of Commons; but these proposals proved abortive, either because they appeared rude and indigested in themselves, or the House could not at that proper time touch the allegations they contained.

§ 6. There were no other transactions in this session, except the concurrence of both House in stigmatizing a printed paper, entitled, "Constitutional Queries, earnestly recommended to the public consideration of every Briton;" and the steps taken by the Commons, in consequence of the commotions occasioned by the Westminster election. The above-mentioned paper, which had been conveyed by letter to the majority of both Houses, was communicated to the Lords in the month of January by the Duke of Marlborough, who moved for resolutions against it as a seditious libel, and that the concurrence of the Commons might be desired. A conference accordingly ensued, and both Houses concurred in voting the paper a false, malicious, scandalous, infamous, and sedi-
tious libel, containing the most false, judicious, and abom-
inable calumnies and indignities upon his majesty, and the most pretensions and wicked insinuations that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent constitution of this kingdom, were in danger under his majesty's legal, mild, and gracious government, with intent to instil grounds of suspicions and jealousy into the minds of his majesty's good subjects, and to alienate their affections from his majesty and the royal family. It was therefore resolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of the House of Commons assembled; that the detestation of such abominable and seditious practices, the paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hang-
man in the new palace yard of Westminster; and this sen-
tence was executed accordingly. Then they presented an ad-
dress to his majesty, desiring that such additional means might be taken for discovering the author, printer, or publisher, that he or they might be brought to con-ordinary punishment. Directions were given for this purpose; but without the least success. The bill for printing the writing, after circulating the paper, had acted with such caution, that not one of them was ever discovered.

§ 7. The proceedings of the Commons with respect to the election of a burgess for Westminster were attended with some extraordinary circumstances, which we shall now record for the edification of those who pique themselves on the privileges of a British subject. We have already observed that a majority appearing on the part of Lord Trencham, the adherents of the other candidate, Sir George Vandecut, demanded a scrutiny, which was granted by the high-bailiff of Westminster, the returning officer. During this tedious investigation, which rolled chiefly on the quality rather than on the quantity of the votes cast; and seeming candour as gave entire satisfaction to both parties, till at length he determined in favour of Lord Trencham, whom he returned as duly elected. Those who styled this a triumph to the high-bailiff, and to the House; but in this determination without clamour, reproach, means, and riot. They taxed Mr. Leigh, the high-bailiff, with partiality and injustice: they loudly affirmed, that ministerial influence had been used in the most scandalous maner: and, finally, joined Sir George Vandecut in a petition to the lower House, complaining of an undue election and return of a member for the city of Westminster.

The Commons instead of inquiring into those matters of these petitions, ordered them to be upon the table; and, without any complaint from any person whatever, a motion was made that Leigh, the high-bailiff, should attend the House immediately, in order to make them acquainted with what he had done in pursuance of the directions he had formerly received from that House, touching the execution of the writ for electing a new member to represent the city of Westminster. As this motion had been preconcerted, Leigh was indignant, and instantly rose up, and left the House to be examined on this subject. Having, in the course of his examination, alleged that the election had been protracted by affected delays, he was asked by whom, and by what means that delay had been occasioned. He answered, the Earl of Egmont, interposing, objected to the reception of the election as improper, and moved for the order of the day. A debate immediately ensued, in which the propriety of the question was demonstrated by Mr. Helden, now lord
keeper, Dr. Lee, and some others, the most sensible and moderate members of the House; but they were opposed with great violence by Lord Vescove Covke, Henry Fox, Esq. Sir William Young, Colonel Lyttelton, and the weight of the House. Mr. Murray, by making an erroneous statement of fact, was carried in the negative, and the high-bailiff required to answer the question. Thus interrogated, he declared that he had been impeached in the scrutiny, and maltreated, by Mr. Murray; that he had been released, upon reasoning with the Serjeant-at-Arms, by the Honourable Alexander Murray, brother to Lord Elbiance, and one Gibson, an usherholder, who had been very active, zealous, and turbulent in his endeavors to promote the interest of Sir George Vandekap, or rather of his wife; accusation was preferred against him, who was supposed to be countenanced by the ministry. These three persons, thus accused, were brought to the bar of the House, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrances of several members, who opposed this method of proceeding as a species of oppression equally arbitrary and absurd. They observed, that, as no complaint had been preferred, they had no right to take cognizance of the affair; that if any undue influence had been used, it would naturally appear when the merits of the election should fall under their inquiry; that a complaint having been lodged already against the returning officer, it was their duty to investigate his conduct, and punish him, if he should be found guilty of any delinquency; that if there could be more flagrantly unjust, and apparently partial, than their neglecting the petitions of the other candidate and electors, and encouraging the high-bailiff, who stood charged with incompetence of opinion, and having been apprised of the situation of the inquiry, to have been allowed to be disabled from giving evidence on the inquiry into the merits of the election. What difference is it to the subject, whether he is oppressed by an arbitrary prince, or by the despotic insolence of a ministerial majority? Mr. Crowle alleged, in his own vindication, that he had been employed as counsel by the electors of Westminster, and attended the scrutiny in that character; that after the high-bailiff had, in the course of the last session, received the order of the House, he had proceeded to the scrutiny with such precipitation as he apprehended, was unjust, and prejudicial to his clients; that, in this apprehension, he (Mr. Crowle) insisted upon the high-bailiff’s proceeding with more deliberation, and in so doing he thought he did his duty to his employers. Some evidence being examined against him, declared he had not only protracted the scrutiny, but also spoke disrespectful words to the Speaker, and threatened to ill-treat him by his counsel; but, in the meantime, they ordered him to be taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms attending the House. This step, however, was not taken without a warm opposition by some of the most sedate and intelligent members of the House, who considered it as a cruel act of oppression. They observed, that in cases of breach of privilege no person complained of was ever taken into custody, until after he had been fully heard in his defence: that this was literally performing the cases before it had been examined; and the oppression was the greater, as the alleged offence consisted entirely of words, of which no complaint or information had been made for above eight months after the supposed offence had been committed; and, even then, not till an accusation had been lodged against the informer, upon the trial of which accusation the persons informed against might very probably be the most material witnesses. They observed, that in one of the highest offences which can be committed by words, namely that of denying the king’s right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity, the information must be brought in within six months from the time the words are manifested towards any subject: that the words must be proved to have been spoken maliciously, directly, and advisedly, and the prosecution must commence in three months after the information. These suggestions made no more impression than if they had been uttered in a desert. Those who were secure in their number asserted that the House of Commons was not restricted by the forms of proceedings at common law; and that it was necessary to vindicate their own honour and dignity, of whose protection they had been solemnly charged, without the slightest contempt. Mr. Murray was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and found bail; and Gibson was sent prisoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days released, upon promising a humble petition, professing sorrow for having incurred the displeasure of the House, to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the speaker. In the meantime divers witnesses were recommended before the House, declared that Mr. Murray had been committed, not for the return of a member for Westminster, heading and exciting a tumult in acts of violence against the high-bailiff. The majority, therefore, after a long and warm debate, agreed, that for his dangerous and seditions practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the House, and of the freedom of elections, he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate. Then, in the close of another violent debate, they resolved, that he should be brought to the bar of the House, to receive that sentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared, and being directed by the speaker to kneel, refused to comply. He knew that he could not be discharged from Newgate during the session, he therefore appeared without a hat, and asked permission of the House for the continuance of his practices, which he declared were not the practice of an innocent man, but such as he thought would imply a consciousness of guilt; he considered this whole transaction as an oppressive exertion of arbitrary power, and being informed of the sentence of the House, he declared he would bear the brunt of their indignation, rather than make submission which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refused to humble himself, the whole House was in confusion; he was no sooner removed from the bar than they resolved, that his having in a most insolent and audacious manner refused to be on his knees at the bar of that House, in consequence of their former resolution, was a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and the dignity of the House; and therefore ordered, that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without the leave of the House. Finally, a committee was appointed to consider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this instance of contempt. Meanwhile the petitioners against the return made by the high-bailiff perceived the temper of the House, and the complexion of the majority, were convinced of their policy, and the order which had passed for hearing the merits of the election was discharged. Mr. Murray being taken dangerously ill in Newgate, application was made to the House, and his cases were moved to a more convenient situation; and his physician, being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the gout distemper. Upon this representation the House agreed that the speaker should issue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, but this favour he refused to accept, and expressed the warmest resentment against those relations who had applied to the Commons in his behalf. Thus he remained sequestered even from his own brother and sister, under the displeasure of the Commons of England, who condescended so far as to make resolutions touching the physician, apothecary, and nurse who attended this prisoner. But the petitioning of parliament having put an end to their authority for that session, Mr. Murray was discharged of course, and conducted by the sheriffs from Newgate to his own house, in procession, with flags and streamers exhibiting the emblems of liberty.

The interior economy of the nation, and the annual accounts of the government, were submitted to the House. Mr. Murray was again committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and found bail; and one Gibson was sent prisoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days released, upon promising a humble petition, professing sorrow for having incurred the displeasure of the House, to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the speaker. While the debate went on, divers witnesses were recommended before the House, and declared that Mr. Murray had been committed, not for the return of a member for Westminster, but for his dangerous and seditions practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the House, and of the freedom of elections, he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate. Then, in the close of another violent debate, they resolved, that he should be brought to the bar of the House, to receive that sentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared, and being directed by the speaker to kneel, refused to comply. He knew that he could not be discharged from Newgate during the session, he therefore appeared without a hat, and asked permission of the House for the continuance of his practices, which he declared were not the practice of an innocent man, but such as he thought would imply a consciousness of guilt; he considered this whole transaction as an oppressive exertion of arbitrary power, and being informed of the sentence of the House, he declared he would bear the brunt of their indignation, rather than make submission which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refused to humble himself, the whole House was in confusion; he was no sooner removed from the bar than they resolved, that his having in a most insolent and audacious manner refused to be on his knees at the bar of that House, in consequence of their former resolution, was a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and the dignity of the House; and therefore ordered, that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without the leave of the House. Finally, a committee was appointed to consider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this instance of contempt. Meanwhile the petitioners against the return made by the high-bailiff perceived the temper of the House, and the complexion of the majority, were convinced of their policy, and the order which had passed for hearing the merits of the election was discharged. Mr. Murray being taken dangerously ill in Newgate, application was made to the House, and his cases were moved to a more convenient situation; and his physician, being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the gout distemper. Upon this representation the House agreed that the speaker should issue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, but this favour he refused to accept, and expressed the warmest resentment against those relations who had applied to the Commons in his behalf. Thus he remained sequestered even from his own brother and sister, under the displeasure of the Commons of England, who condescended so far as to make resolutions touching the physician, apothecary, and nurse who attended this prisoner. But the petitioning of parliament having put an end to their authority for that session, Mr. Murray was discharged of course, and conducted by the sheriffs from Newgate to his own house, in procession, with flags and streamers exhibiting the emblems of liberty.
Great Britain produced within the circle of this year nothing else worthy of historical record, except a series of enormous crimes, arising from the profusion of individuals, which reflected disgrace upon the nation, and the policy of the government. Rapine and robbery had demonstrated without intermission ever since the return of peace, which was attended with a reduction of the army and navy; but now crimes of a deeper dye seemed to lift up their heads in connivance with human law. The day almost produced fresh instances of perjury, forgery, fraud, and circumvention; and the kingdom exhibited a most amazing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compassion and obduracy, sentiment and brutality.

**CHAP. II.**


§ 1. The royal family of England had sustained three severe shocks in the compass of a few months. Besides the loss of the Prince of Wales, which the nation lamented as irreparable, his majesty was deeply afflicted by the untimely death of his youngest daughter, the Queen of Denmark, who died at Copenhagen, on the nineteenth day of December, in the prime of youth. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, whether we consider the virtues of her heart, or the accomplishments of her person; generous, mild, and tender hearted; beloved even to adoration by her royal consort, to whom she had borne a prince and a princess, and whom she often adored and revered by the subjects of his Danish majesty. Her death had been preceded about two months by that of her brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, no less regretted by the natives of the United Provinces, for his candour, integrity, and hereditary love to his country. Though he had not distinguished himself by the lustre of a superior genius, he had been at great pains to cultivate his understanding, and study the true interest of that community of which he was a member. He had always approved himself a good and zealous citizen, and since his elevation to the stadtholdership, taken many salutary steps for the advantage of his country. Among other excellent schemes which he suggested, he left a noble plan with the States-General for restoring the liberties of the land, and lived long enough to receive their warmest acknowledgment for this last proof of his prudence and patriotism. His son and daughter have both infants, the administration of the government devolved upon the princess, as governess during her son's minority; and as such she succeeded to all the power which her husband had enjoyed.

§ 11. With respect to the affairs of the continent, the peace of the north seemed still as precarious as ever; for though the difference between Russia and Sweden had been compromised, the mutual distrust between the czarina and the emperor was yet deep. He was no longer willing to receive the annual subsidies, or all the reciprocal gifts, mails, offices, and confidential declarations, that those two powers seemed to be on the eve of a rupture, and each was employed in making extraordinary preparations for war. The courts of Vienna and Great Britain, foreseeing that such a rupture would embroil the empire, and raise insurmountable obstacles to their favourite scheme of electing the Archduke Joseph King of the Romans, resolved to employ all their endeavours to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Petersburg and Berlin. His Prussian majesty had signified to the King of Great Britain, and the States-General, the situation in which he stood with the czarina, and sollicited their interposition, that the difference might be amicably accommodated. At the same time he sent an envoy extraordinary to Versailles, to negotiate with the French king for a very considerable body of auxiliaries, in case he should be attacked. These circumstances induced the maritime powers, and the court of Vienna, to use their utmost endeavours for the prevention of a rupture; and accordingly they made remonstrances on this subject by their ministers at Petersburg and Berlin, that the quarrel should be terminated without bloodshed, and all causes of anxiety be buried in oblivion.

§ 111. In the meantime, they eagerly prosecuted the design of the election; and the imperial minister at Berlin not only endeavoured to be connected with the proceedings of the states of the empire, but he sent his private agents to the capital of England on this expedition, but even solicited his vote for the Archduke Joseph, when the election of a King of the Romans should be proposed in the electoral college. To this proposal he replied, That he was extremely well disposed to manifest his regard for their imperial majesties, and to give the most genuine proofs of it, even in the proposed election of a King of the Romans, considering the great merit of the present candidate; but he held it to the consideration of their imperial majesties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if transacted at a time when his imperial majesty was in the flower of his age; enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the empire, was hushed in the bosom of tranquillity, so that no circumstance seemed to prognosticate the necessity of such an election; or of putting in execution the motives mentioned in the capitulations of the regning emperor's election; especially as the examination of these motives belonged to the whole empire, and ought to precede the election, by virtue of the eighth article of the treaty of Westphalia. He observed, that, in case of the emperor's death, Germany would suffer, and that there was a very dangerous scheme in the hands of the government of a minor. For these reasons, he said, he could not help advising their imperial majesties to wait until the archduke should be of age, when his election might be carried on more securely on the laws and constitutions of the empire, and more suitable to the majesty of the whole Germanic body. Thus reply he circulated among the electors, and in particular transmitted it to the King of Great Britain, desiring they would deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body, as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the ancient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the community; and for securing the safety of the sovereign, the electors, and the people, he was sworn by the King of England and the Elector of Bavaria, who demurred, that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the empire, to elect a King of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace and preserve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wise precaution had produced bloody wars, and many
fateful consequences to the empire. They observed, that
could nothing more contribute to the establishment of the
public tranquillity than this measure, so ardently desired by
the Archduke Joseph wanted a few years of being of age,
it might possibly happen that the reigning emperor
should die during that prince’s minority, yet it would be
much less prejudicial to the empire to lose an elector
than to see the succession altogether unsettled. His
Prussian majesty received a declaration to the same pur-
pose from the Elector of Meissen; and understanding that
the latter and Hamburg had already conspired to
convocate an elector’s diet, in order to propose the elec-
tion of a King of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to
his electoral highness, explaining at more length his reasons
for postponing the election. He quoted that sentence of
the treaty of Westphalia which expressly declares, that the
election of a King of the Romans shall be discussed and
ordained by the common consent of the states of the empire;
and, therefore, he could not conceive what right the
electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to them-

selves, excluding the other state of the empire. He ob-
served, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only
laws of the empire that treated of this subject, mentioned
only six electors, and it was by no means certain, that
such an election; namely, the emperor’s leaving, and long
absence from Germany; his advanced age, or an
indisposition, rendering him incapable of managing the
reins of government; and any case of emergency in which
the government was on the point of falling into another
hand, to the great prejudice of the empire, were the
motives on which this election was either to be
organised, or its duration limited. It was therefore
impossible for anyone to determine who such an emperor
might succeed, that was to be elected in our days.
§ IV. Another disappointment, with respect to this elec-
tion, the promoters of it sustained in the death of his
Swedish majesty, who expired in a good old age, and
was succeeded by Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Holstein-
Eutin, Bishop of Lubeck, upon whom the succession had
been settled for some years, by the unanimous concurrence
of the states of the kingdom. This prince ascended
the throne of Sweden with the greatest delight of his
heart, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotic
authority; but maintain his liberties with his blood, and
govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws and
the form of government established in Sweden. This public act,
which was communicado to all the foreign ministers, and
particularly to the envoy from Petersburgh, met with such
a favourable reception from the czarina, that she expressed
her satisfaction in a public declaration; and the good
understanding between the two courts was perfectly
restored.

§ V. When the parliament of England was opened, in
the month of November, the king, in the ascension
day of his throne, gave them to understand, that for the same pur-
poses which suggested the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria,
he had now, in conjunction with the States-General, concluded another with the King of Poland,
Elector of Saxony. He told them, that the unfortunate
death of the Prince of Orange had made no alteration in the
state of affairs in Holland; and that he had received
the strongest assurances from the States, of their firm reso-
liation to maintain the utmost union and friendship hap-
ily subsisting between his majesty and those ancient and
natural allies of his crown. He exhorted both Houses to
consider seriously of some effectual provisins, to suppress
those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, which
were too frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great measure
from that profane spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming,
and extravagance, which had of late extended itself in an
uncommon degree, to the disdoun of the nation, and the
great offence and prejudice of the sober and industrious
part of the people. The paragraphs of this speech were,
as usual, echoed back to the throne in addresses, replete
with expressions of loyalty, affection, and approbation.
Opposition was soon joftemned that the proclamation
of the proceedings of both Houses took place with such
unanimity as was hardly ever known before this period in
a British parliament. The Commons, however, seem to
have assembled the most senti mental part of the house in
honour to their temper and magnanimity. In a few days
after the session opened, Lord Viscount C — e, a young nobleman, whose character entitled him to very
HISTORY

and

Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as for the maintenance of Nova Scotia and Georgia, and the castles on the coast of Guinée, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds annually for the maintenance of a hundred and fifty-two points three shillings, and three pence were voted, as a full compensation to the old Royal African company for their exclusive charter and profits, to be applied for the relief of their creditors.

§ VII. The Commons, in regulating the supplies of the ensuing year, voted the continuance of eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven men for the land service, though not without some opposition from certain patriots, who, rather from a sense of duty than from any hope of influence, entertained a conviction that the men in time of peace would answer all the ends proposed by a standing army. The number of seamen was fixed at ten thousand: large sums were granted to make up deficiencies, and fulfil the engagements of the crown with the great

J. D. 1751.—Book III.

nying and improving the hulks, and preventing future disorders in that part of the united kingdom. Nothing could be more salutary to the purposes of these regulations. The system of the royal fleet, which was an incredible number of public houses, which continually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance; they were the haunts of idleness, fraud, and mance; and the legitimate occupants of the same were deprived of every vice incident to human nature: yet the suppression of these receptacles of impiety was attended with an inconvenience, which, in some cases, arose even to a degree of inconvenience, that the laws which accompanied the power of granting or refusing licences, were constituted, in effect, the arbiters on whose decision the fortunes and livelihood of many individuals absolutely depended. Many of those who enjoyed the privilege of the magistracy within the bills of mortality were, to the reproach of government, men of prodigal lives, needy, mean, ignorant, and rapacious, and often acted from the most scandalous motives of selfish vanity.

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nings, in that country. After a warm debate, however, it was adopted by a great majority, and obtained the royal assent.

§ XX. A third law related to certain articles of the national debt, which was now converted into several joint stocks of annuities, transferable at the bank of England, to be charged on the sinking fund. A great number of different funds for annuities, established at different times, and of different acts already issued for that purpose, so that it was necessary to keep many different accounts, which could not be regulated without considerable trouble and expense, for the removal of which the bill was calculated.

§ XII. In consequence of petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Westmoreland and Yorkshire, two bills were brought in, and passed through both Houses, by which the ports of Lancaster and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland; but why this privilege was not extended to all the frequent ports of the kingdom it is not easy to conceive, without supposing a little national jealousy on one hand, and a great deal of greedy restraint on the other. Over and above these new laws, some unsuccessful endeavours were used in behalf of commerce and police.

A bill was offered for laying further restrictions on pawnbrokers and brokers, that they might no longer suck the blood of the poor. This scheme, which was canvassed, debated, and made its way through the lower House; but the Lords rejected it as a crude scheme, which they could not amend, because it was a mere bill, not cognizable by their House, by engaging in a dispute with the Commons. Another bill was prepared, for giving power to change the punishment of felons, in certain cases, to confinement and hard labour in dock-yards or garrisons. It was the opinion of many who wished well to their country, and were properly qualified to prosecute such inquiries, that the practice of consignifying such a number of writs to the hands of the executioner served only, by its frequency, to defeat the purpose intended by it, and subjected the public to the abuse of the power by the public of such subjects, who might, notwithstanding their delinquency, be in some measure rendered useful to society. Such was the motive that influenced the promoters of this bill; by which it was proposed, in imitation of that economy practised in other countries, to confine felons convicted under certain circumstances to hard labour upon the public works of the kingdom. The scheme was accepted by the lower House, but rejected by the Lords, who seemed apprehensive of its bringing such discredit upon his majesty's dock-yards, as would discourage persons who valued their reputation from engaging in such employment. Of all other nations the next measure proposed, in a bill for making Great Britain and Ireland more useful, presented by Mr. Thornton, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who had distinguished himself by his loyalty and patriotism. It was canvassed in a committee of the whole House, and underwent divers amendments: but miscarried, through the averment of the ministry to any project tending to remove or lessen the necessity of maintaining a standing army. A considerable number of petitions for different regulations, in respect to commerce and convenience of traffic, were presented, considered, and left upon the table. A remonstrance from the prisoners confined in the goal of the king's bench, complaining of the situation arising from want of room and other conveniences, being taken into consideration by a committee, among other evidences, they examined that remarkable personage who had signalized himself in defence of Christendom, under the name of Theodore, King of Corsica. Though formerly countenanced and even treated as a sovereign prince by the British ministry, he was now reduced to the forlorn condition of a confined debtor; and, to the reproach of this kingdom, did not appear at his trial and disarmed himself and overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age. But the most remarkable circumstance of the parliamentary transactions distinguished this session, was a motion made in both Houses for an address to the king, beseeching his majesty, that in time of public tranquillity he would be graciously pleased to avoid entering into subsidiary treaties with foreign princes, which are so burdensome to this nation. This extraordinary proposal was made and strenuously urged by the Duke of B., and a vehement debate ensued, in which the Earls of G., S., and H., opposed it with an exertion of superior abilities, and the question being put, was carried in the negative without a division. The session ended in the latter end of March, when his majesty, having granted the new public bills, and private bills, harangued both Houses, and prorogued the parliament.

§ XII. Immediately after the prorogation the king appointed a regency, and set out for Hanover, in order to complete the grand scheme he had projected for electing a King of the Romans. * * * Great Britain, in the meantime, produced no event of importance, or any transaction that deserved historical mention, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce with the states of Trinidad and Tunis on the coast of Barbary, concluded by the British consuls in those cities, under the influence and auspices of an English squadron, commanded by Commodore Besfel, son to the Earl of Albermarle. The tide of luxury still flowed with an impetuous current, bearing down all the mounds of temperance and decorum; while fraud and profusion struck out new channels, through which they eluded the narrow stream of righteousness, under the vigilance of civil policy. New arts of deception were invented, in order to insure and ruin the unwary; and some infamous practices in the way of commerce were condoned by persons of rank and importance in the commonwealth. A certain member of parliament was obliged to withdraw himself from his country, in consequence of a discovery, by which it appeared that he had contrived and executed schemes for destroying his own ships at sea, with the assistance of the papers and secrets of the French government. The northern powers enjoyed a perfect tranquillity: the States-General of the United Provinces were engaged by plans of national economy. Spain was intent upon extending her commerce, bringing her manufactures to perfection, and preparing the defence of the British dominions; and the king's majesty endeavoured, by certain peremptory precepts, to check the exportation of gold coin from his dominions; and insisted upon inspecting the books of the British merchants settled at Lisbon: but they refused to comply with this demand, which was contrary to a treaty subsisting between the two crowns; and he thought proper to sequence in their refusal. He was much better employed, in obtaining from the Pope an abolution of the annual procession called the Anto da Pa, one of the most horrid triumphs of the Christian church.
should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council, in regard to his claim to the estates of East Friesland: but the king being already in possession, refused to submit his right to the decision of that council, and when the diet presumed to deliberate on this affair, his envoy entered a strong protest against their proceedings. At the same time he presented the other ministers with a memorial, tending to refute the Elector of Hanover's assertion of his title to that domain: the protestation was 

§ XV. At this juncture his Prussian majesty made no scruple of expressing his resentment against the court of London, which he considered as an offensive calumny, the direct motives of which were intermediate in the practice of Germany. His resident at London complained to the British ministry, that divers ships, sailing under the Prussian flag, had been stopped at sea, and even seized by English cruisers: and that his subjects had been ill treated and oppressed; he therefore demanded reparation in a peremptory tone; and in the meantime, discontinued the payment of the Silesian loan, which he had charged himself with, by an article in the treaty of Breslau. This was a sum of money amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which the Emperor Charles VI. father of the reigning empress, had borrowed of the subjects of Great Britain, on condition of paying an interest of six per cent. and mortgaging the silver mine of Reichenberg, in the repayment. It was, however, devoted to the King of Prussia with this encumbrance, and he continued to pay the interest punctually till this juncture, when the payment was stopped; and he published an edict, "an Exequies of the Monarch, which influenced his Conduct on this Occasion." In his memorial to the ministry of Great Britain he alleged, that eighteen Prussian ships, and thirty-three neutral vessels, in which the subjects of Prussia were concerned, had been unjustly seized by English privates: his account of damages amounted to a very considerable sum; and he demanded, in the most dogmatic terms, that the affair should be finally discussed in the course of three months from the date of his remonstrance. The exposition and memorial were subjected to the examination of the ablest civilians in England, who related every article of the charge with equal precision and perspicuity. They proved, that captures by sea fell property under the cognizance of those powers under whose jurisdiction the seizures were made; and, therefore, his Prussian majesty could not, consistent with the laws of nations, determine these disputes in his own tribunals. They demonstrated, by undoubted evidence, the falsity of many facts alleged in the memorial, as well as the fairness of the proceedings by which some few of the Prussian vessels had been condemned; and maintained, with no insult or ill word, the rights of the subjects of Prussia. Finally, they observed, that the Silesian loan was a private transaction of such a nature, that, even if a war had happened between the Emperor Charles VI. and his Britannic majesty, this must have been held sacred and inviolable: that when the empress queen ceded Silesia to the King of Prussia, this monarch charged himself with the repayment of the loan, which, being a private debt and insuperable, was now diffused into different countries, and became the property of many others besides the subjects of Great Britain. They wound up their chain of reasoning by observing, that, according to agreement with the emperor, the whole of this loan should have been paid in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five: whereas the complaints specified in the Prussian memorial were founded on facts posterior to that period. Whether his Prussian majesty was convinced by these reasons, derived from Archimedes' principle, or those proper to give up his claim upon other political considerations; certain it is, he no longer insisted upon satisfaction, but ordered the payments of the Silesian loan to be continued without further interruption: a report, indeed, was exchanged between the two courts, in which the demands of each nation were made by a certain prince, who employed his agents to buy up great part of the loan at a considerable discount.

§ XVI. How much severer the King of Prussia may be that, with regard to his own subjects, he acted as a wise legislator, and the father of his country. He peopled the deserts of Pomerania; by encouraging with royal bounties, a great number of industrious emigrants to settle in that province; the face of which, in a very few years, underwent the most agreeable alterations. Above sixty new villages were founded in the dominions of that country, exhibited marks of successful cultivation. Those solitary and desolate plains, where so human footsteps had for many ages been seen, were now converted into fields of corn. These farms were regularly parcelled out: the houses supplied, and teemed with population. The peasants, sheltered in a peculiar manner under their king's protection, sowed their ground in peace and reaped their harvest in security. The same care and indulgence were extended to the inhabitants of the Prussian dominions, and extraordinary encouragement was granted to all French protesters who should come and settle under the government of this political sage.

§ XVII. The courts of Vienna and Hanover still employed their chief attention upon the scheme of electing a King of the Romans: and the Elector of Meutz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpose: but strong protests against this convocation were entered by the Electors of Colom and Paltine, inasmuch that it was thought expedient to conclude this last, by taking some steps in his favour, with respect to the satisfaction he demanded from the empress queen and his Hanoverian subjects. Hanover, and his demand for Vienna amounted to three millions of florins, by way of indemnification for the losses he had sustained during the war. He demanded of the King of England twenty thousand pounds in compensation for the damage sustained by the British troops while they acted on the Maine; and the like sums for the like purposes from the States-general of the United Provinces. The empress queen could not help representing against this demand as exorbitant in itself, and the more unreasonable, as the Elector Palatine, at the death of her father, had openly declared against the pragmatic sanction, which he had guaranteed in the most solemn manner; so, therefore, observed, that the claims he had sustained, in consequence of that declaration, ought to be considered as the common fate of war. These reasons, though conclusive and irrefragable in the usual way of arguing, made no impression upon the Palatine, who perfectly well understood his own importance, and was determined to seize this opportunity of turning it to the best advantage. The court of Vienna, and the maritime powers, finding him thus obstinately attached to his own interest, resolved to bring him over to their views at any rate, and commenced a negotiation with him, which produced a formal treaty. By this convention his demands in money were fixed at twelve hundred thousand Dutch florins, and one hundred thousand marks, under penalty of his armed forces being landed upon the Dutch soil by the empress queen, and the remaining seven hundred thousand by the King of Great Britain and the States-general, according to the proportion established in former treaties. The privilege of non appellea, for the study of Deux points, was confirmed to his electoral highness, together with some other rights and pretensions, in consideration of his concurring with his other electors in the choice of a King of the Romans, to be elected according to the customs prescribed by the laws and constitutions of the empire. He likewise engaged to join them in settling the articles of the capitulation with the King of the Romans, emperor in futuro. Yet, even after the concurrence of this prince had been secured, the purpose of the King of Prussia was far from the strong objections that were started, and the strenuous opposition which was made, by his Prussian majesty, who perhaps aspired in secret at the imperial dignity, whereby he, the empress queen took all this pains to perpetuate in her own family.

§ XVIII. The King of Great Britain, returning from the continent, opened the session of parliament on the eleventh day of January with a speech, wherein the demand of concessions had been conducted and directed to preserve and secure the duration of the general peace, so agreeable and necessary to the welfare of all Europe: that he had the satisfactions to be assured he was secure in all his right, and that were his allies, to adhere to the same salutary object. He exhorted them to continue their attention to the reduction of the national debt, the augmentation of the sinking fund,
and the improvement of the public revenue. He recommended to their serious consideration what further laws and regulations might be necessary for suppressing those crimes and disorders of which the public had been so severely complained; and concluded with an assurance, that his hearty concurrence and endeavours should never be wanting in any measure that might promote their welfare and prosperity. The laws in this respect were now so much improved that the absurdity transmitted by such measures as were hitherto couched in the usual form of implicit approbation: but that of the Commons did not pass without question. The Earl of E— took exceptions to one paragraph, in which they acknowledged his majesty's wisdom, as well as the necessity of pursuing such measures as should contribute to maintain and render permanent the general tranquillity of Europe; and declared their satisfaction at the assurance his majesty had received from his allies, that they were all attached to the same salutary object. His lordship expatiated on the absurdity of these compliments at such a juncture, when the peace of Europe was so precarious, and the English nation so much of complaint and dissatisfaction. He was seconded by some other individuals, who declared with great vivacity against continental connections; and endeavoured to expose the weakness and folly of the whole system of foreign measures which our ministry had lately pursued. It must be supposed, they said, that the English nation had been given an opportunity to compliment their sovereign on the permanency of the peace than at this juncture, when they must have seen themselves on the very brink of a new rupture with Europe; where, like hungry men, they had been told it was necessary to receive victual. In this manner, these addresses to the throne had been long considered as compliments of course, implying no more than a respectful attachment to their sovereign: accordingly, both Houses agreed to their respective addresses without division. The two grand committees of supply and of ways and means being established, the business of the House was transacted without much alteration; and the people had great reason to be satisfied with their moderate proceedings. Ten thousand men, and the usual number of land forces, were retained for the service of the ensuing year. They provided for the maintenance of the new colony in Nova Scotia, the civil establishment of Georgia, the support of the castles on the coast of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamaboo, where the French had attempted to make a settlement; and they enabled his majesty to fulfill his engagements with the King of Poland and the Elector of Ivary.

§ XVI. The House, on the supplies, including grants for former deficiencies and services, for which no provision had been made in the course of the last year, did not exceed two millions one hundred thirty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty pounds, twenty shillings, and one penny; in order to defray which expense they assigned the duty on malt, &c. the land tax at two shillings in the pound, the surplus of certain funds in the exchequer, and the sum of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds to the sinking fund; so that the excesses amounted to near three hundred thousand pounds. As for the national debt, it now stood at the enormous sum of seventy-four millions three hundred sixty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-one pounds, fifteen shillings, and one penny; and the sinking fund produced one million seven hundred thirty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten pence farthing.

§ XVI. The next step taken by the Commons was an affair of much greater consequence to the community, being a bill for obliging ships more effectually to perform quarantine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great Britain. For this purpose, it was ordained, that if any dreadful visitation should appear in any ship to the northward of Cape Finisterre, the master and commander should report the same to the lord protector of New Grunsvy, in one of the islands of Scilly, and there communicate the discovery to some officer of the customs; who should with the first opportunity transmit his intelligence to another custom-house officer in the nearest port of England, to be by him forwarded to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. In the meantime the ship should remain at the said island, and not an individual presume to go ashore, until his majesty's pleasure should be declared. It was also provided, that in case the master of a ship thus infected should not be able to make the islands of Scilly, or be forced up either channel by violent winds, she should not enter any frequented harbour; but remain in some open road, until he could receive orders from his majesty, or the privy council: that, during this interval, he should avoid all intercourse with the shore, or any person or vessel whatsoever, on pain of being deemed guilty of felony, and suffering death without benefit of clergy.

§ XXII. In order more effectually to repress the barbarous practice of plundering ships which have the misfortune to suffer shipwreck; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the British dominions, on the grace of the nation, and the scandal of human nature; a bill was prepared, containing clauses to enforce the laws against such savage delinquents, who prowl along the coasts of these islands, under the colour of the hope of rescuing some fellow-creatures: and certain provisions for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. When the mutiny bill fell under deliberation, the Earl of Egmont proposed a new clause for empowering and requiring reguinald courts-martial to examine witnesses upon oath in all their trials. The proposal occasioned a debate, in which the minority were pretty equally divided; but the clause was disapproved by the majority, and this annual bill was enacted into a law without any further alteration.

§ XXIII. The next bill was framed in consequence of divers petitions presented by the exporters of corn, who complained that the bounties were not paid, and prayed that the House would make proper provision for that purpose. A bill was accordingly brought in, importing, That interest after the rate of three per cent. should be allowed upon every delverent for the bounty on the exportation of corn, payable by the receiver-general or cashier of the customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of this bounty. This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be granted, except when the lowness of the market produces great benefit to the merchants. In the speech from the throne, the House was granted, that it could have no superabundance in the kingdom; otherwise the exporter will find his account in depriving our own labourers of their bread, in order to supply our rivals at an easier rate: for example, suppose wheat in England should sell at twenty shillings a quarter, the merchants might export into France, and afford it to the people of that kingdom for eighteen shillings, because the bounty on exportation would, even at that rate, afford him a considerable advantage.

§ XXIV. A great number of merchants have presented petitions from different parts of the kingdom, representing that the trade of Turkey was greatly decreased, everything that is exported out of Great Britain is now sold by a monopoly, and praying that the trade might be laid open to all his majesty's subjects, one of the members for Liverpool moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. Such a measure had been supported before proposed without success; but now it was introduced; and, notwithstanding all the interest and efforts of the Turkey company, who petitioned the House against it, and were heard by their counsel: it passed through both Houses,
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and received the royal sanction. By this regulation any British subject may obtain the freedom of the Turkey company, by paying or rendering a line of twenty pounds; and the customs are seized from the tyranny of Government-preservative by-laws, contrived by any monopolizing cabal. § XV. But this session was chiefly distinguished by an act for naturalizing Jews, and a bill for the better preventing clandestine marriages. The first of these, which passed without much opposition in the House of Lords, from which it descended to the Commons, was entitled, "An act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to become members of parliament, and other purposes therein mentioned." It was supported by some petitions of merchants and manufacturers, who, upon examination, appeared to be Jews, or their dependants; and countenanced by the ministry, who thought they foresaw, in the consequences of such naturalization, a great accession to the moneys interest, and a considerable increase of their own influence among the individuals of that community. They boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly contribute to the advantage of the nation, that it would encourage persons of wealth to remove with their effects from foreign parts into Great Britain, increase the commerce and the credit of the kingdom, and set a laudable example to the rest of Europe; that the credit of the Christian religion, endanger the excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. A petition of the same purpose was next day presented to the House, subscribed by merchants and traders of the city of London; who, among other allegations, observed, that the consequences of such a naturalization would greatly affect the character and credit of Britain, and particularly with Spain and Portugal. Congresses heard, evidence examined, and the bull produced violent debates, in which there seemed to be more passion than patriotism, more declamation than argument. The advocates of the bill affirmed, that such a naturalization would deluge the kingdom with brokers, insurers, and beggars; that the rich Jews, under the shadow of this indulgence, would purchase lands, and even advenrous; as so not only to acquire an interest in the legislature, but also to influence the constitution of the church of Christ, to which they were the importuned and professed enemies; that the lower class of that nation, when thus admitted to the denizens, would be the undisciplined strangers who endangered their livelihood by their labour; and by dint of the most preposterous frugality, to which the English are strangers, work at an under-price; so not only to share, but even in a manner to exclude them from all employment; that such an adoption of vagrant Jews into the community from all parts of the world, would rob the real subjects of their birthright, disgrace the character of the nation, expose themselves to the most dishonourable participation and intrusion, endanger the constitution both in church and state, and be an indelible reproach upon the established religion of the country. Some of these orators seemed transported even to a degree of enthusiasm. They prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, excess such wealth, and acquire so great a power and influence in Great Britain, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English. Finally, they affirmed that such an act was directly flying in the face of the prejudice, which declares that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation, until they shall be converted from their infidelity, and gathered together in one of their confederacies and apprehensions, which were in reality frivolous and chimerical, being industriously circulated among the vulgar, naturally prejudiced against the Jewish people, ex-

6 Several other bills were passed—one for regulating the number of public beavers in any county or precinct; another for prohibiting the sale of linen and silk cloths without a licence; an act which empowered the justices of peace to try such cases; an act for the better punishment of vagrants; an act for prohibiting all kind of horsedrawn carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preserved.
a special license by the archbishop: That if any marriage should be solemnized in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a special license, or in a public chapel, without having published the banns, or obtained a license, the marriage would be void, and the person who solemnized it transported for seven years: That marriages, by license, of parties under age, without consent of parent or guardian, should be null and void, unless the parties be one above age by four, widow, and the parent refusing consent, a widow married again: That when the consent of a mother or guardian is refused from caprice, or such parent or guardian be not competent, the marriage may be resorted to; and there is no recourse for relief to the court of chancery: That no suit should be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, upon pretence of any contract: That all marriages should be solemnized before two witnesses, and an entry be made in a book kept for that purpose, whether it was by banns or license, whether either of the parties were under age, or the marriage celebrated with the consent of parent or guardian; and this entry to be signed by the minister, the parties, and the witnesses: That a false license, or certificate, or destroying register books, should be deemed felony, either in principal or accessory, and punished with death. The bill, when first considered in the lower House, gave rise to some of that agitation which was apt to be divided rather according to their real sentiments, than by the rules of any political distinction: for some principal servants of the government freely differed in opinion from the minister, who connived at the bill; while others were opposed to it, supported by certain chiefs of the opposition, and the disputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerness and warmth. The principal objections imported, that such restrictions on marriage would damp the spirit of love and propagation; promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domestic happiness, as well as to the prejudice of posterity and population; impede the circulation of property by preserving that property to the same family; and encourage the opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; subject the poor to many inconveniences and extraordinary expense, from the nature of the forms to be observed; and throw an additional power into the hands of the chancellor. They affirmed, that no human power had a right to dissolve a vow solemnly made in the sight of heaven: and that, in proportion as the bill prevented clandestine marriages, it would encourage fornication and depravity. The parties restrained from indulging their mutual passions in an honourable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by stealth, at the hazard of their reputation. In a word, they foresaw a great number of men, who, rather than lose the pleasure of gratifying their passion, would be willing that they should be realized. On the other side, its advocates endeavored to refute these arguments, and some of them spoke with great strength and precision. The bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments; which were not effected without violent contest and altercation. At length however, it was floated through both Houses on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbour of royal approbation. Certainly it is, the abuse of clandestine marriage might have been removed upon much easier terms than those imposed upon the subject by this bill, which, after all, hath been found ineffectual, as it may be easily eluded by a short voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North Britain; where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption. § XXVII. Over and above these new statutes, there were some other subjects which occasionally employed the attention of the Commons; such as the state of the British sugar colonies, which was considered in consequence of petitions presented by the sugar refiners and manufacturers of London, Westminster, and Bristol, complaining of the exorbitant price demanded and given for sugars imported from Jamaica: desiring that the proprietors of land in Jamaica might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ground for raising sugar cane, or that they (the petitioners) might have leave to import muscovado sugar from the same island. These petitions were at length referred to the Lords, by whom it was, at the second reading, thrown out, as a scheme of very dangerous tendency. The
legislature of Great Britain have, on some occasions, been more started at the diwan shadow of a bare possibility, than at the real approach of the most dangerous innovation. It is by the careful definition on civil and commercial concerns, the attention of the parliament, which had seldom or never turned upon literary avocations, was called off by an extraordinary subject of this nature. Sir Hans Sloane's celebrated plans and natural history known through all the civilized countries of Europe for his ample collection of rarities, culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and curiosities of art, had directed in his last will, that his vast library together with his curiosities should be offered to the parliament, for the use of the public, in consideration of their paying a certain sum, in compensation, to his heirs. His terms were embraced by the Commons, who agreed to pay twenty thousand pounds for the whole, supposed to be worth four times that sum; and a bill was prepared for purchasing this museum, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, so designated from its founder, Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer of England, and now offered to the public by his daughter, the Duchess of Portland. It was proposed that these purchases should be joined to the famous Cottonian library, and a suitable repository provided, and the king's library, which lies in a dungeon neglected and exposed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Westminster. Accordingly, trustees and governors, consisting of the most eminent persons, were drawn up, with regulations and restrictions established for the management of this noble muniment, which was deposited in Montagu-house, one of the most magnificent edifices in England, where it is subjected, without reserve, to the use of the public, under certain necessary restrictions, and exhibits a glorious monument of national taste and liberality. In the beginning of June the session of parliament was closed by his majesty, who mentioned nothing particular in his speech, but that the state of foreign and domestic affairs was in a prosperous manner.

§ XXX. The genius of the English people is perhaps incompatible with a state of perfect tranquillity; it is not ruffled by foreign provocations, or agitated by unpopular measures of domestic administration, it will undergo temporary fermentations from the turbulent ingredients inherent in its own constitution. Troumluts are excited, and factions kindled into rage and inveteracy, by incidents of the most frivolous nature. At this juncture, the metropolis of England was divided and discomposed in a surprising manner, by a dispute in itself of so little consequence to the community, that it would not deserve a place in a general history if it did not have a characteristic feature of the English nation. In the beginning of the year an obscure damsel, of low degree, whose name was Elizabeth Canning, pronounced a report, which in a little time attracted the attention of the public. She affirmed, that on the first day of the new year, at night, she was seized under Bedlam-wall by two ruffians, who having stripped her of her upper apparel, secured her mouth with a gag, and threatened to murder her should she make the least noise; that they conveyed her on foot about ten miles, to a place called Enfield-wash, and brought her to the house of one Mrs. Wells, where she was pillaged of her staves; and, because she refused to turn prostitute, confined in a cold, damp, separate, and unfurnished apartment; where she remained a whole month, without any other sustenance than a few stale crusts of bread, and about a gallon of water; till at length she forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's house, almost naked, in the night of the twentieth of January. This story, improbable and unsupported, operated so strongly on the passions of the people in the neighbourhood of Aldermarsham, where Canning's house is situated, and particularly on the more sanguine denominations, that they roused voluntary contributions with surprising eagerness, in order to bring the supposed delinquents to justice. Warrants were granted for apprehending Wells, who kept the house at Enfield-wash, and Virtue, her husband, a greasy, old woman, and Southern, her servant. Warrants were also granted for the apprehension of a woman, named Canning, alias Virtue, Hall, and one Squires, an old greasy woman, which last was charged by Canning of having robbed her of her stays. Wells, though acquitted of the felony, was punished as a bawd. In the same instance, a judge of the admirals of the court of admirals, afterwards accosted. Squires, the bishop, was convicted of the robbery, though she produced undoubted evidence to prove that she was at Abergavenny in Monmouthshire that very night in which the felony was said to be committed, and Canning was taken from her house, and brought up before the admiralty court during the course of the trial. By this time the prepossession of the common people in her favour had risen to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that the most palpable truths which appeared on the other side, had no effect other than that of exasperating them to the most dangerous degree of rage and revenge. Some of the witnesses for Squires, though persons of unblemished character, were so intimidated, that they would not enter the court; and those who had resolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, ran the risk of assassination from the vulgar that surrounded the place. On this occasion, Sir Crisp Gaspouye, Lord Mayor of London, in a matter with that grandeur of conduct and humanity which ought ever to distinguish the chief magistrate of such a metropolis. Considering the improbability of the charge, the heat, partiality, and blind enthusiasm with which it was prosecuted, and being convinced, that the case was entirely against the accusers, and that the accused was innocent of the kind of affidavit, voluntarily sent up from the country by persons of unquestionable credit, he, in conjunction with some other worthy citizens, resolved to oppose the torrent of vulgar prejudice. Application was made to the throne for mercy: the case was referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, who, having examined the evidences on both sides, made their report in favour of Squires to the king and council; and this poor creature was indulged with his majesty's pardon. This affair was now swelled up into such a faction as divided the greater part of the kingdom, including the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the humble. Pamphlets and pamphlets were published on both sides of the dispute, which became the general topic of conversation in all assemblies, and people of all ranks espoused one or other party with as much warmth and animosity as had ever inflamed the whigs and tories, even at the most renowned period of their opposition. Subscriptions were opened, and large sums levied, on one side, to prosecute for perjury the persons on whose evidence the pardon had been granted. On the other hand, hands were stretched out to the poor woman resolved to support her witnesses, and, if possible, detect the imposture of Canning. Bills of perjury were preferred on both sides. The evidence for Squires were tried and acquitted; at first Canning abscounded; but afterwards surrendered to take her trial, and being, after a long hearing, found guilty, was transported to the British colonies. The zeal of her friends, however, seemed to be inflamed by her conviction; and those who came on the prosecution against her were assaulted, even to the danger of their lives. They supplied her with necessities of all sorts, paid for her transportation in a private ship, where she enjoy'd all the comforts and conveniences that could be afforded in that situation, and forwarded her with such recommendations as secured to her a very agreeable reception in New England.

§ XXXI. Next to this very remarkable transaction, the incident that principally distinguished this year in England, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that numerous and warlike tribe, who had taken the field with the prince pretender. After the battle of Sheriffmuir, among fragments of all denominations, that they roused voluntary contributions.
the doctor, had accompanied him in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and was included with him in the act of attainer passed against those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithstanding the imprisonment of the former, an order was issued for the latter's return to Scotland, in order (as it was reported) to recover a sum of money belonging to the pretender, which had been embezled by his adherents in that country. Whether this may have been the reason of his becoming such an unfortunate gentleman: their pit was mingled with esteem, arising from his personal character, which was altogether unblemished, and his deportment on this occasion, which they could not help admiring, as the standard of mankind and decorum. The populace, though not very subject to tender emotions, were moved to compassion, and even to tears, by his behaviour at the place of execution; and many sincere and industrious people, resolving on this occasion never to be parties to the sacrifice of this victim, at such a juncture, could not redound either to his honour or security. 

§ XXXII. The turbulent spirit, which is never totally extinguished in this kingdom, had its full vent in the different parts of South Britain. The price of provisions, and bread in particular, being raised to an exorbitant rate, in consequence of an absurd exportation of corn, for the sake of the bounty, a formidable body of colliers, and other labouring people, raised an insurrection at Bristol, began to plunder the corn-vessels in the harbour, and commit such outrages in the city, that the magistrates were obliged to have recourse to the military for a formidable assistance. The convulsion, however, and the insurgents were quelled, though without some bloodshed. Commotions of the same kind were excited in Yorkshire, Manchester, and several other places in the north, and particularly at Leeds: a detachment of the king's troops were obliged in their own defence to fire upon the rioters, eight or nine of whom were killed on the spot; and, indeed, so little care had been taken to restrain the licentious insolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regular measures, that the possession of the town by the faction, that a military power was found absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

§ XXXIII. The tranquillity of the continent was not equally happy here. To remove, however, the breach between the clergy and the parliament of Paris was every day more and more widened, and the people were pretty equally divided between superstition and a regard for civil liberties. The parliament having caused divers ecclesiastics to be apprehended, for having refused to administer the sacraments to persons in extremity, who refused to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, all of them declared they acted according to the direction of the Archbishop of Paris. Application being made to this haughty prelate, he treated the deputies of the parliament with the most supercilious contempt, and even seemed to bravo the power and authority of that body. They, on the other hand, protested their adherence to the royal authority, and their sovereign ordered them to desist. They then presented remonstrances to his majesty, reminding him of their privileges, and the duty of their station, which obliged them to do justice on all departments. In the meantime, they continued to perform their functions, and even commenced a prosecution against the Bishop of Orleans, whom they summoned to attend their tribunal. Next day they received from Versailles a lettre de cachet, accompanied by letters patent, commanding them to suppress all protestations relating to the refusal of the sacraments; and ordering the letters patent to be registered. Instead of obeying these commands, they presented new remonstrances, for an answer, which they were refused to give. The king's former declarations. In consequence of this intimidation, they had spirit enough to resolve, "that whereas certain evil-minded persons had prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remained assembled, and all other business should be suspended." The affair was now become very serious. His majesty, by a fresh letter of orders, and commanded them to proceed with their ordinary business, on pain of incurring his displeasure. They forthwith came to another resolution, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without a breach of their duty and their oath. In a few days letters de cachet were issued, prohibiting them to proceed to different parts of the kingdom all the members, except those of the great chamber, which the court did not find more tractable than their brethren. They forthwith resolved to take the measures above; and, as an instance of their unshaken fortitude, ordered an ecclesiastic to be taken into custody for refusing the sacraments. This spirited measure involved them in the fate of the rest; for they were also implicated from Paris, the citizens of which did not fail to exult their conduct with the lowest encomiums, and at the same time to express their resentment against the clergy, who could not stir abroad without being exposed to violence or insult. The example of the parliament of Paris was followed by that of Rouen, which had courage enough to issue orders for apprehending the Bishop of Evreux, because he had refused to appear when summoned to their tribunal. Their brethren, in the same council of state, who, in an instance of the council of state, presented a bold remonstrance, which, however, had no other effect than that of exasperating the ministry. A grand deputation being ordered to attend the king, they were commanded to dissent in disputes relating to the refusal of the sacraments, and to register this injunction. At their return they had recourse to a new remonstrance: and one of their principal councillors, who had spoken freely in the debates on this subject, was arrested by a party of dragoons, who carried him prisoner to the castle of Dourlens. In a word, the body of the people declared for the parliament, in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; and, had they not been overawed by a show of force, they would have formed a formidable body of armed forces. The insurrection was, however, quelled without the intervention of the people, and the monarch, weakly suffered himself to be governed by priestly delusions; and, secure in his military appointment, seemed to set the rest of his subjects at defiance. Apprehensive, however, that these disputes would put an entire stop to the administration of justice, he, by letters patent, established a royal chamber for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal, which was opened with a solemn mass performed in the queen's chapel, and conducted in an extraordinary manner, that a military power was found absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom.
Vienna, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of fourteen voices. His Prussian majesty's final declaration with regard to this affair was afterwards presented to the diet, and answered in the sequel by a memorial from his Britannic majesty as Elector of Hanover. Some other petty disputes likewise happened between the regency of Hanover and the city of Munster; and the former claiming some saltwicks in the territories of Bremen, sequestered certain saltwicks belonging to the city of Stade and Ferden, till these claims should be satisfied.

§ XXXV. The court of Vienna having dropped for the present the scheme for electing a King of the Romans, concluded a friendly treaty with the Duke of Modena, stipulating that his serene highness should be appointed perpetual governor of the duchy of Milan, with a salary of ninety thousand thalers, on condition that he should maintain a body of four thousand men, to be at the disposal of the empress queen; that her imperial majesty should have a right to place garrisons in the citadels of Mirandola and Reggio, as well as in the castle of Massa Carrara: that the Archduke Peter Leopold, third son of their imperial majesties, should espouse the daughter of the hereditary Prince of Modena, by the heiress of Massa Carrara; and in case of her dying without heirs male, the estates of that house and the duchy of Mirandola should descend to the Elector of Hesse; but in either of these cases, that she should enjoy the principality of Ferrara, and other possessions in Hungary, claimed by the Duke of Modena, for her fortune; finally, that on the extinction of the male line of the house of Este, the dominions of the Duke of Modena should devolve to the house of Austria.

§ XXXVI. While the powers on the continent of Europe were thus employed in strengthening their respective interests, and concerting measures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquility, a new topic of general interest was opening to a fresh rupture between the subjects of Great Britain and France, in different parts of North America. We have already observed that commissaries had been appointed by that power to the city of Boston, to determine the disputes between the two powers, relating to the boundaries of Nova Scotia; and we took notice in general of the little arts of evasion practised by the French commissaries to darken and perplex the dispute, and elude the pretensions of his Britannic majesty. They persisted in employing these arts of chicanery and caviil with such perseverance, that the negotiation proved abortive, the conferences broke up, and every thing seemed to point to an approaching hostility. But, before we proceed to a detail of the incidents which were the immediate forerunners of the war, we will endeavour to convey a just idea of the dispute concerning Nova Scotia; which, we apprehend, is but a trifle as compared to the vast subjects, to determine which the disputes between the two powers are opened. We shall proceed to a survey of the whole, comprehending the whole of the question, and the interesting points connected with it, and the consequences which may happen from this new and pressing measure, affecting the interests of the world, and the liberties of mankind. We shall discuss it in a distinct manner, and we shall have occasion to shew, that the French, in concerting their views, have been actuated by motives which are greatly to annoy all our other colonies, and, if in the hands of the French, would be of singular service both to their fishery and their sugar-islands, has frequently changed hands from the French to the English, and from the English back again to the French, till our right to it was finally settled by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which it was confirmed to Great Britain, in consideration of the ancient limits of that country, which was called Nova Scotia or Acadia, was ceded to the English. This article was confirmed by the treaty of Aus- lia-Chapelle; but, for want of ascertaining distinctly what were the bounds intended to be fixed by the two nations with regard to the said province, the disputes, as we have observed, were appointed by both sides, to adjust the litigation.

§ XXXVII. The commissaries of the King of Great Britain, were employed in fixing the boundary line of the treaty itself, and assigned those as the ancient limits of this country, which had always passed as such, from the very earliest time of any certainty, down to the conclusion of the treaty; which the two crowns had frequently declined to be such, and which the French had often admitted and allowed. These limits are, the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence to the north, and Pentagot to the west: the country situated between these boundaries is that which the French received by the treaty of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, under the general name of Acadia. Of this country, thus limited, they continued in possession from that period to the year 1713, when, by the treaty of the Peace of Utrecht, it was made up, by the command of Colonel Sedg- weck. That these were then the undisputed limits of Acadia, his Britannic majesty's commissaries plainly proved, by the declaration of the treaty, by a letter from Lord Louvois and La Tour, regulating their jurisdictions in Acadia; by the subsequent commissions of the French king to the same persons, as governors of Acadia, in the sequel; and by that which was afterwards granted to the Senor Darya, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four; all of which extend the bounds of this country from the river St. Lawrence to Pentagot and New England. That these were the notions of the French with respect to the ancient limits of Acadia, was further established by memorials made by their ambassador, in the course of that same year, for the restitution of the forts Pentagot, St. John's, and Port Royal, as forts situated in Acadia. In the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, upon the renewal of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Westminster, the French ambassador, then at the court of London, assigned Pentagot and Port Royal to the western, and the river St. Lawrence to the northern, boundary of that country; and alleged the restitution of Acadia in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, and the possession taken by France in consequence thereof, as well as the continuation of the possession, as the same, without interruption of six hundred and fifty-four, as proofs of the equity and validity of the claim he then made: in which claim, and in the manner of supporting it, he was particularly appro- ving of by the court of France. The same court afterwards thought it so clear, upon former determinations, and her own former possessions, that the true ancient boundaries of Acadia were Pentagot to the west, and the river St. Lawrence to the north, that she desired no speci- fication of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the restitution of Acadia; generally named; and, upon a dispute which arose in the execution of this treaty, France re-asserted, and Great Britain, after some discussion, carried the possession of the said territory to the French; and France obtained possession of that country, so bounded, under the treaty of Breda. The sense of France upon this subject, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, and one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, was also clearly manifested, in the memorials delivered at that time by the French ambassador at the court of London, complaining of some encroachments made by the English upon the said territory. These were afterwards confirmed, as extending from old Piscataquis, which lies at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, to St. George's island: and again, in a subsequent complaint, made by Mons. Barillon and Mons. Morin, to the English and French majesties, would be extremely injurious to the trade of this country, and to the interests of the kingdom of France, as having seized the effects of a French merchant at Pentagot, which, said they, was situated in Acadia, as restored to France by the treaty of
Breda. To explain the sense of France, touching the bounds of Acadia in the year one thousand seven hundred, the British commissioners produced a proposal of the French ambassadors to the Americans, which was drawn up according to the limits of that country to the river St. George. They also instanced the surrender of Port Royal in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, in which Acadia is described with the same limits with which France had received it in the two preceding years, amounting in all to thirty-two, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. And further to ascertain the sense of both crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itself, they produced the Queen of Great Britain's instructions to her ambassadors in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven, in which they were directed to state, "That his most Christian Majesty should quit all claim or title, by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwise, to the country called Nova Scotia, and expressly to Port Royal, otherwise Annapolis Royal." To these they added a manifest demonstration, founded on indisputable facts, proving that the recital of the several sorts of right which France had ever pretended to this country, and the specification of both terms, Acadia or Nova Scotia, were intended by Great Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made concerning the limits of Acadia, and to comprehend with more certainty all that concerned the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, with a view to specify what France considered as Acadia. During the treaty they referred to the offers of the crown in the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, in which they pretended to the crown, that of the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in case Great Britain would restore to her the possession of that country. From all these facts it plainly appears that Great Britain demanded nothing but what the fair construction of the articles of the treaty of Utrecht necessarily required; and that it is impossible for anything to have more evident marks of candidor and fairness in it, than the demand of the English on this occasion. From the variety of evidence, the undersigned, and the British commissioners, it is clear that the English commissioners assigned no limits as the ancient limits of Acadia, but those which France herself determined to be such in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two; and which she possessed, in consequence of that determination, till the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four; and that in one thousand six hundred and sixty-two France claimed, and received in one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and which she possessed, in consequence of that determination, till the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-four; and that, by the treaty of Utrecht, she engaged to transfer that very same country as Acadia, which France had always asserted and possessed, and Great Britain now claims, as such. Should the crown of France, therefore, be ever willing to decide what are the ancient limits of Acadia, by her own declarations so frequently made in like discussions upon the same point, by her possessions of this country for almost a century, and by her description of Acadia, during the negotiation of that very treaty upon which this doubt is raised, she cannot but admit the claim of Great Britain to be conformable to their sense and the treaty of Utrecht, and to the descriptions of the country transferred to Great Britain by the twelfth article of that treaty. There is a consistency in the claim of the English, and a completeness in the evidence brought in support of it, which is seldom seen in discussions of this sort; for it rarely happens in disputes of such a nature between two crowns, that either of them can safely offer to have its pretensions decided by the known and repeated declarations, or the possessions, of the other. To answer the determination of this question, either by a direct negotiation, or by a new trial to the real question in dispute, the French commissioners, in their memorial, laid it down as a distinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the ancient limits of Acadia were to be considered as those limits from which that country may have passed under the treaties of St. Germain's and Breda; and then endeavoured to show, upon the testimonies of maps and historians, that Acadia and its limits were anciently confined to the south-eastern part of the peninsula. In support of this system, the French commissioners had recourse to ancient maps and historians, who, to their own sense and the French, referred to the limits they assigned. They alleged that those commissions of the French government over Acadia, which the English cited as evidence of the limits they claimed, were given as commissions over Acadia and the country around it, and not over Acadia itself. And the country claimed by the English as Acadia, could not possibly be supposed ever to be considered as such, because many parts of that territory always did, and still do, preserve particular and distinct names. They affirmed New France to be a province in itself; and argued that many parts of what we claim as Acadia can never have been in Acadia, because historians and the French commissions of government expressly place them in New France. They asserted that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with respect to the limits of any country, from its declaration during the negotiation of a treaty; and, in the end, relying upon maps and historians for the ancient limits of Acadia, they pretended that the express reservation of St. Germain's and the possession taken by France in consequence of the treaty of Breda, after a long discussion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negotiation of the treaty of Utrecht, to all intents and purposes, was the point in question. In refutation of these maxims, the English commissioners proved, from an examination of the maps and historians cited by the French in support of their system, that if we can give any opinion as to the authorities which they themselves allowed to belong and to be applicable to this discussion, the limits which they assigned were utterly inconsistent with the best maps of all countries, which are authoritative in point for almost every part of the British empire. They also proved that the French historians, Champlain and Denys, and particularly this last, with his commission in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-five, assigned the same northern as the French did in the treaty of Utrecht, and that Escarbot, another of their historians, as far as any evidence can be drawn from his writings, agrees entirely with the former two. They observed, that all these evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties, and the several transactions between the two crowns for near a century past; and that the French commissioners, by deviating from treaties, and the late proceeding of the two crowns, to ancient historians and maps, only contributed to an accumulation of evidence, and led the English commissioners into an inquiry, which proved that both the proper and the improper, the regular and the foreign evidence, upon which this matter had been revolved, was in their favor, according to the French commissioners as the ancient limits of Acadia. 

CHAP. III.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A.D. 1733.——Book III.

§ I. While the British ministry depended, upon the success of the conferences between the commissioners of the two crowns at Paris, the French were actively employed in extending their plans of encroachment upon the British colonies in North America. The scheme was to engross the whole fur-trade of that continent, and they had already made great progress in extending its ramifications. British settlements on the river Mississippi with their possessions in Canada, along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, which last issues into the river St. Lawrence. By these means they hoped to exclude the English from all communication and traffic with the Indians; and by thus confining even those of the British settlements, and confine them within a line of their drawing, beyond which they should neither extend their trade nor plantations. Their commercial spirit did not act so much as the patriotic aims of their colonists. They could not supply all those Indians with the necessaries they wanted, so that many of the natives had recourse to the English settlements; and this commerce produced a connexion, in consequence of which the British adventurers ventured to travel with merchandise as far as the banks of the river Ohio, that runs into the Mississippi, a great way on the other side of the Apalachian mountains, beyond the line of our colonists, who attempted to penetrate. The tract of country lying along the Ohio is so fertile, pleasant, and inviting, and the Indians, called Twightees, who inhabit those delightful plains, were so well disposed towards a close alliance with the English, that seven hundred and sixty, in the years fifteen and sixteen, Mr. Spotwood, Governor of Virginia, proposed a plan for erecting a company to settle such lands upon this river as should be ceded to them by treaty with the natives; but the design was at that time frustrated, partly by the indulgence and timidity of the British ministry, who were afraid of giving umbrage to the French, and partly by jealousies and divisions subsisting between the several colonies of Great Britain. The very same circumstances encouraged the French to proceed in their progress of invasion. At length, they penetrated from the banks of the river St. Lawrence, across lake Champlain, and upon the territory of New York built, with impunity: and indeed without opposition, the fort of Crown Point, the most insolent and dangerous encroachment that they had hitherto carried into execution.

§ II. Governor Spotwood's scheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when certain merchants of London who traded to Maryland and Virginia, petitioned the government on this subject, and were indulged not only with a grant of a charter to a company, but to the southward of Pennsylvania, which they promised to settle, but also with an exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio. This design no sooner transpired than the French governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote the letters to the Governors of New York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand, that as the English inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his sovereign, he would seize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately desist from that illicit practice. No regard being paid to this intimation, he next year caused three British traders to be arrested. Their officers were confounded, and they themselves did not resemble the French, from whence they were sent prisoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement. In this situation they presented a remonstrance to the Earl of Albemarle, at that time English ambassador at Paris, in which they charged the French with being British subjects, they were set at liberty. Although, in answer to his lordship's memorial, the court of Versailles promised to transmit orders to the French governor of Canada to release them, on their endeavour in no case, that the earl did not send them, and the officers of the French court who had these papers sent, being some slight oversight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor solicited, and therefore they looked upon this measure with an evil eye, as a manifest invasion of their rights.

§ IV. While the French thus industriously extended their encroachments to the southward, they were not idle in the gulf of St. Lawrence, but seized every opportunity of distressing the English settlement of Nova Scotia. We
have already observed, that the town of Halifax was no sooner built, than they spirited up the Indians of that neighbourhood to commit hostilities against the inhabitants, some of whom they murdered, and others they carried to Halifax, where they armed them for arms and ammunition, the French pretending that they maintained this traffic from motives of pure compassion, in order to prevent the massacre of the English captives, whom, however, they did not set at liberty without exacting a large ransom for them. Some of the Indians were generally directed and headed by French commanders, repeated complaints were made to the governor of Louisbourg, who still answered, that his jurisdiction did not extend the Continent, and that the French conductors were chosen from the inhabitants of Annapolis, who thought proper to remain in that country after it was ceded to the English, and were, in fact, the subjects of Great Britain. Even while the conferences were carried on for ascertaining the limits of Nova Scotia, the Governor of Canada detached M. La Corne, with some regular troops, and a body of militia, to fortify a post on the bay of Chignecto, on the pretence that this and a great part of the peninsula belonged to his government. The possession of this post not only secured to the Indians of the continent a free entrance into the peninsula, and a safe retreat in case of pursuit; but also encouraged the French to assume a pretence to rise in open rebellion against the English government.

§ V. In the spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, General Cornwallis, Governor of Halifax, sent M. De la Jonquiere, with a large body of men, to put down to obedience. At his approach they burned their towns to ashes, forsook their possessions, and threw themselves under the protection of M. La Corne, who, thus reinforced, found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, well provided with arms and ammunition. Major Laurence being unable to cope with him in the field, demanded an interview, at which he desired to know for what cause the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia had shewn off their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and violated the neutrality which they had hitherto affected to profess. The French officer, without pretending to account for their behaviour, gave him to understand in general terms, that he had orders to defend his post, and these orders he was determined to obey. The English major finding himself too weak to attack their united force, and having no orders to commit hostilities against any but the French and their Indian abettors, returned to Halifax, without having been able to fulfil the purpose of his expedition. Immediately after his retreat, the French neutrals (so they were called) returned to the habitations which they had abandoned; and, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations among the inhabitants of Halifax and its dependent settlements. The English governor, justly incensed at these outrages, and seeing they would neither submit to the English government themselves, nor allow others to enjoy it with tranquillity, resolved to expel them effectually from the country they so ill deserved to possess. Major Laurence was again detached with a thousand men, transported by sea to Chignecto, where he found the French and Indians intrenched, in order to dispute his landing. Notwithstanding this opposition, he made a descent with a few companies, received and returned a smart fire, and rushing into their intrenchments, put an end to the pretended protection, leaving a considerable number killed and wounded on the spot. The fugitives saved themselves by crossing a river, on the further bank of which La Corne stood at the head of the troops, drawn up in order to receive them as friends and dependants. He had by this time erected a fort, which he denominated Beau Sejour, and now the English built another on the opposite side of the river, which was called after its founder St. Laurence. This had pressed upon the French to evacuate it as a citadel upon the French, and in some measure restrained the incursions of their barbarians. Not that it effectually answered this purpose; for the Indians and neutrals still secured numerous Swiss prisoners in the land or on the sea, in the interior parts of the peninsula. In the course of the succeeding year they surprised the little town of Dartmouth, on the other side of Halifax bay, where they killed and scalped a great number of people, and carried off some prisoners. For these expeditions the French always supplied them with boats, canoes, arms, and ammunition; and indeed they were conducted with such care and secrecy, that it was almost impossible to prevent their success. One sure remedy against the sudden and stolen incursions of those savages might have been found in the use of stand hounst, which would have run on the foot, detected the lurking savages of Nova Scotia, and frustrated all their ambuscades: but this expedition, so easy and practicable, was never tried, though frequently recommended in public to the attention of the government, but did not even procure their remonstrances continued to plunder and massacre the British subjects with impunity, and were countenanced by the French government in that country, who now strengthened their lodge subject on the neck of the peninsula with an additional fort, distinguished by the name of Bay-verte; and built a third at the mouth of St. John's river, on the north side of the bay of Fundy.

§ VI. All the previous steps to a rupture with England were taken with great deliberation, while the commissioners of both nations were disputing about the limits of the very country which they thus arrogantly usurped; and they proceeded to perfect their chain of forts to the southward, without paying the least regard to the rights and interests of the English governors, or to a memorial presented at Versailles by the Earl of Allambarie, the British minister. He demanded that express orders should be sent to M. de la Jonquiere, commanding the French forces in Canada, to desist from violence against the British subjects in that country; that the fort of Niagara should be immediately razed; that the subjects of Great Britain, who had been made prisoners, should be set at liberty, and indemnified for the losses they had sustained; and that the persons who had committed these excesses should be punished in an exemplary manner. True it is, six Englishmen, whom they had unjustly taken, were immediately dismissed; and the ambassador amused with general promises of sending such instructions to the French governor in America, as should anticipate any cause of complaint for the future; but, far from having any intention to perform these promises, the court of Versailles, without all doubt, exhoribated de la Jonquiere to proceed in bringing its ambitious schemes to perfection.

§ VII. Every accident in America seemed to prognosticate war, when the session of parliament was opened on the fifteenth day of November; yet his majesty, on this occasion, told them, that the events of the year had not made it necessary for him to offer any thing in particular to their consideration relating to foreign affairs; declared, that the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the general state of Europe, remained upon the same footing as when they last parted; and assured them of his steadiness in pursuing the most effectual measures to preserve to his people the blessings of peace. He expressed an uncommon concern, that the horrid crimes of robbery and of murder were of late rather increased than diminished, and earnestly recommended this important object to their serious attention. Affectionate addresses were presented by both Houses in answer to this harangue; and, what was very remarkable, they were proposed and passed without question or debate.

§ VIII. The expeditions continued the same number of seamen and land-forces for the ensuing year, which had been granted in the last session, and made suitable provision for all the exigencies of the state. The whole supply amounted to two millions seven hundred and thirteen thousand nine hundred and sixteen pounds, ten shillings, and two pence, to be raised by a land tax of two shillings in the pound, a malt tax, a continuation of certain duties on wine, vinegar, cider, and beer imported, a sum taken from the sinking fund, and the revenue of the postmasters and officers, funds, and duties. The provisions made coodenscendently exceeded the grants; but this excess was chargeable with the interest of what should be borrowed upon the credit of the state, and which was necessary for the public service, both, as also with the deficiency (if any should happen) in the sums they were computed to produce. The House
agreed to all these resolutions almost unanimously: indeed, no opposition was made to any of them, but that for continuing the same number of land-forces, which was carried by a great majority.

§ 4. The act of the twenty-fifth of March, 1701, for the naturalization of Jews, which had, during the last session, triumphed over such an obstinate opposition, was by this time become the subject of national horror and execration. Every part of the kingdom was filled with the apprehension that the ministry who had enforced such an odious measure; and the two brothers, who engrossed the greater part of the administration, trembled at the prospect of what this clamour might produce at the general election, this being the last session of the present Parliament. So eager were they to have annulled this unpopular measure, that, immediately after the Peers had agreed to the nature and form of an address to his majesty, the Duke of Newcastle, with that precipitation so peculiar to his character, posted forth an abrupt harangue in that House, importing, that the disaffected had made a handle of the act passed last session in favour of the Jews, to raise discontents among many of his majesty's good subjects; and as the act was in itself of little importance, he was of opinion it ought to be repealed; for this purpose he presented a bill ready framed, which was read and committed, though not without some debate. The next day, the bill, now devoured as a sacrifice to the resentment of the people, contained a clause disabling all naturalized Jews from purchasing, inheriting, or receiving any advowson or presentation, or right to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, school, hospital, or donation; and as it was a draft of the bill, which had been promulgated, it was intended that this clause should not be repealed. It was the opinion, however, of the majority, that such a clause standing unrepealed might imply, that the Jews, by being thus expressly excluded from the possession of any ecclesiastical right of presentation, would be considered as having the power and privilege of purchasing and inheriting any lay-property in the kingdom. Of creating an anxiety of the nature of that in the bill, the clause in question was left out, and the whole act of naturalization repealed without exception.3 Though the Lords in general concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was opposed by few, as too great a sacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamours of the multitude; and upon this side of the debate a great power of eloquence was displayed by Earl Temple, who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his mother, a nobleman of distinguishing abilities and the most amiable dispositions, frank, liberal, humane, and zealously attached to the interest and honour of his country. In the lower House, the members of both parties seemed to vie with each other in demonstration of their opposition to this unpromising act. On the very first day of the session, immediately after the motion for an address to his majesty, Sir James Dashwood, an eminent leader in the opposition, gave the Commons to understand, that he had a motion of very great importance to make, which would require the attention of every member, as soon as the motion for the address should be dis- cussed; he therefore desired they would not quit the House, until he should have an opportunity to explain his proposal. Accordingly, they had no sooner agreed to the motion for an address of thanks to his majesty, than he stood up again; and having expatiated upon the just and general indignation which the act of the preceding session, in favor of the Jews, excited among the people, he moved to order that the House should be called over on Tuesday the fourth day of December, for taking that act into consideration: but being given to understand, that it was not usual to appoint a call of the House for any particular purpose, he agreed that the motion should be general. It was seconded by Lord Parker, his opposite in political interests; the House agreed to it without opposition, and the call was ordered accordingly. They were anticipated, however, by the Lords, who feared and transmitted to them a bill on the same subject, to the purport of which the Commons made no objection; for every member, having the fear of the general election

3 The recent session of bishops' held, with a laudable spirit of Christian moderation, generally approved of the indolence granted to three Hebrew brethren, and now they acquiesced in the proposed repeal before his eyes, carefully avoided every expression which could give umbrage to his constituents: but violent opposition was made to the preamble, which ran in the following strain:—"Whereas an act of parliament was made..." Intuited, 

an act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned; and whereas occasion was taken to argue that the act required disquisitions and disquisitions in the minds of his majesty's subjects, be it enacted, &c." This introduction was considered as an unjust reflection upon the body of the people in general, and in particular upon those who had opposed the bill in the last session. It was therefore recommended by the minister that the act be disapproved of. Parliament therefore moved, that the expression should be varied to this effect: "Whereas great discontents and disquietudes had from the said act arisen." The consequence of this motion was an abstinence debate, but as it was supported by the Earl of Egmont, and driven other able orators; but Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt were numbered among its opponents. The question being put for the proposed alteration, it was of course carried in the negative: the bill, after the third reading, passed senate contrádictórem, and in due time obtained the royal assent.

§ 6. Even this concession of the ministry did not allay the discontents of the non-juring faction, or prevent the encroachment from the Jews. Another act still subsisted, by virtue of which any person professing the Jewish religion might become a free denizen of Great Britain, after having resided seven years in any of his majesty's colonies in America. In Mr. Pelham's opinion, this was a measure, which was the more dangerous tendency, of which the other was now in a fair way of being convicted. It was moved, therefore, in the lower House, that part of this former act might be read; then the same member made a motion for an address to his majesty, desiring that the House might have the perusal of the lists transmitted from the American colonies to the commissioners for trade and plantations, containing the names of those who were already entitled to claim the benefit of the said act, since the year one thousand seven hundred and forty. These lists were accordingly presented, and left upon the table for the perusal of the members; and this act contained no limitation of time within which the benefit of it should be claimed, and as this claim was attended with a good deal of trouble and some expense, very few persons had availed themselves of it in that period. It was observed, as a great number who were already entitled to claim this indulgence, and as it remained an open channel through which Great Britain might be deluged with those people, all of whom the law would hold as foreigners, from all the restrictions contained in the act with respect to naturalized foreigners, Lord Harley moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the said act as related to persons professing the Jewish religion, who should come to settle in any British colony after a certain time. The motion was seconded by Sir James Dashwood, and supported by the Earl of Egmont; but being found unequal to the interest and eloquence of Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt, was rejected by the majority.

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and company, were submitted to the perusal of the members. The bill was by many considered as a dangerous extension of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by British subjects, and as such violently contested by the Earl of Egmont, Lord Strange, and Mr. Andros, who was supported by the solicitor-general and Mr. Yorke. The bill, after some warm debates, being espoused by the ministry, was enacted into a law, and despatched to the East Indies by the minister's own orders.

§ XII. Some other motions were made, and petitions presented on different subjects, which, as they miscarried, will be unnecessary to particularize. It may not be amiss, however, to mention the difficulty, to which the Commons were subjected, in the person of a member belonging to a public office, whom they detected in the practice of fraud and imposition. Notwithstanding the particular care taken in the last session, to prevent the monopolizing of tickets in the state lottery, all those precautions had been eluded by a scandalous manner by certain individuals, intrusted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors, according to the intent of the act, which expressly declared that tickets would not be sold to any one, if not in the public lottery. Instead of conforming to these directions of the legislature, they and their friends engrossed great numbers, sheltering themselves under a false list of legged names for the purpose of perpetuating the equitable intention of the Commons; but in some measure injured the public credit; insomuch as their avarice had prompted them to subscribe for a greater number than they had cash to purchase, so that there was a deficiency in the first payment, which might have had a bad effect on the public affairs. These practices were so flagrant and notorious as to attract the notice of the House, where an inquiry was begun, and prosecuted with a spirit of real patriotism, in opposition to a scandalous cabal, who endeavored with equal eagerness and perseverance to screen the delinquents. All their efforts, however, proved abortive; and a committee, appointed to examine particulars, agreed on the several resolutions against one L—, who had amassed a large fortune by this and other kinds of peculation. They voted him guilty of a breach of trust, and a direct violation of the lottery act; and an address was presented to his majesty, desiring he might be prosecuted by the attorney-general for these offences. He was accordingly sued in the court of king's bench, and paid a fine of one thousand pounds, for having committed frauds by which he had gained forty times that he had paid; and his sentence was as remarkably denominated the censure of that tribunal.

§ XIII. The session ended in the beginning of April, when the king gave the parliament to understand that be would not sign any of the bills then under his consideration, because he was sure of their fixed resolution to exert his whole power in maintaining the general tranquillity, and adhering to such measures for that purpose as he had hitherto pursued in conjunction with his council. He in very affectionate terms thanked both Houses for the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment and loyalty to his person and government. He enumerated the salutary measures they had taken for lessening the national debt, and augmenting the public credit, extending navigation and commerce, reforming the morals of the people, and improving the regulations of civil economy. He concluded with declaring, that he securely relied upon the loyalty and good affection of his people, and had no other aim than their permanent happiness. In a little time after the close of this session they were dissolved by proclamation, and new writs issued by the lord chancellor for convoking a new parliament. The same ceremonies were practiced with respect to the convocations of Canterbury and York; though they no longer retained their former importance; nor, indeed, were they suffered to sit and deliberate upon the subjects which formerly fell under their cogitation and discussion.

§ XIV. In the beginning of March, the ministry of Great Britain had been left without a head by the death of Mr. Pelham, which was not only sincerely lamented by his colleagues, but by all his other friends, whose affection he had powerfully recommended himself by the candour and humanity of his conduct and character, even while he was pursued with measures which they did not entirely approve. The loss of such a minister was the more deeply felt by the government at this juncture, being the eve of a general election for a new parliament, when every administration was exposed to the full reed of the opposition, which had redoubled its vigilance and circumspection. He had already concurred the measures for securing a majority, and his plan was faithfully executed by his friends and adherents, who still urged the administration.

The Duke of Newcastle, was appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury, and succeeded as secretary of state by Sir Thomas Robinson, who had long resided as ambassador at the court of Vienna. The other department of the business was still retained by the Earl of Holderness; and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed as usual by the lord chief justice of the king's bench, until a proper person could be found to fill the important office; but in the course of the summer it was bestowed upon Mr. Legge, who acquitted himself with equal honour and capacity.

Divers other alterations were made, of less importance to the public, Sir George Littleton was appointed to the see of Rochester, and the Earl of Hillsborough, comptroller of the household. Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, became treasurer of the navy; and Mr. Charles Townshend, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, took place as a commissioner of the customs, and of the revenue, in the room of Lord Harrington, made master of the wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of an Earl. The place of lord chief justice of the king's bench, becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was filled by Sir Dudley Ryder, and he was succeeded by Mr. Murray to the office of attorney-general.

§ XV. The elections for the new parliament generally succeeded according to the wish of the nursery. The opposition was now dwindled down to the lowest state of imbecility. It had received a mortal wound by the death of the late Prince of Wales, whose adherents were too wise to pursue any further efforts, without the prospect of success or advantage. Some of them had prudently sung their palinode to the ministry, and been gratified with profitable employments; while others, setting too great a price upon their own importance, kept aloof till the market was over, and were left to pant in secret over their disappointed ambition. The maxims of toymanship had been relinquished by many, as the barren principles of a losing game; the body of the people were concluded to the established government; but those whose interest it was, for the first time, subsisted among all the branches of the royal family, had a wonderful effect in acquiring a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed. The sessions of parliament, that year particularly, were put to the last day of May, by the Duke of Cumberland, and some other peers, who acted by virtue of a commission from his majesty. The Commons having chosen for their speaker the Right Hon. Arthur Ouslow, who had honourably filled that high office in four preceding parliaments, he was presented and approved by the commissioners. Then the lord high chancellor harangued both Houses, giving them to understand, that his majesty had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete without loss of time certain parliamentary proceedings which he judged would be for the satisfaction of his good subjects: but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general business, reserving every thing of that nature to the usual time of their assembling in the winter. On the fifth day of June this short session was closed, and the parliament prorogued by the lords commissarii.

§ XVI. In the beginning of this year violent disputes arose between the government and the House of Commons in Ireland, on the almost forgotten subjects of privilege and prerogative. The Commons conceived they had an undoubted right to imply the surplus of their revenue towards national purposes, without the consent of their sovereign; and, accordingly, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, prepared a bill with this preamble: "Whereas, on a certain late occasion, last a considerable chance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers..."
in your majesty's treasury as should be necessary to be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament.

This then being the crisis, which was to determine a constitutional point of such importance, namely, whether the people in parliament assembled had a right to deliberate upon and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown; those who were the most seriously attached to the moderate and liberal doctrine, considering it as essential to their maintaining the character of opposition what they conceived to be a violation of those liberties; and the bill, with its alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices. The success of their endeavor was still further crowned with the most extravagant representation, as a triumph of patriotism over the arts of ministerial corruption: and, on the other hand, all the servants of the crown, who had joined the popular cry on this occasion, were in a great time dismissed from their employments.

The rejection of the bill was a great disappointment to the creditors of the public, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated. These calamities were imputed to arbitrary designs in the government; and the people began to be inflamed with an enthusiastic spirit of independency, which might have produced mischievous effects, had not ardent steps been taken to bring over the demagogues, and convert thetifious division of the realm into one solid body of virtue, by insinuating to those very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration.

The speaker of the House of Commons was promoted to the dignity of an earl; and some other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His majesty's letter arrived from London at the close of the session, and intimated that, to the sum of five hundred thousand pounds of the national debt the circulation was thus animsted, and the resentment of the populace subsiding, the kingdom retrieved its former tranquility.

§ XVII. The ambition and intrigues of the French court, by which the British interest was invaded and disturbed on the continent of America, had also extended itself for its plundering purposes to the British colonies in the West Indies. In particular, the English company with divers nabobs, or princes, who governed different parts of the peninsula in Ganges. That the reader may have a clear and distinct idea of these transactions, we shall exhibit a short sketch of the English forts and settlements in that remote country.

The first of these shall be mentioned is Surat, in the province so called, situated between the twenty-first and twenty-second degrees of north latitude; from hence the peninsula ranges into the east, with the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comoren, which is the southern extremity. To the northward this peninsula joins to Indostan, and at its greatest breadth extends to the longitude of India, but towards the west it is more confined; and south it is washed by the sea. It comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda, and Bijapur, with the principalities of Ging, Tanguor, and Madius. The western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar coast; the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and, in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comoren to the bottom of the bay of Bengal, the English and other European powers have, with the consent of the Mogul, established forts and trading settlements. All these kingdoms, properly speaking, belong to the Mogul; but his power was so weakened by the last invasion of Kuehi Khan, that he has not been able to assert his authority over the western districts of his dominions, of which, and even the nabobs, who were originally governors appointed under their authority, have rendered themselves independent, and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority either by tribute or homage. These princes, when they quarrel among themselves, naturally have recourse to the assistance of such European powers as are settled on or near their dominions, the British em-
which happen to be at war with each other, never fail to interest the nabobs in the dispute.

§ XVIII. The next English settlement on Surat, on the coast of the peninsula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Deccan, a small island, with a very convenient harbour, about five-and-forty leagues to the south of Surat. The town is very populous: but the soil is barren, and the climate unhealthy; and the commerce was rendered very precarious by the frequent change of the latter. Many of the English, until his port of Giria was taken, and his fortifications demolished. The English company likewise carry on some trade at Dabol, about forty leagues further to the south, in the province of Cuncun. In the same southerly progression, towards the point of the peninsula, we arrive at Carwar, in the latitude of fifteen degrees, where there is a small fort and factory, belonging to the company, standing on the south side of a bay, with a river, capable of receiving ships of pretty large burden. The climate here is remarkably salubrious; the country abounds with provisions of all sorts, and the best pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood. The next English settlement we find at Tiltcherry, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamoms from the insults of the rajah, who governs this port of Malabar. Iither the English trade was removed from this place to another, a company maintaining a factory fifteen leagues to the southward of Tiltcherry, and as was well frequented as any port on the coast of the Indian peninsula. The most southerly settlement which the English possess on the Malabar coast is called Malacca, and the Chittagong, in the eleventh and ninth degrees of latitude. It is defended by a regular fort, situated on a broad river, which falls into the sea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the water on the bar too shallow to admit ships of considerable burden. Then turning the cape, and passing through the strait of Chilao, formed by the island of Ceylon, we arrive on the coast of Coromandel, which forms the eastern side of the isthmus. Prospecting our course in the northern part of the island, we come to the trade of Fort St. David's, formerly called Topganat, situated in the latitude of eleven degrees forty minutes north, within the kingdom of Ging. It was about six-and-twenty years ago sold by a Mahatta prince to the East India company, and, next to Bombay, is the most considerable settlement we have yet mentioned. Its territory extends about eight miles along the coast, and half that space up the country, which is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers: its soil is fertile and the climate healthy. The fort is regular, well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garrison, which is more necessary, on account of the near approach of the ports of Coromandel and Pondicherry. But the chief settlement belongs to the trade; on this coast is that of Madras, or Fort St. George, standing farther to the northward, between the thirteenth and fourth degrees of latitude, and not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. It is seated on a flat, barren, scorching sand, so near the sea, that in bad weather the walls are endangered by the mighty surges rolled in from the ocean. As the soil is barren, the climate is so intensely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the sea breezes. On the land side it is defended by a salt-water river, which, while it contributes to the security of the place, robs the inhabitants of one of their great enjoyments, by obstructing the springs of fresh water. The fort is a regular square, the town surrounded with walls well mounted with artillery, and the place, including the Black Town, is very populous. Madras, with several villages in the neighbourhood, was purchased by the King of Golconda, before the Mogul became sovereign of this country. The governor of this place is not only president of Fort St. George, but also of all the other settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and the civil and military personages, being in the same hands, having inferior judges, who pass sentence of death occasionally on males of any nation, except the subjects of Great Britain. All the company's affairs are directed from him a reining officer in the East India Company's power of inflicting corporal punishment, short of life and member, upon such Europeans as are in the service, and dispose of all places of trust and profit. By virtue of an act passed in the course of this very session, the military officers belonging to the company were permitted to hold courts-martial, and punish their soldiers according to the degree of their delinquency. In a word, Madras is of the utmost importance to the company for its strength, wealth, and the great returns it makes in calicoes and muslins. Towards the latter period of the last century, another company had a flourishing factory at Masulipatam, standing on the north side of the river Nagundi, which separates the provinces of Golconda and Bissagar, in the latitude of sixteen degrees and thirty minutes; but now there is no European settlement here, except a Dutch factory, maintained for carrying on the chintz commerce. At Vizagapatam, situated still further to the northward, the English possess a factory, regularly fortified, on the side of a river, which, however, a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. The adjacent country affords cotton cloths, and the best striped muslins of India. It is chiefly for the use of this settlement that the company maintains a factory at Cachrar, the most eastern town in the province or kingdom of Golconda, situated in a country abounding with rice and sugar canes. Still further to the north coast, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees, the English possess a factory at Balacana, called formerly very considerable; but hath been of very little consequence since the navigation of the river Hugely was improved. At this place every European ship bound for Bengal takes in a cargo of sugar, the produce of this country, and the English regularly build on the spot a factory, erected with a certain number of soldiers. The adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are considerable manufactures of cotton and silk. Without skilful pilots, the English would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges discharges itself into the sea at the bottom of the bay of Bengal. On the southern branch of this river, close to Cachnar, there is a factory maintained by the company of the William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, store-houses for the company's merchandise, and magazines for their ammunition. As for the governor's house, which likewise stands within the fort, it is one of the most regular structures in all India. Besides these settlements along the sea-coast of the peninsula, and on the banks of the Ganges, the English as a factory company have several small inland factories as posts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchased of the nabobs and rajahs, or conquered in the course of the war. As the operations we propose to record were confined to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the interior countries which form the peninsula in the Ganges, it will be unnecessary to describe the factory at Buneoden, on the island of Simatra, or any settlement which the English possess in other parts of the East Indies.

* The trade consists of long cloths of different colours, salamupers, mores, dimilis, guchas, and several other articles.
fulfilled in the sequel. Thus reinforced and joined by one Chunda Sahl, an active Indian chief, he took the field against his kinsman Nazirzing, who was supported by a body of English troops under Colonel Lawrence. The French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night; and Muzafzerzing, seeing himself abandoned by all his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his cousin, who, sped on by his French auxiliaries, and detained him as a hostage. In this situation he formed a conspiracy against his kinsman's life with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the Nabobs of Cadugab and Condenane, then in his camp; and the conspirators were encouraged in the enterprise by Duplex and Chunda Sah, who had retired to Pondicherry. Thus stimulated, they murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzafzerzing Viceroy of Decan. In the tents of the murdered viceroy they found an immense treasure, of which a great share fell to M. Duplex, whom Muzafzerzing appointed Chunda Sah Nabob of Arcot; Anaverdy Khan, the late nabob, had been, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, defeated and slain by Muzafzerzing and Chunda Sah, with the assistance of their French auxiliaries and Arjaw. Ali Khan had put himself under the protection of the English at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazirzing, as his father's successor in the nabobship, or government of Arcot, by a letter of appointment, therefore, to the English. Ali Khan, appointed by the legal Viceroy Nazirzing, supported by the English company, and Chunda Sah, nominated by the usurper Muzafzerzing, and Ressenhetz a Dyspert, who commanded at Pondicherry, Muzafzerzing did not long survive his usurpation. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, the same nabobs who had promoted him to his kinsman's place, having been rendered ill rewarded for their services, fell upon him suddenly, routed his troops, and put him to death; and next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Salabatzeh, brother to Nazirzing, Viceroy of Decan: on the other hand, the Mogul appointed Grazdez Khan, who was the elder brother of Salabatzeh; and this prince confirmed Mahommeh Ali Khan in the government of Arcot: but the affairs of the Mogul's court were then in such confusion, that he could not spare an army to support the prince, and the Mogul had made Chunda Sah Nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the Great Mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, he resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French general Muzafzerzing, who relieved him with twenty thousand sepoys, or soldiers of the country, sixty caffires, and four hundred and twenty French troops, an condition that, if he proved successful in his enterprise, he should cede the town of Vellore, and the neighborhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, who lost his life in the engagement, re-established the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been stipulated by his French allies.

§ XX. Mahommeh Ali Khan, at the death of his father, had fled to Timinsopallil, and solicited the assistance of the English, who supported him with a reinforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of Major Lawrence, a brave and experienced officer. By dint of this supply he gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat; but no decisive blow was given. Mahommeh afterwards repaired in person to Fort St. David's to demand more powerful succours, alleging that his fate was connected with the interest of the English commerce, which would be endangered by his downfall. Upon these representations, he received another strong reinforcement under the command of Captain Cooper, but nothing of importance was attempted, and the English auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommeh was attacked by the enemy, who obtained a complete victory over him. Finding it impossible to maintain his footing by his own strength, he entered into a close alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points, which had been long in dispute. Then they detached Captain Cope to put Timinsopallil in a posture of defence; while Captain de Genges, a Swiss officer, who had been promised by the English the nabob's assistance, The two armies being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month; during which nothing happened but a few engagements. At length they sent the nabob's son, with the English auxiliaries. In order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, the company resolved to send a detachment into the province of Arcot; and this was one of the most extraordinary, as well as the most important, services of Mr. Clive were displayed. He had entered into the service of the East India company as a writer, and was considered as a person very indifferently qualified for succeeding in any civil station of life. He now offered his services in a military capacity, and actually began his march to Arcot, at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans with five hundred sepoys.⁴

§ XXI. Such was the resolution, secrecy, and despatch with which Mr. Clive acted, that it is said the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum of money to the English, as a guarantee of peace, and from the generosity and discretion of the conqueror. He refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating, that those who were willing to remain in their houses, would be treated with lenity; and that the rest have leave to retire with all their effects except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this sige conduct he concluded the affections of the people, and obtained the surrender of the capital, which he had supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, when he was besieged in the sequel. The town was in a little time invested by Raja Sahib, son of Chunda Sah, who invested the city and the openings of the siege were conducted by European engineers. Though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and resolute sallies of Mr. Clive, they at length effected two breaches supposed to be practicable; and on the fourteenth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, gave a general assault. Mr. Clive, having received intimation of their design, had made such preparations for their reception that they were repulsed in every place with irresistible impetuosity; and after an obstinate dispute, obtained a complete victory at a very small expense. The forts of Timins, Caujerem, and Aranu, surrendered to the terror of his name, rather than to the force of his arms; and he returned to Fort St. David's in triumph.

Mr. Clive had enjoyed a very few weeks of repose, when he was summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy. In the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding three hundred Europeans, and assembled a body of the natives, that he might have at least the appearance of an army. With these advantages he marched to Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, consisting of fifteen hundred sepoys, seventeen hundred horse, a body of natives, and one hundred and fifty Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Though they were vigorously posted and entrenched, and the day was already

⁴ The sepoys are the mercenaries of the country, who are hired as soldiers occasionally by all parties.
far advanced, Mr. Clive advanced against them with his usual intrepidity; but the victory remained for some time in suspense. It was now dark, and the battle doubtful, when Mr. Clive sent round a detachment to fall in the rear of the French battery. This attack was executed with great resolution, while the English in front entered the lists against the French from the hands of their officers. With little tincture with discipline, displayed the spirit and activity of hardy veterans. This double attack disconcerted the enemy in such a manner, that they soon desisted from all opposition. A considerable cannon ceased; yet the French did not flinch. On the contrary, they saved themselves by flight, under cover of the darkness. The French, to a man, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victors.

§ XXIII. The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, Mr. Clive with his forces returned to Fort St. David's, where he found Major Laurence just arrived from England, to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's service. On the eighteenth day of March this officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by Captain de Gimigny at Tiruchirapally. From hence he detached Mr. Clive with four hundred European soldiers, a few Madras horse, and a body of sepoys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry. In the course of this expedition he disposed a strong body of the foe posted at Sussamareen, and obliged Chunda Saib to throw back the cannon, and fall into the pandaga, upon the river Koleeron, which was immediately invested. The commanding officer, in attempting to escape, was slain with some others, and the rest surrendered at discretion. They were still in possession of another fortified temple, which he also besieged in form, and reduced by capitulation. Having subdued these forts, he marched directly to Velloonda, whether he understood the French commander D'Anuelt had retired. He found that officer intrenched in a village, from whence he drew him with precipitation, and made himself master of the French cannon. The enemy attempted to save themselves in the neighbouring fort; but the gates being shut against them by the governor, who was apprehensive that they would be followed pelt-mell by the English, Mr. Clive attacked them with great fury, and made a considerable slaughter; but his humanity being shocked at this carnage, he sent a flag of truce to the vanquished, with terms of capitulation, which they readily embraced. These articles imported, that D'Anuelt, and three other officers, should remain prisoners on parole for one year, that the garrison should not be molested, none of them should be delivered to the nabob whom the English supported.

§ XXIV. During these operations Chunda Saib lay encamped with an army of thirty thousand men at Srin- ham, at a considerable distance from the English, which he longed eagerly to possess. Hither Major Laurence marched with his Indian allies, and took his measures so well, that the enemy's prevarications were entirely interrupted. Chunda Saib, in attempting to fly, was taken prisoner by the Nubob of Tanjore, an ally of the English company, who ordered his head to be struck off, in order to prevent the disputes which otherwise would have arisen among the captors. The main body of the army being attacked by Major Lawrence, and totally defeated, the island of Srinham was surrendered, and about a thousand European French soldiers, under the command of Mr. Law, nephew to the famous Law who schemed the Missis- sippian expedition, were taken prisoners, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of cannon, and ten mortars. M. Duplex, though exceedingly mortified by this disaster, resolved to maintain the cause which he had espoused, by running to his felicity. He induced Isph Saib, the son of Chunda Saib, Naloy of Arcot; and afterwards pretended that he himself had received from the Mogul some commissions, or appointing him governor of all the Carnatic, from

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The river Krishnâ, to the sea; but these sounds appeared in the sequel to be forged. In order to complete the comedy, the supposed messenger who had delivered the letter from the Mogul, mounted on an elephant, preceded by mosque and dancing women, in the oriental manner, received in public his commission from the French government. He affected the eastern state, kept his dagger or court, where he appeared sitting cross-legged on a sofa, and received presents as prince of the country from his own council, as well as from the natives. In the meantime, hostilities continued between the two companies, of which the sequel belonged to the contesting nabobs. The English, under Major Kin- ner, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Ginge, a strong town situated to the west of Pondicherry. Major Laurence defeated a strong body of French and natives, commanded by Duplex's nephew, M. de Kerjean, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and took him prisoner, together with fifteen officers: after this success, Mr. Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chendraput, the last very strong, situated about forty miles to the southward of Madras. On the other hand, M. Duplex intercepted at sea Captain Schaub, with his whole Swiss company, whom he detained prisoners at Pondicherry, although the two nations were not at war. During these transactions Seringapatam, with a body of French under M. D. Bussy, advanced towards Aureangabad, which was the seat of government; but he was opposed by a chief of the Mahattas, at the head of a numerous band of horse. In the meanwhile, M. Khan, the elder brother of Sallatizing, whom the Mogul had appointed Viceroy of Decan, took possession of his government at Aureangabad, where, in fourteen days after his arrival, he was poisoned by his own uncle. The Mogul immediately appointed his son Shaik Aliako Khan to succeed his father; and this prince actually raised an army to come and take possession; but the Mogul's affairs re- mained in a state of confusion, and he was obliged to postpone his design, so that Sallatizing was left without a competitor, and made a present to the French of all the English settlements to the northward. Thus concluded the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. Next campa- ghn was chiefly confided to the neighbourhood of Trichin- nopoly, where Major Laurence made several vigorous attacks upon the enemy's army, and obtained many advan- tages, which, however, did not prove decisive, because he was so much out-numbered that he could never follow his blow.

§ XXV. In the course of this year, the Mogul was de- posed by his general Shaik Aliako Khan, the Viceroy of Decan, who raised another army, and threatened to become the prince of the blood. In the succeeding year, a negotiation was set on foot by Mr. Saunders, Governor of Madras, and M. Duplex; and conferences were opened at Sidras, a native town between Pondicherry and Fort George; but this proved abortive: and many other callant efforts were made by Major Laurence in the territory of Trichinopoly, which still continued to be the scene of action. In the course of this year Admiral Watson arrived on the coast of Coromandel with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by Colonel Alderson: at the same time the ships from France brought over to Pon- dicherry the Sieur Godette, commissary-general and govern- or-general of all their settlements, at whose arrival Du- plex departed for Europe. The new governor immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders, professing the most general incitements, and proposing a suspension of arms between the two companies till their disputes should be adjusted. This proposal was very agreeable to the govern- or and council at Madras; and a cessation of arms actually took place in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four. Deputies being sent to Pondicherry, a provisional treaty and truce were De- clared, on condition that neither of the two companies should for the future interfere in any difference that might
arise between the princes of the country. The other articles related to the places and settlements that should be removed or possessed by the respective companies, until fresh orders relating to this agreement should arrive from the courts of London and Versailles, transmitted by the two East India companies of France and England. Until such orders as should remain on the sea, the French should be allowed to procure any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments; and that they should not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they then possessed; but should be allowed to remain on the shores of the deits. How pacific soever the sentiments of the French subjects might have been at this period in the East Indies, certain it is, the designs of the French governors in America were now becoming more evident. The island of Illawara, the settlement of Canadas, and the Mequon island, were defended towards a rupture, which kindled up a bloody war in every division of the globe.

§ XXVI. As this war may be termed a native of America, and the principal scenes of it were acted on that continent, we shall, for the information of the reader, sketch out the situation of the then British colonies as they bordered on other, and extended along the sea-coast, from the gulf of St. Lawrence as far south as the coast of Florida. We shall enumerate the Indian nations that lie scattered about their confines, and delineate the manner in which the French hence made them in by a surprising line of fortifications. Should we comprehend Hudson's Bay, with the adjacent countries, and the coast of Newfoundland, in this geographical detail, we must affirm that Great Britain at that time possessed a territory along the sea-coast, extending seventeen hundred miles in a direct line, from the Bay of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the river Ohio; but as these two countries were not concerned in this dispute, we shall advance from the northward to the southern side of the gulf of St. Lawrence; and beginning with Acadia or Nova Scotia, describe our settlements as they lie in a southerly direction, as far as the gulf of Florida. This great tract of country, stretching fifteen degrees of latitude, is washed on the east by the Atlantic Ocean: the southerly limits of it may be said to extend throughout five hundred miles, from the mouth of the Ohio to the coast of Louisiana; but to the westward the limits are uncertain, some affirming that the jurisdiction of the colonies penetrates through the whole continent, as far as the South sea; while others with more moderation, think they are naturally bounded by the river Illinois that rises into the Mississippi, and in a manner connects that river with the chain of lakes known by the names of Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the three first communicating with each other, and the last discharging its waters into the gulf of St. Lawrence, which running from Montreal and Quebec issues into the bay of the same denomination, forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia. The French, who had no legal claim to any lands on the south side of this tract, nevertheless, had the ambition peculiar to themselves, not only extended their forts from the source of St. Lawrence, through an immense tract of that country, as far as the Mississippi, which is numerous itself into the gulf of Florida; but also by a series of unparalleled encroachments, endeavoured to contract the English colonies within such narrow limits as would have cut off almost one half of their possessions. As we have already given a geographical description of Nova Scotia, and mentioned the particulars of the new settlement of Halifax, we shall now only observe, that it is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the gulf, and river of St. Lawrence; that its original boundary to the west was the river Chebeague; but it is now contracted within the river St. Croix, because the crown of Great Britain did, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, grant to the Duke of York the territory of Ansgadack, situated on the mouth of this latter river. This provided by the name; which was in the sequel, by an express charter from the crown, annexed to the province of Massachusetts's-bay, one of the four governments of New England. This country, situation near the sea, was possessed by the respective companies, until fresh orders relating to this agreement should arrive from the courts of London and Versailles, transmitted by the two East India companies of France and England. Until such orders should remain on the sea, the French should be allowed to procure any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments; and that they should not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they then possessed; but should be allowed to remain on the shores of the deits. How pacific soever the sentiments of the French subjects might have been at this period in the East Indies, certain it is, the designs of the French governors in America were now becoming more evident. The island of Illawara, the settlement of Canadas, and the Mequon island, were defended towards a rupture, which kindled up a bloody war in every division of the globe.

§ XXVII. New England is composed of the four provinces known by the names of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and bounded on the south by New York, extending northerly on both sides of the river Hudson, about two hundred miles into the country possessed by the Indians of the five nations, whom the French distinguish by the name of the Iroquois; but in this province this does not exceed fifty miles, though it comprehends Long-island, lying to the southward of Connecticut. The capital, which derives from the province the name of New York, is situated on an excellent harbour in the island of Manhattan, extending fourteen miles in length, and five in breadth, at the mouth of the noble river Hudson, which is navigable for above six hundred miles. Amsterdam, at a distance of fifty miles from New York stands the town of Albany up the same river. In this place all the treaties and other transactions were negotiated between the English and the Iroquois, a confederacy of five Indian nations, and to which they admitted the one thousand warriors, and some others, whom the English drove from the confines of Carolina. The Mohock Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany. The northern extremities of New Hampshire and New York are divided by the lakes Champlain and Sacrament, between which the French had raised the fort of Crown Point.

§ XXVIII. Contiguous to New York, and lying along the coast, in a southerly direction, is the small province of New Jersey, which is divided from Pennsylvania, about one hundred and fifty miles in length, but in breadth not more than one third of that extent. The climate, soil, and productions of this province are similar to those of New England, tho' not in so great extent; they yield great quantities of grain, sheep, horses, hogs, and horned cattle; all kinds of poultry and game in great abundance; vegetables of every sort in perfection, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons. Their vast forests abound with oak, ash, beech, chestnut, cedar, walnut-tree, cypress, hickory, sassafras, and pine; but the timber is not counted so fit for shipping as that of New England and Nova Scotia. These provinces produce great quantities of flax and hemp. New England exports mines of iron, and very rich copper ore is found in New Jersey.

§ XXIX. Pennsylvania, lying to the southward of New York and New Jersey, is bounded on the other side by Maryland, stretching two hundred and fifty miles in length, two hundred in breadth, and having no communication with the sea, except by the mouth of the river Delaware. This province is named in honor of the Gracious Signer of the celebrated William Penn, whose descend- ants are still proprietaries of the country. Philadelphia, the capital, stands on a tongue of land, at the confluence of the two rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, and is disposed in the form of a regular oblong, and designed by the original plan to extend from the one to the other. The streets, which are broad, spacious, and uniform, cross each other at right angles, leaving proper spaces for churches, markets, and other public edifices. The houses are neatly

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The colonists of North Carolina carry on a considerable traffic in tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork and beef, tobacco, deer-skins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon and hogs' lard, cotton, and squares of flax. They also raise another at some distance to the southward of the Riviere-au-Bouf, and made other encroachments on this colony.

The XIX. Adjoining to part of Pennsylvania, on the sea-coast, lies the province of Maryland, a tract of land situated along the bay of Chesapeake, in length about one hundred and forty miles, and nearly of the same breadth, bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the east by the Atlantic ocean, and on the west by the Bay of Chesapeake. This country was first planted with Roman cathedrals by Lord Baltimore, to whom Charles II. granted it by patent. In the sequel, however, people of all religions were admitted into this settlement, and indulged with liberty of conscience, and at present the reigning religion is that of the English church. The climate is very sultry in summer, and not very salubrious. The soil is fruitful, and produces a great quantity of tobacco, which the people cultivate as their staple commodity. The seat of government is established at Annapolis, a small town beautifully situated on the river Patuxent.

The XIXI. Settlement that still farther south, the next settlement is Virginia, watered on the north by the river Pottomack, which is the boundary between this and the colony last described, having the bay of Chesapeake to the east, bounded on the south by Carolina, and extending westward to the fifty-fifth parallel of latitude; the plains have reached no further than the great Alleghany mountains; so that the province as now possessed, stretches in length above two hundred and forty miles, and in breadth not above two hundred, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of latitude. In sailing to Virginia, navigators steer through a strait formed by two points, called the Capes, into the bay of Chesapeake, a large body of water that reaches from the mouth of the Potomack, from south to north, covered from the Atlantic ocean by the eastern side of Maryland, and a small portion of Virginia on the same peninsula. This noble bay is about eighteen miles broad for a considerable space, and seven at its narrowest part, yielding generally nine fathoms depth of water: on both sides it receives many navigable rivers, those on the Virginia side being known by the name of James river, York river, the Rappahanock, and Pottomack river, and stretching gradually towards the sea, lie wide, low and swampy, and the soil is extremely fertile. The air and weather are variable, the storms of winter excessive, the frosts of winter sudden and intensely cold; so that the plants on which they depend are not the most nor healthy, the people being particularly subject to agues and pleurisy disorders. The province abounds with vast forests of timber; the plains are covered with a surprising luxuriance of vegetables, flowers, and flowering shrubs, diffusing the most delicious fragrance. The ground yields plenty of corn, and every sort of fruit in greatest abundance and perfection. Horned cattle and hogs have here multiplied to admittance since those were first imported from Europe. The animals, natives of this and the neighbouring countries, are deer, panthers or tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, squirrels, racoons, and creatures called opossums, with an infinite variety of beautiful birds, and a diversity of fish and game, among which the rattle-snake is the most remarkable.

The XXII. Virginia is bounded to the south by the two Carolinas, situated between the forty-sixth and thirty-first degree of latitude; but as the value sent out of the province of Virginia to foreign countries does not exceed four hundred miles, and the breadth extending near three hundred, as far as the Indian nations called the Catawbas, the Creeks, and Cherokee. The country of Carolina is divided into two governments, of which the northern is the most inconsiderable. The climate in both is the same, as well as the soil; the first is warm, though not unhealthy; the last extremely fertile, yielding every thing in abundance of excellent grains, vegetables, and fruits, the race of oranges, and some commodities which are not found to the northward. North Carolina, though not so opulent, is more populous than the southern part.
within the Indian territories. It was in consequence of the measures here taken, that Colonel Washington was detached from Virginia with four hundred men, and occupied a post on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of occasional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himself in that situation, until he should be joined by a reinforcement from New York. This project, however, did not receive any attention.

§ XXXVI. While he remained in this situation, De Viller, a French commander, at the head of nine hundred men, being on his march to dissolve Washington, detached one James upon the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works and a formal summons to Colonel Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French or their allies. So little regard was paid to this intimation, that the English fell upon this party, and, as the French affirn, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment. De Viller, incensed at these unprouoked hostilitys, marched to the attack, which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages. At length, however, he surrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hostages in the hands of the French; and in his retreat was terriified by the flight of them, and his party. Hence it happened to this people. This event was no sooner known in England, than the British ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry, as an open violation of the peace; but this representation had no effect.

§ XXXVII. Both nations by this time foresaw that a rupture would be inevitable, and each resolved to make suitable preparations. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of ammunition, to Quebec, for the prosecution of her ambitious projects; and the ministry of Great Britain transmitted salutary cautions to the governors of the provinces of North America, exhorting them to join their endeavours for repelling the incursions of the enemy. Such a union as seemed necessary for their common preservation was not easily effected. The different colonies were divided by different views and interests, both religious and political: besides every settlement was distracted into factions, formed by the governor and the demagogues of the assembly; in other words, an opposition like that in parliament, and a continual struggle between the interests of one province and the prejudices of the proprietor, whether sovereign or subject. Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, having demanded a certain perquisite or fee for every patent he should pass for land, the assembly voted his demand illegal, arbitrary, and oppressive. He declared, that every patentee should be deemed an enemy to his country; and sent over an agent to London, to solicit the suppression of this imposition. The representatives of the people in Pennsylvania, at the same time in vain delibaratins and violent disputes with their proprietors, while the enemy infested their frontiers. The colony of New York was filled with discontent and animosity. Sir Danvers Osborne, who had been appointed governor of this province, died immediately after his arrival at New York, and the instructions he had received were exposed to public censure. The preamble invaded severely against the want of duty, allegiance, loyalty, and unanimity, which had lately appeared so notorious in the assembly of that province, and which had violated the royal commission and instructions, by assuming to themselves the power to dispose of public money in the laws which they had occasionally passed. This gentleman was therefore directed to meet, upon the reformation of all those public abuses, and upon the establishment of a certain supply for the service of the government, as well as upon the settlement of a salary for himself. Moreover, his majesty, in those instructions, signified his will and pleasure, that all money raised for the supply and support of government, or upon any emergency for immediate service, should be disposed and applied properly to the use of which it ought to be granted, to the credit of the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council of the province, and no otherwise: that, nevertheless, the assembly should be permitted, from time to time, to view and examine the accounts of money disposed of, by virtue of laws which they had enacted: that if any member of the council, or officer holding place of trust or profit within the government, should, in any manner whatsoever, give his consent or assent in any case, or concur with the assembly in passing any act or vote, whereby the royal prerogative might be lessened or impaired, or any money be raised or disposed of for the public service, contrary to the directions of the instructions, such act or vote should be void: and if the....
and the archbishop, notwithstanding the king's express declaration to the contrary, still persisting in countermanding the recusant priests, was banished to Conflans-sous-Chaumes.

§ XL. In Spain, the interest of Great Britain was warmly espoused and so powerfully supported by Mr. Walr, who had been resident in England, that the French party, though countenanced by the queen-mother, and sustained with censure by the minister to be arrested and confined, and bestowed upon Mr. Wall the best part of his employments. Nevertheless, the Spaniards in the West Indies continued to oppress the subjects of Great Britain, employed in cutting indigo in the island of Hon- 

dur; and representations on this head being made to the court of Madrid, the dispute was amicably adjusted between Mr. Wall and Sir Benjamin Keene, the British ambassador. While the interest of Britain thus triumphed in Spain, it seemed to be given up at the court of Lisbon. His Portuguese majesty had formed vast projects of an active commerce, and even established an East India company; in the meantime he could not help manifesting his disapprobation of the scheme, by two or three yearly export of his dominions, as the balance due from his subjects on English commodities. In his endeavours to check this traffic, which he deemed so detrimental to his commerce, and this necessity of his British merchants settled at Lisbon; some were imprisoned on frivolous pretences; others deprived of their property, and obliged to quit the kingdom. He insisted upon laying an imposition of two per cent. on all the Portuguese gold that should be exported; but the profits of the trade would not bear such an execution. Meanwhile, there being a scarcity of corn in Portugal, the kingdom was supplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to purchase their food, the necessity of conviving at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted into its former channel.

§ XLI. On the fourteenth day of November, the King of Great Britain opened the session of parliament with a harangue, which intimated nothing of an approaching rupture. He said, that the general state of affairs in Europe had undergone very little alteration since their last meeting; that he had been acquainted with the secret assurances from his good brother the King of Spain of friendship and confidence, which he would cultivate with harmony and good faith. He declared his principal view should be to strengthen the foundation, and secure the defense of his dominions. The advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good subjects, and protecting those possessions which constituted one great source of their wealth and commerce. Finally, he exhorted them to complete their plan for appropriating the forsted estates in the highlands to the service of the public. He probably avoided mentioning the encroachments of France, that he might supply no handle for debates on the address, which was carried in both Houses almost without opposition. The government seemed determined to humble the insolence of the French councils; and this disposition was so agreeable to the people in general, that they granted no expense, and heartily concurred with the decrees of that ministry.

§ XLII. The Commons granted for the service of the ensuing year four millions seventy-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine pounds; one million of that sum expressly given for enabling his majesty to augment his forces by land and sea. Thirty-two thousand pounds were allotted as a subsidy to the King of Poland, and twenty thousand to the Elector of Bavaria. These gratifications, as well as all others that were made, were the best sort of supply; because it was taken for granted, that, in case of a rupture, France would endeavour to avail herself of her superiority by land, in invading his Britannic majesty's General. This was the only reverse in this war; for, besides it to secure the assistance of such allies on the continent. That they prognosticated aright, with respect to the designs of that ambitious power, will soon appear in the course of this history; which will also demonstrate how little dependence is to be placed upon the professions of subordinate princes. The supplies were raised by the standing branches, the excise, the income tax, and a lottery for one million; one hundred thousand pounds of it to be dedicated for the service of the public, and the remaining nine hundred thousand to be charged on the produce of the sinking fund, at the rate of three per cent. per annum on the capital sum; this enacted in January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six. The civil transactions of this session were confined to a few objects. Divers new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and whale-herring fishery, as well as for finishing and putting in a proper state of defence a new fort, lately built at Annapoabo on the coast of Africa.

§ XLI. Mr. Pitt, the paymaster-general of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a standing monument of his humanity. The poor disabled veterans who enjoyed the pension of Chelsea hospital, were so injudiciously opposed by a set of miscreants, who supplied for them with money and favours, at the most exorbitant of usury, that many of them, with their families, were in danger of starving; and the intention of government in granting such a comfortable subsistence was, in a great part, perverted. Mr. Pitt, perceiving that this sum originally flowed from the delay of the first payment, which the pensioner could not touch till the expiration of a whole year after he had been put upon the list, removed this hardship, by providing, that in the fifth, or half a year's pension should be advanced half a year before it is due; and the practice of usury was effectually prevented by a clause, entitling that all contracts should be void by which any pension might be mortgaged. This humane regulation was unanimously approved, and having passed through both Houses with uncommon expedition, received the royal assent.

§ XLI. Notwithstanding the unanimity manifested by the Commons, in their forwardness to the measures for acting vigorously against the common enemy of the nation, they were remarkably disturbed and divided by a contested election of members for Oxfordshire. In the course of this dispute, the strength and influence of what they called the old and new interest, or, to speak more intelligibly, of the toies and whigs in that county, were fully displayed. The candidates sustained on the shoulders of the old interest, were Lord Vincent Wemman and Sir James Dashwood; their competitors, whom the new interest supported, and of consequence the ministry court-stamped, were Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner. Never was any contention of this kind maintained with more spirit and animosity, or conducted on a grander scale; and even Pitt would have imagined that each side considered it as a dispute which must have determined, whether the nation should enjoy its ancient liberty, or tamely submit to the yoke of corruption. Noblemen and gentlemen, clergy- men and ladies, employed all their talents and industry in canvassing for either side, throughout every township and village in the county. Scandal emblazoned her whole quiver of aspersions, calumnies, and libels; corruption was not remiss in promises and presents; houses of entertainment were opened; and nothing was for some time to be seen but scenes of tumult, riot, and intoxication. The revenue of many an independent prince on the continent would not have been sufficient to afford such sums of money as were expended in the course of this dispute. At length they proceeded to election, and the sheriff made a double return of all the four candidates, so that not one of them could sit, and the county remained without a representative until this ambiguous affair could be decided in the House of Commons. About the middle of November, petitions being presented by the four candidates, as well as by the commonalty of the county, complaining of an undue election, and double return, the matter of these petitions was heard at the bar of the House on the third day of December. The counsel for Lord Vincent and Sir James were heard, and alleged, that they had the majority of votes upon the poll, and this circumstance was admitted by the counsel on the other side; then they proceeded to prove by evidence,
that, after closing the poll, the sheriff declared the majority of votes to be in favour of these two candidates, and adjourned the court from the twenty-third day of April, the eighth of May; so that the scrutiny was only demanded, and granted on the behalf of Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, could not be discussed before the last day in the month, when the writ was returnable; that the scrutiny did not last about the ninth of May, when the disputants were protracted by disputes about the manner in which it should be carried on; that Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were allowed to object, through the whole poll, to the tenth side, on pretence that the competitors should be permitted to answer these objections, and, in their turn, object through the whole poll to the votes for Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, who should, in the last place, have leave to answer; that Lord Wemunday and Sir James Dashwood had disapproved of this method, because they apprehended it might induce their competitors to make such a number of frivolous objections, that they should not have time to answer one half of them, much less to make objections on their own, before the writ should be returned; that they foresaw such a number of frivolous objections were made, as engrossed the attention of the court till the twenty-seventh day of May; so that they could not begin to answer any of these objections but the twenty-eighth; and on the thirtieth the sheriff, having closed the scrutiny, made the double return. The proof being exhibited, the counsel insisted, that, as they had exhibited the same on the poll, they demonstrated, that this majority neither was nor could be overthrown by such an unfinished scrutiny, it was immaterial on the other side to proceed upon the merits of the election, by endeavouring to overthrow that majority of which their clients were in possession. A question in the House being cast to the same purpose, Lord Wemunday and Sir James Dashwood objected to five hundred and thirty voters on the other side, whom they proposed to disqualify. Their counsel on the same side, being overruled, the sheriff, in favour of Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, and to detect these candidates in the practice of bribery, for which purpose they produced a letter in their own handwriting. They afterwards proceeded to disqualify particular voters, and summed up their evidence on the twenty-first day of January. Then the counsel for the other side began to refute the charge of bribery and corruption, and to answer the objections that had been made to particular voters. They produced evidence to prove, that customary freeholders, or customary holders, had voted at elections in the counties of the west of England, Monmouth, Gloucester, Wilt, and Hereford: and the same evidence was given of the sheriff of Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, had been reputed capable of voting, and even voted at elections for that county. In a word, they continued to examine witnesses, argue and refute, until the day came, when, after some warm debates and divisions in the House, Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were declared duly elected; and the clerk of the crown was ordered to annul the return, by erasing the names of Lord Wemunday and Sir James Dashwood. Many, who presumed to think for themselves, without recollecting the power and influence of the administration, were astonished at the issue of this dispute; which, however, might have easily been foreseen; inasmuch as, during the course of the proceedings, most, if not all, of the many questions debated in the House were determined by a great majority in favour of the two. A great number of copyholders had been admitted to vote at this election, and the sheriff incurred no censure for allowing them to take the oath appointed by law to be taken by freeholders: nevertheless, the Commons carefully avoided determining the question of whether copyholders possessed all of the yearly value of forty shillings, clear of all deductions, have not a right to vote for knights to represent the shire within which their copyhold estates are situated? This point of the British provinces in America, by authority of the respective governors of those provinces, and the king, who confirmed it; because it became necessary that the majority should be considered more clear and explicit, if possible. Therefore, felt confidence in the advice, it was prepared with a new clause, "that all elections in the king's service, and by the people, shall be subject to the same laws, statutes, and ordinances, and shall be carried on with the same care, diligence, and precision, as if they were elections in the countries of England and Wales; and shall be subject to the same laws, and shall be carried on with the same care, diligence, and precision, as if they were elections in the countries of England and Wales."
Britain, roused by this information, immediately took the most expeditious methods for equipping a squadron; and towards the latter end of April, Admiral Boscaven sailed with a fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a great quantity of warlike stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. Admiral Holbourne was detached with six ships of the line, and one frigate, to re- resumes the watch over the Channel. The whole number of capital ships were put in commission. In the beginning of May, the French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Irish extraction, sailed from Brest, directing his course to North America; but, after having proceeded beyond the chaps of the English Channel, he returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest of the armament continued their course, under the direction of M. Bois de la Motte.

§ XVII. On the twenty-fifth day of April, the king went to the House of Lords, where, after giving the royal assent to the bills then depending; for granting a certain sum out of the sinking fund, for the relief of insolvent debtors, for the better money necessaries, and for the better raising of marines and seamen, and to several other public and private bills: his majesty put an end to the session of parliament by a speech, in which he acquainted them that if they had not, since his accession, supported the honour, rights, and possessions of his crown, had afforded him the greatest satisfaction: That his desire to preserve the public tranquillity had been sincere and uniform: That he had adhered to the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatsoever; but that he never could entertain a thought of purchasing the name of peace at the expense of suffering encroachments upon, or of yielding to the most unjust demands of the powers mostly belonging to Great Britain, either by ancient possession or by solemn treaties: That the vigour and firmness of his parliament, on this important occasion, had enabled him to be prepared for such contingencies as might happen: That, if reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be agreed upon, he would be satisfied, and, at all events, rely on the justice of his cause, the effectual support of his people, and the protection of Divine Providence. The parliament was then prorogued to the twenty-seventh of May.

§ I. While Carr was in suspense about the fate of the English and French squadrons, preparations for a vigorous sea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success. Still the French court flattered itself that Great Britain, out of the consideration of her dependencies to be exposed to so formidable a force, would abstain from hostilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the British ministry, who made no secret that their admirals, particularly Boscaven, had orders to attack the French ships wherever they should be. On the other hand, M. Macnamara declared, that his master would consider the first gun fired at sea in a hostile manner as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the English, animated them to the utmost efforts for war. For seven days, the French fleet was carried on with extraordinary vigour in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great preparations were given not only by the government, but also, over and above his majesty's bounty, by almost all the considerable cities and towns in England, to such as should enlist voluntarily for sailors or soldiers. Other branches of the public service went on with equal alacrity: and such was the eagerness of the people to lend their money to the government, that instead of one million, which was to be raised by way of lottery, three millions eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds were subscribed immediately.

§ II. The situation of affairs requiring his majesty to go to Germany this summer, gave his majesty an opportunity of determining the minds of many, lest the French should either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return. Earl Paulet had made a motion in the House of Lords, humbly to propose, that it was necessary to espouse the original act of settlement by which the succession of these kingdoms devolved to his electoral house, that the king should not go to his foreign dominions without the consent of parliament; and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: that though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always been the custom for his majesty to acquaint the parliament with his intention to go, his German dominions, both in regard to the true sense and spirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindness of his royal heart, and the concession he had been so good to show parliament on all occasions; but that his majesty's declaration of his design to visit his electoral states had always come on the last day of a session, when it was too late for the great constitutional council of the crown to offer such advice as might otherwise have been expedient and necessary: that his majesty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture so pregnant with distress, so denunciative of danger, would not only give the greatest advantage to such as might be disposed to stir up defection and division, and subvert the constitutional and national enemies of England: but would also fill his loyal subjects with the most affecting concern, and most gloomy fears, as well for their own safety, as for that of their children, whose invaluable life at all times of the utmost consequence to his people, was then infinitely so, by reason of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal person, and the majority of the hereditary.
the next day at Helvoetsluis, and arrived at Harwich on the second of May.

§ IV. Admiral Boweswen, with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, sailed from thence on the twenty-seventh of April for the banks of Newfoundland, and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest came to the southern extremity of that island under command of M. Eon de la Motte. But the thick fogs which prevail upon these coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part was chased and ran aground. But the same return journey through the straits of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before ships of the line. However, whilst the English fleet lay off Cape Race, it is the southern extremity of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the most proper situation for intercepting the enemy, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys pierced for fifty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, having eight companies of land forces on board, being separated from the rest of their fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, Captain Howe, and the Defence, Captain Andrews, two sixty-gun ships of the line, and a smart engagement which lasted some hours, and in which Captain (afterwards Lord) Howe belied with the greatest skill and intrepidity, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money. The possession of this prize justly increased the confidence of the nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no further measures with the French, but justly to repel force by force, and not stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for some time, did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their encroachments on our settlements till they had executed their grand plan of securing a communication from the Mississippi to Canada, by a line of forts, many of which they had already erected.

§ V. Upon the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French ambassador, M. de Mirpoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Harwich, was immediately recalled, to attend the King in England in a public character. They complained loudly of Boweswen's attacking the ships, as a breach of national faith; but it was justly retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary. The resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council. The vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Great Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports. To give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send to those admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last year. Accordingly on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last mentioned month in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary. The resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council. The vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Great Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports. To give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send to those admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last year. Accordingly on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last mentioned month

§ VI. While these measures were pursued, for the general security of the British coasts and trade in Europe, several new ships of war were begun, and finished with the utmost expedition, in his majesty's docks: twelve frigates or sloops, contracted for in private yards, were completed by the month of August; and twenty-four ships and twelve colliers were then taken into the service of the government, to be armed with at least twenty guns, and one hundred and twenty men each. In the meantime the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that before the end of this year three hundred of their merchant ships, many of which, from St. Domingo, laden with sugar, and amounting to a thousand of their sailors, were brought into English ports. By these captures the British ministry answered many purposes; they deserted the French of a great body of seamen, and furnished them with the evidences of the want of which greatly distressed their people and ruined many of their traders. Their outward-bound merchant ships were insured at the rate of thirty per cent whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was felt by all degrees of people amongst them: their ministry was publicly reviled, even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terror, began to be a joke. This state of the French navy was also not a little heightened by new broils between their king and the parliament of Paris, occasioned by the obstinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who seemed determined to support the church, in all events, against the secular power. The observance of the bull Unigenitus, which had long been the occasion of so many dispatches among them. However, the parliament continuing firm, and the French king approving of his minister, the latter was obliged to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of peace. If they were prepared to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of peace. If they were prepared to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of peace. If they were prepared to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of peace. If they were prepared to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of peace. If they were prepared to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of peace.

§ VII. In the beginning of this year the assembly of Massachusetts's Bay in New England passed an act, prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisbourg, and early in the spring they tried a body of troops, which was transported to Nova Scotia, to assist Lieutenant-Governor Laurence in driving the French from the encroachments they had made upon that province. Accordingly, towards the end of May, the governor sent a large detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, upon this service; and three frigates and a sloop were despatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of Captain Bouc, to give their assistance in the same enterprise. The French, who were at Massaguash, found the passage stopped by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, four hundred and fifty of whom occupied a block-house, and were kept within it by three ships of war, whose eight guns were mounted on thirty-two ships of the line, and the rest were posted with a strong breast-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the block-house. The English provincials attacked this place with such spirit, that the enemy was obliged to fly, and leave them in possession of the breast-work; then the garrison in the block-house deserted it, and left the passage of the river free. From thence Colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Bouougouar, which he invested, as far at least as the small part of his troops were posted, on the twentieth of June; and after four days' battering-hardwork obliged it to surrender, though the French had twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of ammunition, and the English had not yet placed a single cannon upon their batteries. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the space of six months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in consideration of their being surprised upon their service. Colonel Monckton, after putting a garrison into this place, and changing its name to that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort upon the river, and likewise found a large quantity of provisiuns and stores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessary. He then disarmed these last, to the
number of fifteen thousand; and in the meantime, Capt.

tain Roux with his ships sailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attack the new fort the French had erected there; but they saved him that trouble, by abandoning it upon his approach, after having burnt their cannon and up

 their magazine, and destroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raised. The English had but twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded, in the capture of which the success of which secured the tranquility of Nova Scotia.

§ VIII. While the New Englanders were thus employ-

ed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made for the next campaign; this winter, in the

 spring, had not been unexpectedly delayed by the Vir-

ginian contract for the army, who, when he was ready to

 march, had neither provided a sufficient quantity of pro-

 visions for his troops, nor a competent number of carriages

 for his army. This accident was foreseen by almost every person, but none would persuade them in that point

 of America; for the people of Virginia, who think of

 no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough

 for even their own subsistence, being by the nature of their

 country, much more subject to change of weather than

 the New Englanders, have but few wheel carriages or beasts

 of burden; whereas Pennsylvanians, which abound in corn, and most other sorts of provisions, but little water carriage, espe-

 cially in great quantities, can supply in a short time

 great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses. Mr. Brad-

 dock should, therefore, certainly, in point of prudence, have

 landed in Pennsylvania: the contract for supplying his

 troops was not his fault; he with the whole body of the other

 planters there, who could easily have performed their en-

 gagements; and if his camp had been formed near Frank's

 town or somewhere upon the south-west borders of that

 province, he would not have had eighty miles to march

 from thence to Fort du Quense, instead of a hundred

 and thirty miles that he had to advance from Will's Creek,

 where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor

 more practicable than the other would have been. The

 error in the very beginning of the expedition, whether

 owing to an injudicious preference fully given to the

 Virginians in the lucrative job of supplying these troops, or

 to any other cause, delayed the march of the army for some

 weeks; but having the supplies the market, he without

 any great expense of all kinds; and would probably have defeated

 the expedition entirely for that summer, had not the con-

 tractors found means to procure some assistance from the

 back settlements of Pennsyl

 vania. But even when these supplies did arrive, they consisted of only fifteen wagons and a hundred draft horses, instead of a hundred and fifty

 wagons and three hundred horses, which the Virginia

 contractors had engaged to furnish, and the provisions were so

 bad that they could not be used. However, some gentlemen

 in Pennsylvania, being applied to in this exigency, amply

 made up for these deficiencies, and the troops were by this

 means supplied with every thing they wanted. Another

 and a still more fatal omission committed, in the choice of

 the commander for this expedition. Major-General Braddock,

 who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of

 courage, and expert in all the punctuations of a review, hav

 ing been a general in the army of the Duke of Cumberland, and the strict military education in which he had been

 trained from his youth, and which he prided himself on

 scrupulously following, made him hold the American military men, in great contempt, but told his officers, gen

 rally very haughty, positive, and difficult of access; quali

 ties ill suited to the temper of the people among whom he

 was to command. His extreme severity in matters of dis

 cipline, ill-concealed, though he endeavored to cover it

 through his exercise with the same dexterity and regu

 larity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-Park; little know

 ing, or indeed being able to form an idea of the difference

 between the European manner of fighting, and an Ameri

 can expedition through woods, deserts, and mountains. Before he left England, he received, in the hand-writing of

 Colonel Naper, a set of instructions from the Duke of

 Cumberland. By these the attempt upon Niagara was, in a great measure, referred to him, and the reduction of

 Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces.

 But above all, his royal highness, both verbally and in his

 writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambush or massacre. Instead of regarding his caution,

 his consent of his own abilities made him disdain to ask the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his safest guards against ambush, were disguised by the very show of

 the management and the irregularity of his behaviour, that most of them forsook his ban

 ners. Under these disadvantages he began his march from

 Fort Cumberland on the tenth of June, at the head of about

 two thousand two hundred men, for the Meadows, where

 Colonel Washington was defeated the year before. Upon

 his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort

 du Quense, which had lately been built on the same river,

 made his conference with the Monongahela, expected a rein-

 forcement of five hundred regular troops; therefore, that

 he might march with a greater despatch, he left Colonel

 Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions,

 stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the ser

 vice would permit, and with the other troops, to make his

 advance together with ten pieces of cannon, and the necessary

 ammunition and provisions, he marched on with so much

 expedition, that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the

 woods or thickets he was to pass through; as if the nearer

 he approached the enemy, the further he was removed from

 dancer.

 § IX. On the eighth of July, he encamped within ten

 miles of Fort du Quense. Though Colonel Dunbar was

 then near forty miles behind him, and his officers, particu

 larly Sir Peter Halkett, earnestly entreated him to proceed

 with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were

 with the army, and get them to give the Indians the

 ornaments; yet he resumed his march the next day, with

 much as endavouring to obtain any intelligence of the

 situation or disposition of the enemy, or even sending out

 any scouts to visit the woods and thickets on both sides of

 him, as well as in front. With this carelessness he was

 advancing, when, about noon, he was saluted with a gen

 eral fire upon his front, and all along his left flank, from an

 enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes,

 that not a man of them could be seen. The vanguard im-

 mediately fell back upon the main body, and in an instant

 the panic and confusion became general; so that most of

 the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all

 the efforts that the officers on horseback could do to stop their career. As to Braddock himself, in-
Peter Halket fell by the very first fire, at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed by the same volley. Neither then the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loss which they sustained, could be so much as guessed at: but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed four hundred men, mostly In-
dians, with five hundred savages, that they made; more? probably was, because they lay concealed in such a man-
ner that the English knew not whither to point their mus-
ketts. The panic of these last continued so long, that they missed many of their marks in returning; and when then they infected those troops with their terrors; so that the army retreated without stopping, till they reached Fort Cumberland, though the enemy did not so much as attempt to pursue, nor even to appear in sight, either in the battle, or after the defeat. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was ob-
tained, and the farthest flight that ever was made.

X. Had the shattered remains of this army continued at Fort Cumberland, and fortified themselves there, as they might easily have done, during the rest of the summer, they would have been such a check upon the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of their ravages that were committed in the ensuing winter, upon the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania; but, instead of taking that prudent step, their commander left only the sick and wounded at that fort, under the pro-
tection of a number of the provincials of the principal militia, posted there by way of garrison, and began his march on the sec-
ond of August, with about sixteen hundred men, from Phila-
delphia; where those troops could be of no immediate
service. From thence they were ordered away to Albany, in New York, by General Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of Major-General Braddock. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were by these means left exposed to a constant danger, and cut down, if they might have done effectually, had they been united in their counsels: but the usual disputes, between their governors and as-
semblies, defeated every salutary plan that was proposed.
Pennsylvania, the most powerful of the three, was rendered
quite impotent, either for its own defence, or that of its
neighbours, by these unhappy contests; though, at last, the assembly of that province, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, and seeing the absolute necessi-
ty of providing a standing military force, and of erect-
ing some forts to defend their western frontier, passed a bill for raising fifty thousand pounds. But even this sum, sufficient to erect a dozen or twelve forts, was less than the richness of the province, and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained; the governor positively refusing to give his assent to the act of the assembly, because they had taxed the proprietors' estates equally with those of the inhabitants. In a word, he said, that in his di-
rections not to consent to, nor indeed any new tax upon
the proprietors; and the assembly, consisting chiefly of
members whose estates lay in the eastern or interior parts
of the province, as positively refusing to alter their bill.
One would be apt to think, that, in a case of such urgent necessity, the governor might have ventured to give his as-
sent to the bill under a protest, that it should not prejudice
the limits of the proprietaries upon any future occasion; but as he did not, the bill was dropped, and the province left defenceless; by which means it afterwards suffered severely, to the destruction of many of the poor inhabi-
tants of this frontier, and to their impressing the Indians with a contemptible opinion of the English, and the highest esteem of the French.

§ XI. Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more active, and more successful in their preparations for war, than any other part of New England, for following the example of New England, passed an act to prohibit the sending of provisions to any
French port or settlement on the continent of North America, or any of the adjacent islands; and also for raising for the service, not only troops, but also estates real and
personal, for the better defence of their colonies, which lay
more exposed than any other to a French invasion from
Crown-Point. However, this sum, great as it ought seem to
them, was far from being sufficient; nor, indeed, could
they have provided properly for their security, without the assistance of our other colonies to the east of them; but
with the consent of the assembly, the greatest part of the
body of regular troops expected under Colonel Dunbar,
they boldy resolved upon offensive measures, which, when
practicable, are always the safest; and two expeditions,
one against the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other
towards New York, were resolved upon. The latter, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, under Colonel
Erie, were set on foot at the same time. The former of
these expeditions was appointed to be executed under the
command of General Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New York, where he had acquired a consider-
able estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the
inhabitants but also by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had learnt, and whose affections he had
gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition
against Niagara was commanded by General Shirley him-
self.

§ XII. The rendezvous of the troops for both these ex-
peditions was appointed to be at Albany, where most of
them arrived before the end of June; but the artillery,
boats, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt
upon Crown-Point, could not be prepared till the eighth of August. With General Johnson marching from Albany for the Carrying-place from Hudson's river to Lake
George. There the troops had already arrived under the
command of Major-General Lyman, and consisted of between five and six thousand men, under the command of
the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New Hamp-
shire, Rhode-Island, and New York. Every thing was then
prepared as fast as possible for a march; and towards the
end of the month, General Johnson advanced with about
fourteen miles forward with his troops, and encamped in
a very strong situation, covered on each side by a thick
wooded swamp, by Lake George in his rear, and by a
mountainous district which formed a division of his front. Here he resolved to wait the arrival of his bat-
taux, and afterwards to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the
other end of the lake, from whence it was about fifteen
miles to the fort at the south end of Lake Cohoes, or
Champlain, called Fort Frederick by the French, and
by us Crown-Point. Whilst he was thus encamped,
some of his Indian scouts, of which he took care to send
out numbers along both sides, and to the further end
of Lake George, brought him intelligence that a consider-
able number of the enemy were then on their march from Tis-
condonaga, by the way of the south bay, towards the for-
tified encampment, since called Fort Edward, which
General Johnson ordered him to proceed with the utmost
diligence to take. This intelligence, received by Gen-
eral Johnson, immediately excited in him the necessity
of obtaining a body of troops, which, in a force
from four or five hundred of the New Hampshire and
New York men had been left as a garrison. Upon this
information General Johnson sent two expresss, one after
the other, to Colonel Blanchard, their commander, with
orders to take the post, and if possible, to draw a
body of troops from the intrenchments. About twelve o'clock at
night, those who had been sent upon the second express
returned with an account of their having seen the enemy
within four miles of the camp at the Carrying-place, which
they scarcely doubted his having by that time attacked.
Important as the defence of this place was for the safety
of the whole army, and imminent as the danger seemed to
be, it does not appear that the colonel was called to
a council of war, or resolved upon any thing for its relief;
but early the next morning he called a council, wherein
it was unluckily resolved to detach a thousand men, with
a sum of money to their particular care, to march to
the fort at the south end of Lake Cohoes, or Champlain,
aix as to signify ten thousand, or any greater number.

§ XIII. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning
a thousand men, with two hundred Indians, were detached
under the command of Colonel Williams; but they had
not been gone two hours, when those in the camp began to hear a close firing, at about three or four miles' distance, as they judged : as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that the detachment was overpowered, and a retreat then attempted. This information was confirmed by some fugitives, and presently after by whole companies, who fled back in great confusion. In a very short time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the centre of the camp, where the consternation was very great. Having been misled under the impression directly, they might probably have thrown all into confusion, and obtained an easy victory; but, fortunately for the English, they halted for some time about a hundred and fifty yards from the French, who had begun their attack with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work. On the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of those last, who, having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly upon the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their service fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or skulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution, most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets; for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood. Baron Dieskau, who was thus alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a close attack upon the centre with his small number of men, moved first to the left, and then to the right, and continued fresh forces to force a passage, but was repulsed, being unsupported by the irregulars. Instead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and broad-swing firing, four o'clock in the afternoon of this day, when his regular troops suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at last thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by General Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, and, after killing and taking a considerable number of them, entirely dispersed the rest. The French, whose numbers, at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about two thousand men, including two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and the rest, Indians of different nations, had between seven and eight hundred men killed, and thirty taken prisoners; among whom the latter was Baron Dieskau himself, when he was shot at a little distance from the field of battle, dangerously wounded, and leaped upon the stump of a tree for his support. The English lost about two hundred men, and those chiefly of the detachment under Colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the action, and not any of distinction, except Colonel Titcomb, killed, and the general himself and Major Nichols wounded. Among the slain of the detachment, which would probably have been entirely cut off, had not Lieutenant-Colonel Cole been sent out from the camp with three hundred men, with which he stopped the enemy's pursuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were Colonel Williams, Major Ashley, six captains, and several subalterns, besides private men: and the Indians reckoned that they had lost forty men, besides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, or chief captain.

When Baron Dieskau set out from Tecondog; his design was only to surprise and cut off the intrenched camp, now called Fort Edward, at the carrying-place, where there were but four or five hundred men. If he had executed this scheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties; for it could neither have proceeded further, nor have subsisted where it was, and he might have found an opportunity to attack it with great advantage in its retreat. But when he was within four or five miles of that place, the French opened fire with several cannon there, and none at the camp; upon which they all desired to be led on to this last, which he more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by a Frenchman that there was no fort between the river and fifty yards, before that, it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon; which, in effect, was true at that time; for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breastwork erected, till about two days before the engagement. This misinformation, therefore, must be imputed this step, which would otherwise have been decided with the general character and information of Baron Dieskau, and the reliable error seems to have been committed by General Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy when they were defeated and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from so doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had sent out in pursuit, under such a disadvantage. However that may be, his neglect, in this respect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment sent from Fort Edward, consisting of a hundred and twenty men of the New Hampshire line, commanded by Captain Matthews, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp. This party fell in with between three and four hundred men of Dieskau's troops, near the spot where Colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but Mr. Griffin having timely notice, by his scouts, of the approach of an enemy, made such a disposition, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but defeated and entirely dispersed them, with the loss only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five missing. He himself unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement, a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

§ XV. It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point, as it would have been necessary, in that case, to build a strong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to secure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced, or supplied with fresh subsistence and provisions. They, therefore, set out upon their return soon after this engagement, having first erected a little stockaded fort, at the hither end of Lake George, in which they left a small garrison, as a forerunner for a misfortune which might easily have been foreseen, because this whole army, being country militia, was to be disbanded, and return to their respective homes, as they actually did soon after their retreat to Albany. Thus was all the glory, thus all the advantage, that the English nation acquired by such an expensive expedition. But so little had the English been accustomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greatest consequence. The general was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his majesty, and presented with five thousand pounds by the parliament.

§ XVI. The preparations for General Shirley's expédition against Niagara were not only deficient, but shamefully slow; though it was well known that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend upon his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person who considers the situation of the river, and the manner by which this is being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara. Oswego lies on the south-east side of the lake Ontario, near three hundred miles almost due west from Albany in New York. The way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greatest part of it admits of water-carriage, by which the inhabitants called bateaux, which are a kind of light flat-bottomed boats, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about fifteen hundred weight burden, and managed by two men, called bateaux men, with paddles and setting poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars. From Albany to the village of Oswego, about sixteen miles, is a good wagon road. From thence to the little falls in the Mohawk river, being fifty-six miles, the passages is by water-carriage up that river, and consequently against the stream, which, in many places, is somewhat rapid, and in others so shallow, that, when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out, and draw their bateaux over the riffs. At the little falls is a post or, land carriage, for about a mile, over a ground so marshy, that they could not have passed without an army. The colony of Germans settled there attend with sleighs, on which they draw the loaded bateaux to the next place of embarkation upon the same river. From thence they proceed by water to Oswego, on the left side, near the head of it, where there is another post or, and the length of which depends upon the dryness or wetness
of the season, but is generally above six or eight miles over in the summer months. Here the batteaux are again carried upon sledges, till they come to a narrow river called Wood's Creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle stream, for about forty miles, into that part of the Lake Ontario, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather. At the western end of the lake is the river Onondagas, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Oswego, or Senechaug, and runs into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego was situated. But this river is so rapid as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks: and although there is a passage by which there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where these is consequently a portage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards. From thence the passage is easy, quite to Oswego. The lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near two hundred and eighty leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. On the north side of it there are several little gulfs. There is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tonawanda, from whence it is a land carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Tonawanda, which falls into it. The French have two forts of consequence on this lake: Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, and where the lake Ontario unites with the Oswego, and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie. But of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, it will suffice to speak hereafter.

§ XVII. Though we had been long in possession of the fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, particularly to those of Canada, upon any rupture between the two nations, we had been willing, as we were under the idea of safety, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake; nor was this strange neglect ever taken effectual notice of, till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which General Braddock had in April with the governors and chief gentlemen of several of our colonies at Alexandria, in Virginia, it was resolved to strengthen both the forts and garrison at Oswego, and to build some large vessels at that place. Accordingly a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June. At the same time, Captain Bradstreet marched thither with two companies of an hundred men each, to reinforce the hundred that were there before under Captain King, to which had now been added to, the great increase of the deposit made, the French began to grow serious. For a long time before, not above twenty-five men were left to defend the post, which, from its great importance, and the situation of affairs at this juncture, they thought required a much greater garrison than was put into it even at that period: but economy was the chief thing consulted in the beginning of this war, and to that, in a great measure, was owing its long duration.

§ XVIII. From the above description of the passage from Albany to Oswego, it is plain how necessary it was, that the troops intended for this expedition should have set out early in the spring. But instead of that, the very first of them, Colonel Schuyler's New-Jersey regiment, did not begin their march till the beginning of July, and just as Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Bradstreet's disaster arrived at Albany, where it so damped the spirits of the people, and spread such a terror, that many of the troops deserted, and most of the batteaux men dispersed, and ran home, by which means even all the necessary stores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithstanding this disappointment, General Shirley set out from Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and stores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined by that great number of the Indians of six nations, to whom he sent invitations to that effect as he passed by their settlements: but they, instead of complying with his desire, absolutely declared against all hostilities as to themselves, and insisted upon the safety of Oswego, being a place of traffic and peace, ought not to be disturbed either by the English or the French, as if they could have persuaded both parties to agree to such a local truce. Upon this refusal, Mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oswego on the seventeenth or eighteenth of August; but found the rest of his army was not to arrive until the last day of that month; and even then, their store of provisions was not sufficient to enable them to proceed against Niagara, though some tolerably good vessels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpose. The French, on the contrary, were assembled in great numbers for the attack of Niagara, and to leave the rest of his army, consisting of about fourteen hundred more, at Oswego, to defend that place, in case the French should attack in his absence, which there was reason to apprehend they might, as they then had a considerable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they could easily cross over the lake Ontario to Oswego. However, he was still obliged to wait at Oswego for provisions, of which he was in want a small supply arrived on the twenty-sixth of September, barely sufficient to support his men during their intended expedition, and to allow twelve days' short subsistence for those he left behind. But this time the rainy and torrid summer had been so prodigious, that great assistance from their store was wanted. In the meantime, on the French having been imposed with the necessity of a truce, the British army were reduced to the condition of a garrison, and to be called Ontario fort; and the other, four hundred and fifty yards west of the old fort, to be called Oswego new fort.

§ XIX. These things being agreed on, General Shirley, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, set out on his return to Albany on the twenty-fourth of October, leaving Colonel Mercier with a garrison of about seven hundred men at Oswego; though repeated advice had been received, that the French had then at least a thousand men at their fort of Frontenac, upon the same lake; and what was still worse, the new forts were not yet near completed; but left to be finished by the hard labour of the French, they remained at Oswego, in hopes of attracting the French, and to be called Ontario fort; and the other, four hundred and fifty yards west of the old fort, to be called Oswego new fort.
mastery, who was then at Hanover, an offer of sparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with disdain. Then the Count D’Auverterre, envoy extraordinary from France at the court of the Elector of Hanover, presented to the ministers of the empress-queen. The secret articles of the treaty of Petersburg, between the two emperors, had stipulated a kind of partition of the Prussian territories, in case that prince should infringe the articles of the truce in Holstein, but his British majesty, though often invited, had always refused to accord to any such stipulation: and the King of Poland, however, he might be inclined to favour the scheme, did not dare to avow it formally, till matters should have reached that point. The court of Vienna, whose favourite measure this was, began to listen to D’Auverterre’s insinuations, and by degrees entered into negotiations with him, which, in the end, were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the empress-queen and the King of France, of which further notice will be taken in the occurrences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means secretly to bring the Emperor of Russia, was concluded at Versailles.

§ XXI. The King of England, taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in consequence of their rupture with Great Britain, which seemed to be near at hand, resolved to place his chief reliance on his own electorate. To this end, during his stay at Hanover, he concluded, on the eighteenth of June, a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his serious highness engaged to raise both these corps and garrisons, for his majesty’s service, a body of eight thousand men, to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Britain or Ireland; but not on board the fleet or beyond the seas; and also, if his Britannic Majesty should judge it necessary or advantageous for his service, to furnish and join to this body of eight thousand men, within six months after they should be demanded, four thousand more, of which seven hundred were to be horse or dragoons to be trained into regiments of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon. Another treaty was begun with Russia about the same time; but this did not take effect during his majesty’s residence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more surprising, as our subsidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring, and as the securing of these two princes in our interest was at least as necessary towards forming a sufficient confederacy upon our side of Hanover, as it was to secure the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. If the reason of their not being engaged, and no other seems so probable, was, that they refused to renew their treaties with England upon the same terms: and accordingly, his Britannic Majesty, though he had received a subsidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any service to the interest of Great Britain.

§ XXII. On the fifteenth of July an express arrived from Admiral Boscowen, with an account of his having taken the two French ships of war, the Alcide and the Lys. This was certainly contrary to the expectation of the court of France; for had they apprehended any such attack, they would not have ordered Mr. M’Namara to return to Brest with the chief part of their squadron; nor was it, perhaps, less contrary to the expectation of some of our own ministry, but, as matters were carried so far, it was then too late to retrench; and, therefore, orders were soon after given to all our ships of war to make reprisals upon the French, by taking their ships wherever they should be, or AT LEAST the vessels that were from Portsmouth on the twenty-first of July, with eighteen ships of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which, however, escaped him, and arrived at Brest on the third day of September. Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead for the West Indies on the thirteenth of August with four ships of war, furnished with orders to commit hostilities, as well as to protect our trade from the privateers and pupboats which would, it was said, be sent out. On the 29th of the same month, the Duke of Mirepoix, their ambassador at the court of London, set out for Paris on the twenty-second of July, without taking leave.

§ XXIII. A war being thus in some measure begun, his majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to recommend to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived on the fifteenth at Keasington, where the treaty of alliance between him and the Emperor of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the thirtieth of the same month. By this treaty his Russian majesty engaged to hold in readiness, on the fronts of Lithuania, a body of troops consisting of forty thousand infantry, with the necessary artillery, and fifteen thousand cavalry; and also on the coast of the same province, forty or fifty galleys, with the necessary crews; to be ready to act upon the first orders, in his majesty’s service, in case, said the fifth article, which was the most remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes which regard his kingdoms: her imperial majesty would then look upon it as a case of law, if the case of the alliance of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and that the said dominions should be therein comprised in this respect; but neither these troops, nor this body of galleys, nor even his own dominions, his Britannic majesty, or his allies, should be somewhere attacked; in which case the Russian general should march, as soon as possible after requisition, to make a diversion with thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry; and should embark on board the galleys the other ten thousand infantry, to make a descent according to the exigency of the affair. On the other side, his Britannic majesty engaged to pay to her Russian majesty an annual subsidy of an hundred thousand pounds sterling a-year, to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, to the day that these troops should upon requisition march out of Russia; and, if the annual subsidy to her imperial majesty was to be five hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops should return into the Russian dominions, and for three months after their return. His Majesty’s council was to be at liberty to send once every year into the said province of Livonia a commissary to see and examine the number and condition of the said troops, further engaged, and to hear what in case her majesty should think fit, of flagrant ingratitude, as they had both received a subsidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any service to the interest of Great Britain.

The King, on his rule, promised to pay to the Landgrave for these security, eight hundred men, by way of security, for every troop or squadron, as also annual subsidy. Twelve thousand pounds and five hundred crowns for each gallonier, the crown to be reckoned at fifty-three shillings of Holland, or at four shillings and sixpence of the crown, to be paid thenceforward, as the same shall remain; and, as also the same shall be stipulated, for the Landgrave, for the eight thousand men, an annual subsidy of an hundred thousand crowns; and at the expiration of the treaty, seven thousand crowns, or any equivalent, to be paid, and to be settled by a mutual contract, to consist of the day of signing the treaty, which subsidy was to be immediately to be paid into the Landgrave’s treasury, out of the price of the ships, and to be returned to his majesty, who now knew enough of the court of Vienna to be sensible that he could expect no assistance from thence, in case his German dominions were invaded, should enter
into this convention with the Empress of Russia, in order to strengthen his defence against the, continent, was extremely natural; especially as he had lately lived in great friendship with her, and her transactions with the court of France had been so secret by passing through only that of Vienna, that little has been learned of the negotiations or the project of the treaty of Versailles then come to his knowledge, or to that of the King of Prussia, nor had either of these princes yet made any formal advance to the other.

§ XXIV. The first intimation that appeared publicly of the negotiations of France with the Empress of Germany, was, when the French minister, Count d'Aubeterre, declared that the warlike designs with which the king his master was charged, were sufficiently confuted by his great moderation, of which all Europe had manifold proofs: that his majesty was persuaded this groundless charge had given as much indignation to their imperial majesties as to himself; that he was firmly resolved to preserve to Christendom that tranquility which it enjoyed through his good faith, in religiously observing the treaty of Alt-shapelle: but that if his Britannic majesty's allies should take part in the war which was kindled in America, by furnishing succours to the English, his majesty would be authorized to consider and treat them as principals in it. France likewise made the same declaration to the court of Prussia.

§ XXV. The words and the stipulation in the above-mentioned clause, in the seventh article of the treaty of Great Britain with Russia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the King of Prussia, which, having some means to procure a copy of this treaty, and seeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his ministers at all the courts of Europe, that he would oppose, with his utmost force, the entrance of foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatever. This declaration was particularly dis- pleasing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and entered on their march, and, sent in Mutmahla, with the permission of the Elector of Colong, for which the English minister at his court was, in August, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave. However, as soon as the declaration of the King of Prussia was notified to the court of Versailles, they sent an ambassador extraordinary, the Duke de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to persuade his majesty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them. His Prussian majesty received this ambassador with such a manner, as seemed to denote a disposition to agree to everything he had to propose. This awakened in England a jealousy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was necessary to bring him to some solemn engagements. Hally as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover; and if the King of Prussia suffered them to pass through his dominions, that electorate might be swallowed up before the Russian auxiliaries could possibly be brought thither, or any army he formed for protecting it. For this reason a negotiation was set on foot by Great Britain at Berlin; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we shall defer entering into the particulars of it, till we come to that period.

§ XXVI. Meanwhile the French made another attempt upon the court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of Almeida, and, as the Spanish minister was so much engaged, the best way to prevent any declaration of war was made, representing it as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations. This produced a strong memorial from Sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that court, importing, "That it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing necessary for defending the countries which the French had unjustly assumed in America, in which the English claimed the property; that the rules of self-defence authorize every nation to render fruitless any attempt that may tend to its prejudice; that this right had been made use of only in taking the two French ships of war, and of which the English claimed the property; that the declaration of war was made, not for the purpose of obtaining any thing, but to cover the French from the charge of war; and the dispatch of place might be interpreted in favour of the English, seeing the two ships were taken on the coasts of the countries where the contest arose." In answer to this observation, the French minister represented the vast number of ships that had been taken in the European seas; for in fact the English ports soon began to be filled with them in consignment. France, it was observed, was far from the court of Madrid was so far from being persuaded by any thing he could say, that it gave his Britannic majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of its intentions to the court of Versailles not in the different methods, or in the spy of France, but such as should be conciliatory, and tending to restore the public tranquility.

§ XXVII. On the other hand his Britannic majesty required, as in the Great Treaty, that his Britannic majesty was commissioned to him by treaty from the empress-queen. But these were refused, under pretence, that as the contest between him and France related to America only, it was not a case of the alliance; though at the same time the French made an scruple of owning, that they intended to make a powerful descent on Great Britain early in the spring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparations for a land war in Europe, the King of Eng- land required her to defend her own possessions, the barrier in the Low Countries, with the number of men stipulated by treaty, which countries, acquired by English blood, and England could not be given to her on that express condition, she declared that she could not concur in that purpose, on account of her dangerous enemy, the King of Prussia; and afterwards, when he was secured by his treaty with England, she urged that as a reason for her alliance, that she would not enter into a new negotiation, of historical truth, that this was no bad reason, considering the power, the genius, and the character of that prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand veterans. It must likewise be owned, that she undertook to procure the French king's consent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually secured that electorate from the invasion of every enemy, and it was afterwards, with the utmost reason, conjectured to suppose, that the dread of this very power was the true source of those connections in Germany, which entailed such a ruinous continental war upon Great Britain.

§ XXVIII. Though the English continued to make reprisals upon the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet this had only the effect of increasing their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which had been taken at themouth of the lower Rhine in the month of August, taken the Blandford ship of war with Governor Lyttleton on board, going to Carolina, they set the govern- nork at liberty, as soon as the court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after re- leased both the ship and crew. However, at the same time, their preparations for a land war still went on with great diligence, and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great Britain.

§ XXIX. In England, the preparations by sea became greater than ever, several new ships of war were built in commission, and many others taken into the service of the government. The squadron, both in the Channel and in the Baltic, the bounties to seamen were continued, and the number of those that either entered voluntarily, or were pressed, increased daily, as did also the curtesies from the French, among which was the experience, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochefort to Brest to be manned. The land forces of Great Britain were likewise ordered to be augmented; several new regiments were raised, and all the horse and dragoons, and the order was given to men belonging to Chelsea hospital, were directed to send in their names, ages, and time of service, in order that such of them as were yet able to serve might be employed again; and at this time, the English navy, so early as in the month of September of this year, consisted of one ship of
a hundred and ten guns, five of a hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of seventy-four, twenty-six of seventy, four of sixty-six, one of sixty-four, thirty-three of sixty-three, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, twenty-six of forty-two, twenty-four of forty, two of seventy-two, four of seventy, thirty-one of seventy-four, two of sixty, six of fifty, and thirty-two fragates.

§ XXX. Such was the situation of the two kingdoms, when, on the thirteenth of November, the parliament met, and his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he acquainted them—*That the most proper measures had been taken to protect our possessions in America, and to regan such parts thereof as had been encroached upon, or invaded; that to preserve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general war from being lighted up in Europe, he had been always ready to accept reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation.* His majesty, therefore, proposed to France: *that he had also confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made; to exert his people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in time of peace; and, lastly, to give in all just and reasonable measures;* which was opposed by France: *that he greatly increased his naval armaments, and augmented his land forces in such a manner as to be able to maintain his losses.* And, further, that *he had concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and another with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which should be laid before them.*

§ XXXI. In answer to this speech, both Houses voted most loyal addresses, but without a warm opposition, in each, to some of the particular expressions; for it had been proposed in the House of Lords, to insert in their address the words following, viz. *"That they looked upon themselves as the strongest tutelary of the public tranquility, and had given assurances of his intention to continue in the same pacific sentiments; that he himself had greatly increased his naval armaments, and augmented his land forces in such a manner as to be able to maintain his losses."* And, further, that *he had concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and another with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which should be laid before them.*

§ XXXII. Sir Thomas Robinson had not been long in possession of the office of secretary of state, before it was generally perceived, that, though an honest, well meaning man, and a favourite with the king, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that post. Much less were they so at this juncture, after the nation was being engaged in a difficult and expensive war, and plunged into foreign measures and connexions, which would require the utmost skill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they scarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in opposing his measures, and their superior influence in the House of Commons, and universally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always prevailed; uncommon as it may seem to see two persons who held considerable places under the government, one of them being paymaster-general, and the other secretary at war, oppose, upon almost every occasion, a secretary of state who was held to be the representative of the sentiments of his master. Sir Thomas himself soon grew sensible of his want of sufficient weight in the senate of the nation; and, therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth of November, wisely and dutifully resigned the seals of his office to his majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas master of the wardrobes, with a pension to him during his life, and after his death to his sons. Lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war; and soon after Sir George Latham was made chancellor of the exchequer, and a lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himself against the new continental system. However, notwithstanding these changes, in the meantime, very warm debates arose in both Houses, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse-Cassel came to be considered by them: some of the members were for referring them to a committee; but this motion was overruled, in consideration of his majesty's having engaged in them to guard against any fresh encroachments upon this nation: and by the second part of these words it seemed to be resolved, to engage this nation in a continental connexion for the defence of Hanover, which it was impossible for England to support, and which would be so far from being of any advantage to it at sea, or in America, that it might at last disable the nation from defending itself in either of those parts of the world. But upon putting the question, the inserting of these words was agreed to, and the bill was passed; which after the bill stood as part of the address of the House upon that occasion.

§ XXXIII. To this remarkable address his majesty returned the following answer: *I give you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. I see, with the greatest satisfaction, the zeal you express for my person and government, and for the true interest of your country, which I am determined to adhere to. The assurances which you give me for the defence of my territories abroad, are a strong proof of your affection for me. And I am assured that the stability of the French monarchy being no less necessary for the peace of Europe, you will be sensible of the importance of maintaining the French monarchy, and themaintenance of the French monarchy, and that the House of Lords. The same, or nearly the same words, relating to the treaties concluded by his majesty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were proposed to be inserted in this address, which was opposed by William Pitt, Esq. then paymaster of his majesty's forces; the Right Hon. Henry Legge, Esq. then chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; and by several other gentlemen in high posts under the government, as well as by many others; but, upon putting the question, it was by a considerable majority agreed to insert the words objected to; and very some time before this, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the other gentlemen who had appeared in the opposition, were disavowed from their employments. In the meantime, a draft came over from Russia for part of her new subsidy stipulated to that crown; but some of the ministry, who had then been in office, declined refusing it at all, but before the treaty should be approved by the parliament.

§ XXXIV. The House of Commons then proceeded to consider of the several objections to the ratifications of the provisions for the former. Fifty thousand seamen, including nine thousand one hundred and thirty-
eight marines, were voted, on the twenty-fourth of November, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, together with two millions six thousand five hundred pounds for their maintenance, and for thirty-four thousand and two hundred and sixty-three hundred and sixty-six soldiers, with nine hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and three pounds, six shillings, and nine pence for their support. As hundred thousand pounds were voted as a subsidy to the Empress of Russia, for the maintenance of four thousand and one hundred and forty-two pounds, twelve shillings, and sixpence, to the Landgrave of Hassel-Cassel; and ten thousand pounds to the Elector of Bavaria.

On the twenty-fourth of December, the public was overwhelmed with consternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. When the news of this great calamity first reached England, it was feared the consequences of it might affect our public credit, considering the vast interest which the English merchants had in the Portuguese trade; but fortunately, it afterwards proved insensible, in comparison of what had been apprehended: the quarter in which the English chiefly traded, and where they had their warehouses, having suffered the least of any part of the city; and most of the English merchants who were residing there, and their families being at their country-houses to avoid the insults to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of their auto-de-fe, which was kept there on the twelfth of January. The two first days of this dreadful catastrophe continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the river Tagus rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute. Great numbers of houses, of which this city contains ten thousand, and two thousand, extending in length near six miles, in form of a crescent, on the ascent of a hill, upon the north shore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the shock, and destroyed and swallowed up by the water. The houses were several magnificent churches, monasteries, and public buildings. But what entirely completed the ruin of this then most opulent capital of the Portuguese dominions, was a devouring conflagration, part fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occasioned by a set of impious villains, who, unawed by the tremendous scene at that very instant passing before their eyes, with a wickedness scarcely to be credited, set fire even to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to increase the general confusion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already desolated fellow-citizens. Out of three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which Lisbon was then reckoned to contain, about ten thousand perished in this calamity; and the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were forced to seek for shelter in the open fields.

As soon as his majesty received an account of this deplorable event, from his ambassador at the court of Madrid, he sent a message to both Houses of parliament, on the twenty-eighth of November, acquainting them therewith, and desiring their concurrence and assistance towards speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the parliament thereupon, to the honour of British humanity, unanimously voted, on the eighth of December, a gift of an hundred thousand pounds for the distressed people of Portugal. The king, on receiving the news of this act, thought that the English themselves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a considerable part of the sum was sent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland; supplies which came very seasonably for the poor Portuguese, who were in actual want of the necessaries of life. Their king was so affected by this instance of British generosity, that, to show his gratitude, he, in his Majesty's name, sent a present of fifteen hundred and twenty pounds, to the British resident at his court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake; accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions, and two thousand pounds in money, were set apart for these same compensate for the loss of twenty thousand pounds on which he was restrained by some persons, who had found fault with his conduct. The British minister returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the British crown and nation.

§ XXXV. The report of an intended invasion of these kingdoms by the French increasing daily, on the twenty-second day of January Lord Barrington, as secretary of state, proceeded to the house of commons, to propose the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three hundred and sixty-six soldiers before ordered to be raised; and a sum of ninety-one thousand nine hundred and nineteen pounds, ten shillings, and four farthings, as the necessary expense thereof: another estimate presented a little after by the same lord, and founded upon the same reasons, for raising, for the further defence of the kingdom, eleven troops of light dragoons, for the sum of three thousand eight hundred and eighty pounds, eleven shillings, and three pence, were voted for the ensuing year; together with eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, for a regiment of foot to be raised in North America; two hundred and ninety-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-four pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, for the maintenance of our forces already established in our American colonies; and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds, six shillings, for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North America and the East Indies. Besides all these supplies, Mr. Fox, on the twenty-eighth of January, presented to the House a message from France, containing an intimation of their consideration the faithful services of the people of New England, and of some other parts of North America; upon which one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds were voted, for the maintenance of our forces there, for the benefit of Lord William Johnson in particular. In short, including several other sums, as well for defraying the expense of the army and navy, as for a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds to the King of Prussia, and one hundred and twenty-one thousand four hundred and forty-seven pounds, two shillings, and sixpence, for Hanoverian troops, of which two last articles further notice will be taken hereafter, the whole of the supplies granted by parliament in this session amounted to the sum of two hundred and thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds, four shillings, and sixpence, thirty three farthings. For raising this sum, besides the malt tax, and the land tax of four shillings in the pound, the whole produce of the sinking fund, from the fifth of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, till it should amount to one million five hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and eleven pence halfpenny, was ordered to be raised by loans or exchequer bills, at three per cent. interest; one million five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by the sale of redeemable annuities at three and a half per cent.; one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to be raised by a lottery, at three per cent. All which sums, with eighty-three thousand four hundred and twelve pounds, two shillings, and five pence halfpenny, then remaining in the exchequer, amounted to seven millions four hundred and twenty thousand two hundred and sixty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence.

§ XXXVIII. The clause inserted in the mutiny bill last year, subjecting all officers and soldiers raised in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments there, to the same rules, and articles of war, and the same penalties and punishments, as the British forces were liable to; the act passed at the same time for regulating the present maritime nation, was the most speedy and effectual means of our majesty's navy; were not only confirmed now; but it was further enacted, with respect to this last, as well as for the more speedy and effectual recruiting of his majesty's land forces, that the commissioners appointed by the present act should be empowered to raise and levy within their respective jurisdictions, such able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment; or having other lawful means of subsistence, in the like manner as for raising such persons, in order to convey them before the said commissioners to be examined; that if any
commissions should find any person, so brought before them, to be within the above description, and if the reason of the arrest be a matter fit for his majesty's service, they should cause him to be delivered to such officer, who might secure him in any place of safety provided by the justices of peace for that purpose, or even in any public prison; and that every such officer be from that time to take the precaution, and not to be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal matter. Nothing could more plainly show either the zeal of the parliament for the benefit of the crown, or the confidence in the justice and moderation of our ministry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next session; and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterprising administration, would have been made such a use of, as would have been inconsistent with that security which, is provided by our happy constitution for the liberty of the subject.

§ XXXIX. The next object of the immediate attention of parliament in this session was the raising of a new regiment of foot in North America; for which purpose the sum of eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, to which the estimate thereon amounted, this regiment, which was to consist of four battalions of a thousand men each, was intended to be raised chiefly out of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had annually transported them- selves to North America, and the King of Prussia, where waste lands had been assigned them upon the fronts of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to intermix them with the English inhabitants of the place. To this circumstance it is owing, that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learned to speak or understand the English tongue. However, as they were all zealous protestants, and in general strong hearty men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French: but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalters, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers; but as this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of parliament, an act was now passed for enabling him to order, at his pleasure, to raise in Ireland a regiment of protestants, who had served abroad as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only. An act was likewise passed in this session, strictly for the purpose of supporting the honest attempts of such subjects to serve as officers under the French king, or to enlist as soldiers in his service, without his majesty's previous licence; and also for obliging such of his majesty's subjects as should, in time to come, accept of commissions in the Scotch brigade in the Dutch service, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiting five hundred pounds.

§ XL. As it had been resolved in the beginning of the preceding summer, to build vessels of force upon the lake Ontario, an act was now passed for extending the existing naval laws of England, relating to the government of his majesty's ships and forces by sea, to such officers, seamen, and others, as should serve on board his majesty's shipping officer attending should judge him to be a mercenary for the original purchase-money, and the remaining time such servant might have to serve.

§ XLI. The peace of the Indies was happily composed this year, by the prudent management of the Marquis of Hartington, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. By his steady and disinterested conduct, his candour and humanity, the Irish were not only brought to much better temper, even among themselves, than they had been accustomed to give in late outrageous riots and dangerous dissensions happened: but also prevailed upon to acquiesce in the measures of England, without this last being obliged to give up any one point of her sovereignty. The leading objects of the administration of Ireland were the first that were formed: and though the ferment continued very high for some time after, among the middle and lower ranks of people, it was at length entirely alloyed by the wisdom of the lord-lieutenant, and the excellent law, which he encouraged and passed for the benefit of that nation. The P—— of Ireland, who had been very busy in foisting many of the late disturbances, was, by his majesty's command, struck off the list of privy-counsellors: and the greatest part of those patriots whom faction had turned out of their employments there were reinstated with honour.

§ XLI. The parliament of England, which had adjourned on the twenty-third of December, met again on the House of Commons on the fourteenth of January, and the Lords on the nineteenth.

On the sixteenth of the same month, the treaty between his Britannic majesty and the King of Prussia for the Rhenish war was signed, and proving very important, that, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preserve peace and tranquillity, which it was feared was in danger of being disturbed on account of the disputes in America, the two kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatsoever to enter into Germany, or pass through it, during the troubles apprehended in the sequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted.

Thus, the late treaty with Russia was virtually renounced. Their majesties, moreover, seized this favourable opportunity to adjust the differences that had subsisted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Silesia loan, due to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and to make the indemnification claimed by the subjects of his Prussian majesty for their losses by sea during the late war; so that the attaclement laid on the said debt was agreed to be taken off, as soon as the ratification of this treaty was met with. The conventions of 1756, which were for a better regulating of the militia forces in the several counties of England. A bill was accordingly prepared to that effect, and presented to the House on the thirteenth of March by the Hon. Charles Townshend, Esq. who, to his honour, was one of the chief promoters of it. After receiving many amendments in the House of Commons, it was on the tenth of May passed, and sent to the Lords: but several objections being made to it by some of the peers, and it seeming to them that some further amendments were still necessary, which they thought they could not in that session spare time to consider so maturely as the importance of the subject required, a negative of fifty-nine against twenty-three was voted upon the motion for leaving the bill; though every one must have been sensible, not only of the propriety, but even of the absolute necessity, of such a law, which was ardently desired by the whole nation.

§ XLIV. On the twenty-first of January they went in the House of Peers, and, after having given the royal assent to the bills then depending, thanked his parliament, in a speech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual support. He acquainted them, that the injuries
and hostilities which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, and then followed by the actual invasion of the island of Minorca, though guaranteed to him by all the great powers in Europe, and particularly by the French king: that he, therefore, found himself obliged, in vindication of the bounds of his rights, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form against France; and that he relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects, in so just a cause. The parliament was thereupon summoned to the sixteenth of June, and from thence afterwards to the eighteenth of July, and then it was prorogued.

CHAP. V

§ I. Letter from M. Bossu to the secretary of state. § II. The two nations recommenced fresh hostilities. § III. The French threatened Great Britain with an invasion. § IV. Requisition of as many thousand Dutch troops according to treaty. § V. Message from the king to the parliament. § VI. A body of Hessians and Hanoverians transported into England. § VII. French preparations at Dunkirk. § VIII. Admiral Byng sailed for the Mediterranean. § IX. He arrived at Gibraltar. § X. Engages M. de la Gravelliere off the coast of Minorca. § XI. Triumph of the French over the British. § XII. Admiral Byng seized, and surrendered his ship to the French. § XIII. Articles of a peace of St. Malo. § XIV. Punishments taken by General Blakeney. § XV. Submission of the Lord Canadas to the French. § XVI. Review of the enemy's forces in England. § XVII. Garland of Foresight. § XVIII. Measurments taken for the defence of Great Britain. § XIX. Proclamation. § XX. Earl of Sandwich appointed commander-in-chief in America. § XXI. His Britannic majesty's declaration of war. § XXII. Subsistence of the British nation. § XXIII. Address of the city of London. § XXIV. Trial of General Wolfe. § XXV. Affairs of America. § XXVI. Colonel Robert Holland defeated by the French on the river Monongahela. § XXVII. Earl of Loudon arrives at New York. § XXVIII. Graves dethroned by the French. § XXIX. Further proceedings in America. § XXXI. Naval operations in flag country. § XXXII. England and Spain at full war. § XXXIII. Cabot's voyage was speedily damaged by the Viceroy of Bengal. § XXXIV. Desperate fate of those who persisted in the dangerous enterprise. § XXXV. Additional provisions granted on Mr. Hoare's. § XXXVI. Resolution against America. § XXXVII. Fears of Germany. § XXXVIII. Admiral Warren and Mr. Cline. § XXXIX. Their subsequent proceedings in the river Ganges.

A. D. 1756.

§ I. Is the month of January Mr. Fox, lately appointed secretary of state, received a letter from M. Bossu, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs to the king of France, expressing in the name of his sovereign, upon the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannic majesty had given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by his late sovereign in writing. § II. A complaint of the insult which had been offered to his master's flag in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also by their interposition on the conduct of his utmost christian majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilized nations. He said, the sentiments and character of his Britannic majesty gave the king his master room to expect that at his return to London he would conduct the order of his admittance; but that seeing, that instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his most christian majesty would be entitled to the most dreadful defects in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects. He, therefore, demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the English navy, together with the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, and provisions. § III. He declared, that if such restitution be made, he should be willing to engage in a negociation for what further satisfaction he might claim, and continue desirous to see the differences relating to America determined by a solid and equitable accommodation; but if, contrary to all hopes, these demands should be rejected, he would consider such a denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London to disturb the peace of Europe. To this peremptory remonstrance the British secretary was directed to answer, that though the King of England would regard the French commerce with the utmost indulgence, yet he would not comply with the demand of immediate restitution as a preliminary condition; for his majesty had taken no steps but such as were rendered just and indispensable by the hostilities which the French began in time of peace, and by the conduct of his sovereign in the most honourable way for his own honour, the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms.

§ V. Without all doubt the late transactions had afforded sufficient cause for a further engagement; and from that period the conduct of each other. The French court, conscious of their encroachments in Nova Scotia, affected to draw a shade over these, as particularly belonging to a disputed territory; but, in the mean time, diverted the attention of the banks of the Ohio, where Jamonville and his detachment had been attacked and massacred by the English, without the least provocation. They likewise inveighed against the capture of their ships before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and some neutral powers of Europe seemed to consider them in the same point of view. It was certainly high time to check the insinuation of the French by force of arms, and surely this might have been as effectually and expeditiously executed under the usual sanction of a formal declaration; the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbours, and fixed the imputation of fraud and freebooting on the beginning of the proceedings. But the French court was engaged in the ceremony of pronouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the powers of Europe would consider his most christian majesty as the aggressor, and Great Britain would reap all the fruits of the conflict, and the alliances in which she had engaged. But nothing could be more weak and frivolous than such a conjecture. The aggressor as he who first violates the peace; and every ally well interests might be aggrieved in case of an unfortunate conjuncture and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candour in the midst of their hostilities. The merchant ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to their right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture. In this particular, however, it was said that a little common sense had not been blended with their honourable intention. Great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrefy in the hold of the ship, as a mark of disgrace and contempt; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

§ II. The court of Versailles, while they presented recommendations on this occasion to the rest of Europe, and excused against the conduct of Great Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in Christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as designed a design to prosecute the war with equal vigour. They began to repair to Fortifby Denkirk; orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of France; many English vessels were seized in the different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison. At the same time an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising, that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the king would purchase the privateers at prime cost. They employed great number of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and large numbers of soldiers, sailors, and a considerable number of transports, throughout the island of Great Britain with a dangerous invaeo.

§ IV. The English people were seized with consternation; the ministry were alarmed and perplexed. Colonel Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, was consituted by his majesty to make requisition of the six thousand men whom the States-general are obliged by treaty to furnish, when Great Britain shall be threatened with an invasion; and in February he presented a memorial for this purpose. 

1160 HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [A. D. 1756. Book III.
Monseigneur d'Affry, the French king's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of his demand, produced a counter-memorial from his master, charging the English and French nations with having not only the means within their power to assist the Dutch, but also having the means of assistance within their reach, and that, by the most manifest breach of promise and the violation of the sacred character of treaties, they had.been guilty of a high crime and a great violation of public faith. The English secretary of state, Sir Robertti, answered, that the powers of the kingdom of Great Britain were not equal to the task of enforcing the terms of the alliance, and that the treaty had become a dead letter. The French minister replied, that the alliance was a matter of prime importance to the French state, and that he would not be deterred from enforcing it by any considerations of that nature. The English minister then intimated, that the English government would not be bound to enforce the terms of the alliance, unless the French government would first comply with certain conditions.

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GEORGE II.

defence: that, in order further to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose several transports were sent. He also doubted not of being enabled and supported by his parliament in taking such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honour of his crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms. This message was, however, conveyed to the National Assembly, as well as to both Houses, composed, and presented, very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his majesty was thanked for the resolution he had made of the Hessian troops; a measure on other occasions had been stigmatized with all the satiric and rhetoric of the opposition.

§ VI. Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quiet the fears of the people. In a few days Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motions for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the House of Commons, that another address should be presented to the king, beseeching his majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to give his assent to the employment of such troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom. There was a considerable party in the House, to whom such a motion was odious and unacceptable; but considering the state of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion: they, therefore, moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put upon that motion; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority, which also acceded to the other proposal. The resolution of the House was communicated to the Lords, who unanimously concurred: and their joint address being presented, his majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request. Accordingly, such expedition was used, that, in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom. As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries emerged. They were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain. They were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigour. The ministry was executed for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries. There were not wanting some incendiaries, who circulated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been defrauded of a part of the profit of the navigation, the officers of the enemy. In the meantime, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the present juncture demanded some instant determination, recourse was had to a foreign remedy.

§ V. Towards the latter end of March, the king sent a written message to parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices, from different persons and places, that a design had been formed by the French court to invade the coast of Great Britain, by the means of forces, ships, artillery, and watelike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coast, together with the language of the French ministers in their several addresses to the representatives of that country. The king's message was not without prominence: the States-general instantly ordered his forces both by sea and land, and taken proper measures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a posture of
send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the designs of the enemy. That great province was left to a few considerable ships and frigates, which could be of no other use than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enquiring their commanders, by making prize of merchant vessels. Nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrances of Lord North and Lord Bute, a deputy-governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle, the chief fortress on the island. Far from strengthening the garrison or rendering it more secure, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to the islands, who were in great want upon leave of absence, nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent upon that island.

§ VI. At length the ministry, it is true, having under the eyes of the fleet being universally known, the ministry seemed to musing from their lethargy, and, like persons suddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation. Instead of detaching a squadron that in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and bestowing the command of it upon an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ships of the line for this service; and thus they committed Mr. Byng, who had never met with any occasion to signalize his courage, and whose character was not very popular in the navy; but Mr. West, the second, in command, was a person universally respected for his probity, ability, and resolution. The ten ships destined for this expedition but were in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hospital or fire-ship. They sailed from Spithead on the seventh day of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with Major-General Stewart, Lord Effingham, and Colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca; about forty inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortress.

§ IX. After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was still ignorant of the enemy's descent or intention; for the instructions delivered to Admiral Byng import, that on his arrival at Gibraltar, he should inquire whether any French squadron had passed through the straits; and that being defined in the affirmative, as it was probably designed for North America, he should immediately detach Rear-Admiral West to Louisbourg, on the island of Cape-Breton, with such a number of ships as, when joined with those at Halifax, would constitute a force superior to the squadron then in the Mediterrenean. On the seventh day of May, the Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found Captain Edgcumbe, with the Princess Louisa ship of war, and a sloop, who informed him that the French armament, consisting of Minorca, changing to the number of thirteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of fifteen thousand land forces, had sailed from Toulon on the tenth day of April, and made a descent upon the island of Minorca, from whence he (Captain Edgcumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach. General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two successive orders from the secretary at war with respect to his sparing a battalion of troops to be transported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconsistent or equivocal, a council of war was consulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops should be sent from hence to Minorca, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the little squadron of Captain Edgcumbe.

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had left a good number of his seamen and marines under the command of Captain Scropo, to assist in the defence of Fort St. Philip's. These articles of intelligence the ministry, determined by an express order of the secretary of state, and by the order of the admiralty, to be shown to the Senate, and given to the public, in order to prevent the getting a footing on that island. He complained, that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries of war. The garrison was without arms and stores; the whole of the French batteries and storeshouses were entirely destroyed, so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as well as with those which had been for some time in a derelict state. He signified him, that, even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved without a land force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore, a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy. He observed, that such engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar, as had seen service and was possible to him, it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, so as to bar all passage up to the salt-port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified his concurrence. But the council, as part of this letter was downward imprisonment of the minister, for having delayed the expedition, for having sent out ships unfit for service, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar. In the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage. It cannot be supposed that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment; and, as they foresaw that the French men would not fail to excite a national clamour, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to cast a slur upon their conduct; for this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behaviour afforded.

§ X. The admiral being strengthened by Mr. Edgcumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majesty's ship the Phoenix, under the command of Captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence that the French had sent a reinforcement to the destination of the French squadron. When he approached Minorca, he observed the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip's, and several bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters; but the French did not display them. Thus informed, he detached three ships a-head, with Captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for General Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was come in his assistance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the south-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle. About six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of seventeen vessels, appeared to approach, and to amount to above five hundred men of the Cape Male.
At day-light the enemy could not be described; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal. One escaped, and the other being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred and sixty men of his conduct; for had they been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron. This soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side, and about two o'clock Admiral Byng then gave signal to bear two points from the wind and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that Rear-Admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risk of seeing his communications with his fleet entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled to her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position to the Intrepid, on which one side of the enemy was all a-back, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he was very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of Admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadron off Tolus, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line entire; and, on presence of rectifying this disorder, which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. M. de la Galissonière seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle; part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not engage his vessels, but kept them in a scattered line, as an enemy so expert in naval operation: he, therefore, took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitancy, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discom­fited by the admiral, restoed. But as the enemy's ships were clean, he could not come up and close them there; so they retired at their leisure. Then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

§ XI. While he lay-to with the rest of his fleet, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly, and made an inquiry into the condition of the squadron. The number of killed amounted to forty-two, including Captain Andrews, of the Defiance; and about one hundred and sixty-eight were wounded. Three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea, with any regard to their safety; a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into a hospital for the sick. By the advice of Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were present. He represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and re­inforced occasionally; that in his opinion, it was imprac­ticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and, therefore, they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, where, he thought, they might be more immediately con­nected with his sentinels, and thither he di­rected his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving General Blakeney, it is not easy to determine, as no exper­i­ment was made for that purpose. Indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excusable part of the conduct of the English; for, so soon as the appearance of the enemy was discovered, all the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the salt-ports, without running any great risk; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually passed and re­passed in a horse carriage on the bank of the river.

§ XII. Mr. Byng's letter to the admiral, containing a detail of the action, is said to have arri­ved some days before it was made public, and when it appeared, was cur­tailed of divers expressions, and some paragraphs, which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors. Whatever use might have been made of his letter while it remained a secret to the public, we shall not pretend to explain: but sure it is, that on the sixteenth day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders sailed from Southeast to Gibraltar, to supersede the admiral Byng and West, in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the twentieth day of the same month, when it produced all the effect which that gentle­man's bitterest enemies could have desired. The populace took fire like a train of the most hasty combustibles, and broke out into a chorus of remonstrance against the devoted admiral, as could not have been ex­ceeded if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion. This animosity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emissaries, who mingled with all public assemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-cross. They expatiated upon the insolence, the folly, the coward­ice, and misconduct, of the unhappy admiral. They even presumed to make his sovereign a witness of their opinion, as an instrument of his column, by suggesting, that his majesty had prostituted Byng's misbehavior from the contents of his first letter, dated at Gibraltar. They ridiculed and re­futed the reasons he had given for remaining at anchor after his scandalous rencontre with the French squadron; and, in order to exasperate them to the most implacable resentment, they exaggerated the terrible consequences of losing Minorca, which must now be subdued through his treachery or want of resolution. In a word, he was devoted as the scape-goat of the ministry, to whose supine negligence, ignorance, and misconduct, the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's mis­behavior was thus brought before the court of judicature, to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against him, they wished to punish him at least. Agents were employed to verify his person in all public places of vulgar resort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital, to hang and burn him in effigy.

§ XIII. The two officers who succeeded to the com­mand in the Mediterranean, were accompanied by Lord Tyrwhale, whom his majesty had appointed to supersede General Popham in the government of Gibraltar, that gen­tleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry, for not having understood an order which was unintell­ligible. By the same conveyance, a letter from the secret­ary to the admiral was transmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in such a manner as denoted a consciousness of having done his duty, and a laudable desire in vindicate his own conduct. His answer contained a further account of the engagement in which he was supposed to have misdemean, intertwined with a statement of the enemy's superiority in weight of metal, which served no other purpose than that of exposing his character still more to ridicule and abuse; and he was again so insolent as to hazarded certain expressions, which added fresh fuel to the resentment of his enemies. Directions were imme­diately dispatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home in arrest; and an order to the same pur­pose was lodged at every port in the kingdom: precau­tions, which, however, were ineffectual, to save the life of a man who longed ardently to justify his character by a
public trial, were yet productive of considerable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Brng immediately embarked in the ship which had carried out his successor, and was accompanied by Mr. West, General Fowke, Sir Terence O'Brien, and twenty-four officers, who were also recalled, in consequence of having subscribed to the result of the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a gracious reception from his majesty as was though due to an extraordinary man; but Mr. West was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich hospital.

§ XIV. In the meantime, the siege of St. Philip's fort was prosecuted with undiminished vigour. The armament of Toulon, consisting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galissonniere, and the troops under the Duke de Richelieu, arrived on the eighteenth day of April at the port of Cadizella, and that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces. Two days before they reached the island, General Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the castle. The fort by which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks; and provided with subterraneous galleries, mines, and tunnels. The solid rock with which the fort was immediately laid, I join the whole, was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most severe siege, and been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful commander. All these advantages, however, did not occur on this occasion. The number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at least double the number; and, even of these, above forty officers were absent. The chief engineer was rendered lame by the gout, and the general himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age. The natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day labourers, but, from their hatred to the Protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had hived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

§ XV. The governor ordered his officers to best up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service. He received, however, a few advanced parties, and the company posted at Formelles, where a small redoubt had been raised, and five companies at Cadizella, a post fortified with two pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn, and the place was being disembarked. The enemy's forces. At the same time Major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the task of destroying the roads could not be performed in such a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the surface of the ground through this whole island; nor was there time to demolish the town of St. Philip's, which stood so near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighbourhood. The streets served them for trenches, which otherwise could not have been dug through the solid rock. Here they made a lodgment close to the works: here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreshment, works for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombards. The general has been blamed for leaving the town standing; but if we consider his uncertainty concerning the destination of the French armament, the odious nature of such a precaution, which could not fail to exasperate the inhabitants, and the impossibility of executing such a scheme after the first appearance of the enemy, he will be found excusable, if not altogether blameless. Some houses which had been actually demolished, so as to clear the approaches and the approaches. All the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was destroyed, and the butts were carried into the castle, where they might serve for the defence. The beer; actually supplied vessels were actually supplied for the exposure. Two thousand bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garrison. The ports were walled up, the posts assigned, the sentinels placed, and all the different guards appointed. Commodore Edgcumbe, who then anchored in the harbour of Mahon, close to the redoubts, received in the little squadron, consisting of the Chesterfield, Princess Louisa, Portland, and Dolphi, after having left all his men, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Fortspointe sloop, and the greater part of the Dolphi's, as a reinforcement; but Mr. Brevet, with his division and command of Captain S-roop, of the Dolphi, who, with great gallantry, offered himself for this severe duty, and bravely signalized himself during the whole siege, was detained on the land, and only sent up this harbour in such a manner, as would have prevented the escape of these ships, and divers other rich merchant vessels, which happened then to be at Mahon: but, in all probability, they purposely allowed them to abandon the place, which, in any emergency or assault, their crews and officers would have considerable reinforced. The enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works, and the weakness of the garrison, from which circumstance it was derived the most encouraging hopes that the place might be suddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular siege. After Mr. Edgcumbe had sailed for Gibraltar, and General Blakeney had ordered a sloop to be sailed to Minorca, a French squadron made its appearance at this part of the island; but, without having attempted any thing against the fort, fell in leeward of Cape Mola. Next day they came in contact with the shore, and their vessels sailed towards, during the whole course of the siege, approached so near as to give the garrison the least disturbance.

§ XVI. On the twenty-second day of April, the governor sent a letter to the French general with a letter, desiring to know his reasons for invading the islands. To this an answer was returned by the Duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his most christian majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his master, who had saved and detained the ships belonging to the King of France and his subjects. If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers; for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the straits, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other side of the island, where they were more exposed, their stores being at a great distance from his garrison. The vessel of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form. On the twelfth of May, about one a.m., they opened two bomb batteries near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and from that period an incessant fire was kept up on both sides, from mortars and cannon, the French continuing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged.

§ XVII. On the seventeenth day of the month, the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, commanded by Admiral Brng; and Mr. Bov, commissioner of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat, with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cross, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musketry from the fortification; but on the other side, and actually reached the open seas, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Bov perceived himself chased by two of the enemy vessels, which fired on him, and sent a message to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage. A circumstance which plainly confutes the notion of Mr. Bov, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison, after the loss of twenty Minorca. News of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the
British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbour of Mahon. The French, on being satisfied that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by M. de la Galissonnière; and this information was soon confirmed by a general discharge, or feu de joie, through the whole of the English line, in order to celebrate the success they had obtained. How little these had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory; for had Mr. Bosc acquired and maintained the superiority which might have been obtained, and embarked in Minorca, would, in all probability, have been obliged to surrender prisoners of war to his Britannic majesty. The cause was now much altered in their favour: their squadron cruaded about the island without molestation; and they duly received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

§ XVIII. The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief. In the meantime, their situation was rendered the more desperate by the increasing resolution. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled: they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest effect, and now and then refiired a few shots and laboured with surprising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musketry, which fired upon them, without ceasing, from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and plied incessantly from anti-24 battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers; besides the small arms; nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very considerable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterraneous works, which were inaccessible to shells or shot. By the twenty-seventh day of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give it the last blow. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land side. At the same time a strong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrate into the ulterior conditions of the place. Sir Charles and V. and the second attack upon Fort Marlborough, on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander, the Duke de Richelieu, is said to have led them up to the works in person. Such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter; they were mowed down as they approached, with grape shot and musketry; and several mines were sprung with great effect, so that the elains was almost covered with the dying and the dead. Nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution; and though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgement in the Queen’s Redan, which had been a few hours ago the strongest post in the place. Whether their success in this quarter was owing to the weakness of the place, or the timidity of the defender, certainly, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison; for Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffreys, the second in command, who had acquired himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post, was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamt that the enemy had made lodgement. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity: he was run through the arm with a bayonet, and the piece being disengaged, he was conveyed to the hospital with the colours flying from the top of the staff, in such a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken, and the other disabled.

§ XIX. The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther’s and King’s Redans, and the breach of the fort, they might have been dislodged, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose, before they had leisure to secure themselves. The Duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be held in person to that end; but as it was not permitted to remove the wounded. This request was granted with more humanity than discretion, inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and from these penetrations, though of the utmost difficulty, the enemy communicated with all the other outworks. During this short cessation, General Blakeney summoned a council of war to deliberate upon the state of the fort and garrison; and the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the castle was shattered; many guns were dismounted, the embrasures and parapets demolished, the palisadoes broke in pieces, the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications. Besides, the governor had received information from prisoners, that the Duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the Marshal Duke de Bléville would be sent to assume the command in the inelocity, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced a council of war to determine a capitulation. The measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council. Some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits: that no breach was made in the body of the castle; nor was the cannon erected in breach: that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress: that the countercarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt: that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach before the countercarp should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fosse, which was furnished with mines and countermines; finally, they suggested, that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or, if it should not, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks were overruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions of capitulation established. The garrison capitulated, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. The French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort Charles and Marlborough redoubt; but the English troops remained in the other works till the seventh day of July, when they embarked. In the meantime reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of the two nations.
the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy. Had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French squadron: but he could not, or he would have raised the siege of St. Philip's. Duke de Richelieu had received word of this, and such a train of artillcry as no fortification could long withstand. Indeed, if the garrison had been only reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would naturally have been repulsed, and so might have been made, that their assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprise.

§ XXI. When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles, the amount of rejoicing from the Duke de Richelieu had despatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy. Nothing was seen but triumphs and processions: nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums upon the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pamphlets. Nothing more assuages the dignity of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumphs, for an advantage, which, in more vigorous times, would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a Te Deum laudamus. Nor is this childish exultation inconsistent with the servility of the conqueror, confined to the small extent of the kingdom of France. Truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illogical mixture of self-applause and contempt of their conquerors. This may be considered as a proof of unmanly arrogance and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend upon the genius or misconduct of one individual. The loss of Minorca was severely felt as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited a universal clamour of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byron, who had retreated from the French squadron; but against his country, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca. Nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy, that, in case the arms of Great Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the French king might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace. This notion, however, appears to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with more acrimony than before, and not only throughout the united kingdoms in general, but even in the sovereign's councils.

§ XXII. Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hopes of capturing La Galissonerie, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annulling the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up the squadron to the harbour of Toulon. Understanding that the Austrian government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war to insist in a peremptory manner, on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the admiral thus interposed, was one Foulke Wright, a native of the island of Jersey; and the stranger to a sea-life, had, in the last war, equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner, by his uncommon vigour and celerity, that, if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed upon their boasted Guis Tronin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An unassuming spirit was the recommendation of his being thus detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebec, mounted with sixteen cannon, and manned by a number of his complements, chose for station in view of the harbour, in order to intercept the British commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this insult: notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor and engaged with all the vigour of the shore, and after a very obstinate dispute in which both the captain, lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebec were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signallized himself by many other exploits, had he not, to the sequel, been overtaken in the midst of his career by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundered, and all his crew perished.

§ XXIII. Sir Edward Hawke, having secured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay, for the protection of our commerce, which, in those parts, soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived with the garrisons of Minorca, at Portsmouth, in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he passed celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, salutes, and salutes, crowned by a sword of adoration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion; of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain ministers for the purposes of self-interest and deceit. The sovereign is said to have been influenced by the prepossessions of the ——t. Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his majesty, who raised him to the rank of a peer; and of Blakeney, which was milled into the order of knighthood, for his services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favour, as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

§ XXIV. In the beginning of the year, the measures taken by the government in England seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard ships and cruisers on different parts of the coast, or the stationary troops of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of German auxiliaries. A considerable number of new troops was levied: the success in recruiting was not only promoted by the landholders throughout the kingdom, but improved all services, and the better service; but for that reason encouraged their dependants to engage in the service; but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of labourers to such distress, that some insurrections were raised, and many enlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn. New ships of war were built, and daily put in commission; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people. Notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo upon all shipping and impress all seamen, which was done, without any regard to former protections: so that all the merchant ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended. Nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were publicly offered to those who should discover where any seamen lay concealed: so that those unhappy people were in danger of being haled from their houses, and their families and connections to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expense of their lives, their own arms had helped to preserve, in favour of their ungrateful country.

§ XXV. About eighty ships of the line and threescore frigates, Levant, and others, formed themselves into a very laudable association.
frigates were already equipped, and considerable bodies of land forces assembled, when, on the third day of February, a proclamation was issued, requiring all officers, civil and military, upon the first appearance of any hostile attempt to land upon the coasts of the kingdom immediately to drive all horses, oxen, or cattle, which might be found for draught or burden, and not actually employed in the king's service, or in the defence of the country, and also (so far as it was possible) to deprive the respective owners, of all cattle and provisions, ca.

been driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where such hostile attempt should be made, and to secure the same, so as that they might not fall into the hands or power of those who should make such attempt: realised, however, that the respective owners should suffer as little damage as might be consistent with the public safety.

§ XXVI. As the ministry were determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in North America, where the first hostilities had been committed, and where the strongest impression could be made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither, under the conduct of General Abraham, appointed as successor to General Shirley, whom they had recalled, as a person no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity. But the ministry of that time rejected the proposition, and the king's commission was conferred upon the Earl of Loudoun, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country. Over and above this consideration there was the further observation, that the government and colonel of a royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Abercrombie set abroad for America in March; but the Earl of Loudoun, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a viceroys, did not embark till the latter end of May.

§ XXVII. All these previous measures being taken, his majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war against the French king, importing, that, since the treaty of Als-Chappele, the usurpations and encroachments made upon the British territories in America had been notorious: that his Britannic majesty had, in divers serious representations to the court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French king, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West Indies should be performed at once, and, as a mark of good faith, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: that the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still continued, until they broke out in open acts of hostility in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French king's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and took possession of an English fort on the river Ohio, in North America: that great naval armament were prepared in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embargoed for that country: that although the French ambassado had sent a long series of despatches containing propositions of a desire to accommodate those differences, it appeared their real design was only to amuse and gain time for the passage of troops and reinforcements, which they intended should swell the strength of the enemy in America, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution: that in consequence of the just and necessary measures taken by the King of Great Britain for preventing the success of the latter, and the mischiefs which an immediate recall of the French ambassador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the sea-coasts of France, and the British dominions threatened with an invasion: that the King of England, in order to frustrate such intentions, had given orders for seating at sea the ships of the French king and his subjects, yet he had hitherto contented himself with detaining those ships which had been taken, and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiscation: but it being at last evinced, from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that the court of Versailles was determined to reject all proposals of accommodation, and carry on the war at home and abroad: that the French crown might no longer, consistently with the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds, which from a sense of peace he had been led to demand, be resolved to pursue the war with a still more consistent and unwavering conduct, and was concluded with an assurance, that all the French subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland, who should demean themselves dutifully to the government, might depend upon its protection, and be safe in their persons and effects.

§ XXVIII. In the beginning of June the French king declared war in his turn against his Britannic majesty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon severity. He artfully threw a shade over the beginning of hostilities in North America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the several courts of Europe, containing a summary of those facts which related to the present war, and the negotiations by which it had been preceded. He insisted on the attack made by the King of England, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, on the French possessions in North America; and afterwards by the English navy on the navigation and commerce of the French subjects, in contempt of the laws of nations, and direct violation of treaties. He complained that the French soldiers and sailors underwent the harshest treatment in the British isles, exceeding those bounds which are prescribed by the laws, both by the law of nature, and common humanity. He affirmed, that while the English ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed upon the French ambassador with false protestations, others diametrically opposite to these deceitful assurances of a speedy accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North America: that while the court of London employed every caballing art, and squandered away the subsidises of England, to instigate other powers against France, his most Christian majesty did not even ask of these powers the succours which guarantees

or Neve Scoria; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Oushabako. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the case of the neutral islands in the West Indies, but this was simply referred to another paper, with which the ambassador's despatches were also at this very opening of the negotiations established at Paris, for terminating the war. In the same month the French king extended his voice to the five neutral islands in the West Indies, which he declared were to be immediately evacuated by the English. This would have threatened the destruction of the British settlements and commerce in the northern parts of America, and the French king, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading there. He ordered his troops in America to embark. He also made an offer for the cession of the island of Saint Domingo, which the English refused. It was represented to the ministry, that a great body of troops, under the command of General Shirley, had been landed in the province of Carolina, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, and that they were in possession of all the lands which they had invaded: that his Britannic majesty had complained of those hostilities; that his Britannic majesty had found himself obliged to defend the security of his subjects and that the success which the French had met with at that time had forced him to employ the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive that court of the means of projecting on the English dominions which they much desired in all the courts of Europe had endured England.
and defensive treaties authorized him to demand; but recommended to them such measures only as tended to their own peace and security: that while the English navy, by the most violent successes, and sometimes by the vilest arts and subterfuges, made captures of French vessels, navigating in full view of the English coast, the British majesty released an English frigate taken by a French squadron; and British vessels traded to the ports of France without molestation: that the striking contrast formed by these different circumstances of proceeding would convince all Europe that one court was guided by motives of jealousy, ambition, and avarice, and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honour, justice, and moderation: that the vague imputations contained in the late and ill-timed declaration, in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were set forth would prove their falsity and falsehood: that the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops assembled on the coasts of the ocean, implied the most gross attempts to deceive mankind into a belief that these were the points which determined the King of England to issue orders for seizing the French vessels; whereas the works at Dunkirk were not begun in the year 1680, two French ships of war had been taken by an English squadron; and deputations had been committed six months upon the subjects of France before the first battles began their march for the sea-side. In a word, the most Christian king, in a perfect political system which had rendered people value themselves above all the nations upon the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother monarch's administration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit.

A charge conveyed in such reproachful terms, against one of the most respectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsity of their own imputations, and, at the same time, conscious of having practised those very arts which they affected so much to decry. For after all, it must be allowed, that nothing could be justly urged against the English government, with respect to France, except the omission of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not construe into perfidious dealing, as the French had previously violated the peace by their insurrection and encroachments.

§ XXXIX. Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the subjects of Great Britain heartily approved of the hostilities committed and intended against a people, whom they have always considered as their friends, neighbours, and the members of the family of Europe. They cheerfully contributed to the expense of armaments, and seemed to approve of their destination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the disgraces they had sustained in the defeat of Bredwood, and the loss of Minorca. The last event was essentially important to the honour of the community. An address was presented to the king by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry. They expressed their apprehension that the loss of the important fortress of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain, without any attempt to timely and effectual succours to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his majesty's navy was so evidently superior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the British nation. They stated the danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those insalubrious colonies, the subject and object of such numerous depredations on the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. They lamented the want of a constitutional and well regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever. They signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected, and brought to condign punishment: that his majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies so necessarily demanded, and so cheerfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the augmentation of those British forces and armories, the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honourable peace.

In answer to this address the king assured them, that he would not fail to do justice upon any persons who should have been wanting in their duty both in the conduct and execution of his majesty's designs in the fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamoured aloud for inquiry and justice.

§ XXX. The first vicissitudes offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate General Fowke, who had been deputy-governor of Gibraltar and been tried for the breach of a conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office, till that period, when he fell under the displeasure of the government. He was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the secretary at war, in three successive letters, touching the relief of Minorca. Mr. Fowke alleged in his own defence that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power; that the whole number of his garrison did not exceed three thousand six hundred men, after he had spared two hundred and seventy-five to the ships commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe: that the ordinary duty of the garrison required the supply of his officers for the navy, and the number of men sufficient for three reliefs; that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he should not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons, which he did not think himself bound to mention unless he should be being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undersold intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between thirteen and sixteen thousand men, and that a French squadron of sixteen ships was stationed off the harbour, sending a detachment equal to a battalion from

That immediately after the declaration of war, the British ships and caravages which had been taken, were tried, and condemned at several courts of admiralty, and their owners bound to bring them into the port. But in the year 1680, the said prisoners were discharged, and the

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Gibraltar would be an ineffectual supply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garrison from which they must be sent. He observed, that supposing the orders to have been positive, and seven hundred men detached to Miltia, it would appear that the number would not have exceed one thousand five hundred and sixty-six: a deduction of seven hundred more, according to the order of May the twelfth, would have left a remnant of only two hundred and forty, to be on duty in the garrison, including artificers and labourers in the king's works, amounted to eight hundred and twenty-nine; so that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than seventeen men in his force. His principal duty now, was the work of the garrison: thus the important fortress of Gibraltar must, at this critical conjuncture, have been almost left naked and defenceless to the attempts of the enemy; and had those detachments been actually sent abroad, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the island of Minorca. The order transmitted to General Wolfe to detain all empty vessels, for a further transportation of troops, seems to have been superfluous; for it can hardly be supposed he could have occasion for them, unless to embark the whole garrison and abandon the place. It seems likewise to have been unnecessary to exhort the general to keep the garrison as alert as possible, distrusted and under suspicion: it was, however, impossible for the men to have enjoyed the least repose or intermission of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed. What other assistance it might have been desirable to give was immediately ordered by General Fauconnier, at the head of the garrison, or in what manner he could avoid exhausting his garrison, while there was an impossibility of relieving the guards, it is not easy to comprehend. Be that as it may, when the trial was finished, and the question put to acquit or suspend for one year, the court was equally divided; and in such cases the casting vote being vested in the president, he threw it into the scale against the prisoner, whom his conduct and the facts of the case rendered liable to punishment.

§ XXXI. The expectation of the public was now eager, turned towards America, the chief if not the sole scene of our military operations. On the twenty-fifth day of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New York, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments now transported from England, four independent companies, and the troops which had been in New York, the New Jersey regiment, four companies serving in North Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New England. Those to the southward, indeed, had been divided, but was yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontiers from the French and Indians, who, in skulking parties, made frequent irruptions upon their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacring with the most savage inhumanity. As for South Carolina, the proportion of negro slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprise. The plan of this undertaking had been settled in the preceding year in a council of war, held at New York. There it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, which had been for many years maintained in New York, Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio: to reduce Trois-Rivières, however, from which the St. Lawrence mouth could be maintained, and by a direct attack upon the frontiers of New York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be transported in any future attempt to besiege Fort Duquesne, upon the Ohio: and to detach a body of troops from the river Connecticut, to aid the capital of Canada. This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared: the season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England, to permit the supply of provisions necessary to maintain the army in action, and Mr. Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of Lord Loudoun, who was daily expected. The reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not pretend to explain, though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been lost, by the neglect and dawdling of that part of the army. Certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it useless for a whole year, afforded time and leisure to the enemy to take their precautions against any subsequent attack. For this reason, it is not sufficient to mean the need no molestation in distressing the British settlements. Even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a small post in the country of the Five Nations, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midst of those Indians whom Great Britain had long numbered among her allies.

§ XXXII. Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores for the garrison of Oswego, would in a little time set out for Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of that river; but understanding the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they resolved to wait the return of the detachment. Their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and valour of Colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had prepared for it accordingly. On the third day of July, while the enemy were marching with their batteaux from Oswego, with a few of the foremost took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose; but these were soon repulsed. Another body having passed a mile higher, be advanced to them at the head of two hundred men, and fell upon them, sword in hand, with such vigour, that many were killed on the spot, and the rest driven into the river with such promptitude that number of them were drowned. Having received information that a third body of them had passed at a ford still higher, he marched thither without hesitation, and pursued them to the other side, where they were entirely routed and dispersed. In this action, which lasted near three hours, about seventy of the batteaux men were killed or wounded, but the enemy lost double the number killed, and above seventy taken prisoners. In all probability the whole detachment of the French, amounting to several hundred men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interrupted, and disabled Colonel Bradstreet from following his blow; for that same night he was joined by Captain Patten with his detachment of the New York men, which had marched from Oswego, and next morning reinforced with two hundred men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of Oswego; but by this time the rainets were so swelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to pursue the enemy through the woods and thickets. Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet pursued his voyage to Schenectady, from whence he returned to Albany, and communicated to General Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eastern side of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements to besiege the fort of Oswego.

§ XXXIII. In the attack on the fort of Niagara, Major-General Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of that garrison: but, before they could be provided with necessaries, the Earl of Loudoun arrived in a party of two hundred men on the twentieth day of July. The army at this time is said to have consisted of regular troops to the number of two thousand six hundred, about seven thousand provincials, supposed to be in readiness to march from Fort William Henry, under the command of General Winslow, and above a considerable number of bateau men at Albany and Schenectady. The garrison at Oswego amounted to fourteen hundred soldiers, besides three hundred workmen and sailors, either for the fort or in the fleet. The post was between the fort and place called Burnet's Field, to secure a passage through the country of the Six Nations, upon
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whose friendship there was no longer any reliance. By the best accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about three thousand men at Crown Point and Ticonde-

roga, upon the lake Champlain: but their chief strength was collected upon the banks of the lake Ontario, where they found the navy and the garrison in a state of expected to reduce to the English fort at Oswego. The immediate object, therefore, of Lord Loudoun's attention was the relief of this place; but his design was sternly opposed by the province of New York, which was then under the government of Captains Vail and Fox, who more aptly to secure the reduction of Crown Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conquest. Their insistence upon Win- 

slow's demand for a further advance of twenty miles, before he should march against this fortress; and stipu- 

lated that a body of reserve should be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in case Winslow should fail in his enterprise, and be defeated. At length they agreed, that the regiment which Mr. Abercorn had destined for that purpose should be detached for the relief of Oswego: and on the twelfth day of August, Major-Gen- 

eral Webb began his march with it from Albany; his arrival at the Currying-place, between the Mollock's river and Wood's creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked, and being on the verge of any, hastened to render the creek impassable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehensive of a lake visitation of the very same kind of prevention, in his approach: in consequence of this apprehension, he was permitted to retire unmolested.

§ XXXIV. The loss of the two small forts, called Ontario and Oswego, was a considerable national misfortune. They were erected on the south side of the great lake On- 

tario, standing on the opposite sides, at the mouth of the Ondada river, that discharges itself into the lake, and constituted a post of great importance, where vessels had been built, to cruise upon the lake, which is a kind of Irish 

land, and interrupt the commerce as well as the mo- 

tions and designs of the enemy. The garrison, as we have 

already observed, consisted of four hundred men, chiefly militia and new-raised recruits, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience; but the situation of the forts was very ill chosen; the materials mostly timber or logs of wood; the defences were lately contracted, disorganized; and, in a word, the place altogether untenable against any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wisely resolved to reduce. Being under no apprehension for Crown Point, they assembled a body of troops and a fleet, numbering thirty-two hundred regulars, seven hundred Cana- 
dians, and a considerable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, a vigi- 
lant and enterprising officer, to whom the conduct of the siege was intrusted by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant-general of New France. The first step taken by Montcalm was to block up Oswego by water, with two large armed vessels, and post a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succour and intelligence. In the meantime, he embarked his artillery and stores upon the lake, and landed them in the bay of Narsou, the place of disembarkation for Oswego, where he landed the twenty- 

two hundred barrels of powder, two hundred large
morts, and other stores of the like destination. On the twenty-seventh day of July, Commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate duel of two and a half days, accounted for two of them in this country, as well as in the West India islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and as those seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruises proved very advantageous to the cause of the British. 

§ XXXVII. Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East Indies. The cessation of hostilities between the English and French companies in the West India Islands, had given them an opportunity to visit their native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Lawrence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English force, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and prosecuted his success with such vigour, as, in all probability, would, in a little time, have transmitted this country to his own, when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained: for extraordinary pains have been taken by the English in their settlement, to mitigate the calamity, whenever that calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

§ XXXVIII. The old Suba or Vicerey of Bengal, Bazar, and Orixa, dying in the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of great passions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence. In all probability, his design against the English settlements was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities were altogether inconsistent, false, and frivolous. In the month of May, he caused the English families of Cassimbar to be invested, and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner; then, by means of fraud and force, intermingled, made himself master of the factory. This exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements. With this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place, which was then in no posture of resistance.

§ XXXIX. The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and, with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board the ships, leaving them their most valuable effects, and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved upon Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. Then he was obliged to submit; and the suba, or vicerey, promised, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the black-hole prison, a cube of about sixteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air, and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive what horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus screwed up in a close, strait night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them crowded with hardship. Transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously caught up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavoured to force their way to the window, and to gain their escape, but with very great difficulty. The barbarians by whom they were surrounded; but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards, and being once shut upon them, the crowd pressed upon it so strongly as to render all their efforts abortive: then they were overwhelmed with distraction and despair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, to look about, or see if there were any means of escape, was accosted by the guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compassion, by drawing a pathetic picture of their sufferings, promised to gratify him with a thousand rupees in the morning, if he could find means to rescue one half of those wretched sufferers alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose. By this time a profuse sweat had broke out on every individual, and this was attended with an insatiable thirst, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moisture. In vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their clothes, squatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreshing evaporation. Many were unable to rise again from this posture, but fell down were to death, or suffocated. The dreadful symptom of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath. Their despair increased their agony, and those who attempted to force the door, and provoke the guard to fire upon them by execution and abuse. The cry of "Water! Water!" issued from every mouth. Even the Jemmoutaar was moved to compassion at their distress. He ordered his soldiers to bring some skins of water, which served only to enrage the appetite, and increase the general agitation. There was no other way of convey ing it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerness and transports of the wretched general, who, at sight of it, struggled and raved even in fits of delirium. In consequence of these contests, very little reached those who stood nearest the windows, while the rest at the further end of the place were totally excluded, and all relief, and continued calling upon their friends for assistance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection. To those who were indulged, it proved perilous; for, instead of allaying their thirst, it enraged their impatience for more. The confusion became general and horrid: all was clamour and contest; those who were at a distance endeavoured to force their passage to the window, and the weak were pressed down to the ground, never to rise again. The multitude of prisoners received entertainment from their misery: they supplied the prisoners with more water, and held up lights close to the bars, that they might enjoy the infinite pleasure of seeing them fight for the precious fluid; some of them, at times, seeing all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trampled upon by the living, finding himself wedged up so close as to be deprived of all motion, begazed, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in peace. Even in those dreadful circumstances, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinction, the poor delirious wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character; they forthwith gave way, and he forced his passage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded so much, because, by this time, about one-third of the number had perished, and lay in little compass on the floor, while the rest still crowded to both windows. He returned to a platform at the further end of the room, and laying down upon some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to Heaven. Here his thirst grew insupportable; his difficulty in breathing increased, and he was seized with a strong palpitation. These violent symptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, "Water! for God's sake!" He had been supposed already dead by his wretched companions, but finding him still alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and regard to his person: "Give him water," they cried; nor would any of them attempt to touch it until he had drank. He was soon quite refreshed, the palpitation ceased; but finding himself still more thirsty after
drinking, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth from time to time, by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeve. The miserable prisoners, perceiving the water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard, for the suba and his governor, with the more vent to return to Calcutta, were immediately released, for all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the large and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited. That gentleman, who, was conscious he was seized with a putrid fever, immediately upon their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination; and would give no credit to his proceedings, nor would furnish the deposit. Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles from the Indian camp, where they lay all night exposed to a severe rain; next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scourching beams of a sun intensely hot; and must infallibly have expired had not nature expelled the fever in large purulent boils, that covered almost the whole body. In this pitious condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxaladav, the capital of Bengal, and undertook such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader, should he pretend to imagine it. They were marched through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals. At length the suba's grandmother interceded her nephation in their behalf; and as that prince was then in collecting intelligence that their secre which he meant to destroy at Calcutta, he ordered them to set off liberty. When some of his sympatists opposed the indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied, with some marks of compunction and generosity, 41 If he has any thing left, let him keep it; his sufferings have been great; he shall have his liberty. Mr. Holwell and his friends were so soon unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch tankall or mint, in the neighbourhood of that city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularized a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances. The suba having destroyed Calcutta, and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans, even in his own opposition and return to his native Muxaladav in triumph. By the reduction of Calcutta, the English East India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the aid of an internal force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprizes were always crowned with success.

§ XLI. As the English East India company had, for a while, to pay a considerable expense in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ships from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themselves independent princes, and fortified Gerah in that neighbourhood; many unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy their naval power, and reduce the fortress, under the most formidable attacks, with the most venturesome and approved. From failing, they had recourse to prayer, beseeching Heaven to put an end to their misery. They now began to drop on all hands; but then a storm arose from the land and the sea, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the large and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited. That gentleman, who, was conscious he was seized with a putrid fever, immediately upon their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination; and would give no credit to his proceedings, nor would furnish the deposit. Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles from the Indian camp, where they lay all night exposed to a severe rain; next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scourching beams of a sun intensely hot; and must infallibly have expired had not nature expelled the fever in large purulent boils, that covered almost the whole body. In this pitious condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxaladav, the capital of Bengal, and undertook such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader, should he pretend to imagine it. They were marched through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals. At length the suba's grandmother interceded her nephation in their behalf; and as that prince was then in collecting intelligence that their secre which he meant to destroy at Calcutta, he ordered them to set off liberty. When some of his sympatists opposed the indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied, with some marks of compunction and generosity, 41 If he has any thing left, let him keep it; his sufferings have been great; he shall have his liberty. Mr. Holwell and his friends were so soon unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch tankall or mint, in the neighbourhood of that city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularized a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances. The suba having destroyed Calcutta, and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans, even in his own opposition and return to his native Muxaladav in triumph. By the reduction of Calcutta, the English East India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the aid of an internal force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprizes were always crowned with success.

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was set on fire by another shell; and soon after the firing ceased on both sides. The admiral, suspecting that the governor of the place would surrender to the Mahattsar rajah, directed his officers to open fire on all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in case of emergency, to make a rapid retreat. In the meantime, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breaches; and then the admiral sent an officer, with a flag of truce, to the governor, requiring him to surrender. His proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire next day with resounding rage, and their greater quantity of the fort blew up, and at four the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation. The parley that ensued proved ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five; when the white flag was again displayed, and now the governor submitted to the terms which were imposed. Angra's flag was immediately hauled down; and two English captains, taking possession of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoisted the British ensign. To these captains, whose names were Buchanan and Forbes, the Mahattsars offered a bribe of fifty thousand rupees, if they would allow them to pass their guards, that they might take possession of the fort for themselves; but this offer was rejected with disdain, and immediately disclosed to Colonel Clive, who took effectual measures to frustrate their design. In this place, which was reduced with very incon siderable loss, the conquerors found above two hundred cannon, some of the most important of ammunition, a money and effects to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. The fleet which was destroyed consisted of eight galleys, one ship finished, two upon the stocks, and a good number of galleons. Among the prisoners, the admiral found Angra's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himself with great humanity. Three hundred European soldiers, and as many sepoys, were left to guard the fort; and four of the company's armed vessels remained in the harbour for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce.

§ XLIII. The admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the company's affairs upon the Ganges, recovering CALCUTTA, and taking vengeance on the cruel Viceroys of Bengal. In October they set sail again for the bottom of the bay; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balsore, in the kingdom of Bengal. Having crossed the Baces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Fulta, where they found Governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Clive attacked Angra, and who had continued his course with his forces to attack the fort of Bhusudga, by land, while the admiral batted it by sea; but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conquest being achieved at a very easy purchase, two of the greatest ships anchored between Tarnit fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either; thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

CHAP. VI.

173. Measures taken by the Emperor of Russia to frustrate the plans of the French and British. XVII. Emperor of Russia was informed of the attack on the viceroys of Bengal. XVIII. Emperor of Russia sends to the Mahattsars a marquis to negotiate between them and the British. XIX. Angra's money and effects taken to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. XX. Fort taken by the English captains; the admiral and Mr. Clive return to Madras. XXI. Measures taken by the French and British to recover the lost provinces. XXII. Peace concluded between the French and British.
The Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treasure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of despotic princes; sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been overrun, and subdued by the enemy; and the King of Prussia put the bar to the empire. All these consequences were, fairly deducible from the resolution which his Prussian majesty took at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria. The apparent motives that prompted him to this measure we shall unfold. In the meantime, the defensive treaty between the empress-queen and France was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburg, to negotiate the conditions of this accession, which the Empress of Russia accordingly embraced: a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Versailles, that the Marquis de L'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, soliciting their concurrence: but their catholic and Sardinian majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality. At the same time, intrigues were being propagated: the great state of Sweden was in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavours succeeded in the sequel, even contrary to the inclination of their sovereign. At present, a professor is employed for altering the ideal of government by increasing the power of the crown; and several persons of rank were convicted on trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the king or queen were at all concerned in the scheme, his almighty majesty himself hardly coveted his diet, that he threatened to resign his royalties, and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This design was extremely disgraceful to the people in general, who exposed him in opposition to the diet, by whose orders they conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy.

The King of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all forces to be completed, and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a secret article in the late treaty between France and the house of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to declare war against the Protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the empire, by a forced election of a King of the Romans. The cry of religion was no impotent measure: but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past. Religion was made the subject of both sides for the partitions of the empress-queen intimated, on all occasions, that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the Kings of Great Britain and Russia. There was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannic majesty ordered his electoral minister at the diet, to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise to find the treaty he had concluded with the King of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and uneasiness, especially for religion. He observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the empire; that as he had been denied, by the empress-queen, the succours stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused assistance by certain states of the empire, who even seemed disposed to favour such a diversion: he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the King of Prussia: that, by this instance of conciliation to the interests of Germany, he had done an essential service to the empress-queen, and performed the part which the head of the empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: that turning his eyes from the interests of the empress-queen, to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars against the archdotal house of Austria, and always endeavoured, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body.

The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid for recovering the dominions of the empress-queen, declared, by his minister as Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld them as so fair and just, that he was the first to offer his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This information made very little impression upon the King of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose. What his original plan might have been, it is difficult to say; but we believe he imparted it to any confidant or ally. It must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the powers of Europe together. The empress-queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbour. She remembered his usurpation into Bohemia, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, at a time when she thought that country, and all her other dominions, secure from invasion, by the treaty of Breslaw, which she had in no particular continued. She calabbed against him in different courts of Europe: she concluded a treaty with the czarina, which, though it was immediately dissolved, had the effect of preventing his conquests upon this monarch: she endeavoured to engage the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from a host of Prussians, he would, perhaps, be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince, who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of the capital, and obliged him to pay a million and a quarter of crowns to indemnify him for the expense of this expedition; but he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petershagen. He therefore concluded the article of Fertdena being his Prussian majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It appears, however, that Count de Breul, prime minister and favourite of the King of Poland, had been charged with the casting off his king, and, as the ministers of Russia, had been invited to join the alliance, and invade Prussia. The ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embold the King of Prussia with the Empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted.

The court of Vienna, receiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negotiations with different powers of Europe, ordered M. de Klingern, his minister, at the imperial court, to demur to all these preparations for war, on the frontiers of Silesia, were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her imperial majesty? To this demand the empress replied, That in the present juncture she had found it necessary, to make armaments, as well for her own defence, as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever. The king, far from being displeased with this answer, sent fresh supplies to Linzgrauf, to represent, that after the king had assembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honour, the bad designs imputed to the empress would not suffer him to remain longer without a knowledge of the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburg; that he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of two hundred thousand men; a design which would have been executed.
in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support; that he consti-
tuted all necessary preparations in the most prudent manner for the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he should look upon an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called Heaven to witness, that the emperor alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

V. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less amiable mind than his, but such a one, which indeed seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her imperial majesty, whose answer he soon received to this effect: that his majesty the King of Prussia had already been employed, for some time, in all kinds of the most considerable preparation of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her Majesty, touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian majesty had been made; that though her majesty might have declined explaining herself on those subjects, which required no explanation, as taking up her correspondence with his, she had opened her own mouth, to M. de Klingnraff, that the critical state of public affairs rendered the measures she had taken absolutely necessary for her own safety, and that of her allies; but that she had no intention of being exposed in any manner, or in any person whatsoever; that her imperial majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise, that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger; that her declaration was so clear; she never imagined it could be thought otherwise; that being acustomed to receive as well as to practise, the decorums which sovereigns owe to each other, she could not scruple, without abandoning the principles of the memoirs now presented by M. de Klingnraff; so extraordinary both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under the necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself, were she to answer the whole of its contents; nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian majesty, of an offensive alliance against him, subsisting between herself and the Empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, was absolutely false and forged, for no such treaty did exist, or ever had existed. She had ordered a declaration, signed with her own hand, which would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingnraaff's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her imperial majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or, at least, not suitable to the purposes of the King of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the empress-queen would sign a positive assurance that she would not attack his Prussian majesty, either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded, on pretence that such assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty which the empress-queen had no intention to violate. But, before an answer could be delivered, the king had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna, believing that the King of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms some where; being puzzled at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay the only barriers to controversy; and, by the concert of the two nations, giving unbridge to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risk of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified, in the farther progress of his enterprise. The empress-queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau.

§ VI. Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the King of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm fell first upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a fronter, as well as to retain what he had possessed by the treaty of Vienna, and to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to believe the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was connected with the czarina and the empress-queen; therefore, he thought it would be an impietie to leave at his prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxony territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna were the occasion of the present action of Saxony; that his majesty felt it under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects; that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony; but he protested before God and man, that, on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of prevailing for the defence and security of his subjects. He reminded the public of the tenderness with which he had treated the Elector of Saxony, during the course of the latter's existence, besides numerous and seven hundred and forty-four, and of the bad consequences resulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Prussia. He declared that the apprehensions of his majesty, on that occasion, were founded on nothing; that in attempting to oust him from his dominions, he made himself to take those precautions which prudence dictated: but he protested, in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish majesty, or his dominions; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and had taken care that they should observe the best order and the most exact discipline; that he desired nothing more ardently, than the happy minute that should procure to him the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had hitherto been only as a sacred depositum. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the King of Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be settled by commissions appointed for that purpose. But these were formalities which did not at all suit with his Prussian majesty's disposition or design. Even before that requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thousand, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, took possession of Lepzig, on the twentieth day of September. Here he published a declaration, signifying, that his majesty would pursue his intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own subjects; and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline. As the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provisions, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the King of Prussia; then he took possession of the custom-house, and excuse-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

§ VII. The King of Poland, apprehensive of such a visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them, between Pirm and Konigstein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Further the King of Poland repaired, with his two sons, Xaverus and Charles; but the queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden. Of his capital his Prussian majesty, with the bulk of the army, took possession on the eighth of September. The city of Dresden, under the command of Lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by Count Salmiour, a Saxon minister, who, in his majesty's name, proposed a neutrality. The King of Prussia professed himself agreeable to the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, desired the King of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former
quarters. His Polish majesty did not like to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own safety more upon the valour and attachment of his troops than the friendship of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In the meantime, the King of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at the village of Morsinski, and the vanguard actually seized the passes that lead to the circles of Satsor and Leuentsm in that kingdom; while Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last place without opposition. At the same time, the king covered his own dominions, by assembling two considerable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia, which occupied the passes that communicated with the circles of Bautz and Koniggratz. Headquarters were commenced on the thirteenth day of September, by a detachment of Prussian hussars, which attacked an Austrian escort to a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a considerable number of baggage. The same evening, the Saxons at Dresden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose three ovens were erected. When the King of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at the house of the Count Mocinski, and gave orders that the Queen and royal family of Poland should be treated with all due consideration and respect; even while the Saxons were blocked up on every side, he sometimes permitted a wagon, loaded with fresh provision and came, to pass unobserved, for the use of his Polish majesty.

§ VIII. During these transactions, the greatest part of the Austrian army engaged at Breslau, under the command of Veldt-Mareschall Keith, who reduced the town and palace of Tetschen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Ausa, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the imperial army, amounting to fifty thousand men, commanded by Count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Prussian majesty having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of Mareschal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of September, his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with them near Wolschina, where he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz, and its left towards the Egra. Having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Wolmina; and on the first day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle: the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom between them; the second line being formed of some battalions, and the third composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowoschutz, and the village of Sanchsort; and posted about two thousand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was dark with a thick fog, and then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse; but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artilhry, that the King ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer in demand of her majesty the keys of the secret cabinet. The queen despatched this officer, who was the first to seck the door, but after some time more advanc'd for his watchful steadiness than animosity in his dispositions.

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a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to allege any pretext, to colour the usurpation of his territories and revenues.—Though this was certainly the case in his Prussian majesty's first exposition of the motives, the other three were afterwards confirmed, and the subsequent memorial to the States-general; in which he charged the King of Poland as an accomplice in, if not an accessory to, the treaty of Petersburgh; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some of his territories, when they should be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

§ XI. While the Austrain and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Hutsion, where three imperial decrees were published against his Prussian majesty; the first, summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony; the second, commanding all the vassals of the empire employed by the King of Prussia to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the empire to suffer any levies of soldiers, for the Prussian service, to be raised within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the dey, that the proceedings of his Prussian majesty having disclosed to the world the secret concert between himself and the King of England, to execute in the empire a religio-political project, which might be favourable to their particular views, his most christian majesty, in consequence of his engagement with the empress-queen, and many other princes of the empire, being resolved in all future to act in the most sedate and concious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic state, which might be favourable to their particular views, his most christian majesty, in consequence of his engagement with the empress-queen, and many other princes of the empire, being resolved in all future to act in the most sedate and concious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic 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to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanic body, as guarantee of the pragmatic sanction and treaty of Dresden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

§ XV. The King of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Saxony of having adopted every part of the scheme for which his enemies had formed for his destruction. He affirmed that the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to promote that misfortune to the cause of Saxony, by which they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions: that they had spared neither malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where. He said he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or by making a diversion in his dominions; that in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to injure his property or person. He asserted, that the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation; that he had done nothing to provoke the court of Saxony to the measure of hurting him; and that this had been done with all possible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline: that all due respect was shown to the Queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the Paper Office, of which his Prussian majesty already had a passage for his assistance; that he had not made the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals; the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied. He observed, that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others as that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favour.

§ XVI. But the most important step which his Prussian majesty was able to take, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these minister intentions. As a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian majesty affirms, that to arrive at the source of the vast plan upon which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded that event: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the success of the campaign in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the partition should be made between the duchies of Silesia and the county of Glitz; while the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburg and Brunswick; the circles of Zullichow and Swibors, together with the Prussian part of Luxemburg; that after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature: yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be altered, which Saxony was disposed to accede to, provided that it should be thought necessary, in the first place, to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the empress-queen and the czarina. Accordingly, these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburg in the course of the ensuing year: but the body, or ostensible part of this treaty, was composed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public its secret articles, the fourth of which was leveled singly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents. In this article, the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with that the people of Prussia should be attacked, as if they had been of Dresden; but explains her real view of thinking upon the subject, a little lower, in the following terms: "If he King of Prussia should be the first to depart from the peace, he is determined to accept of the alliance of Hungary and Bohemia, or her majesty the Empress of Russia, or even the republic of Poland; in all these cases, the rights of the empress-queen to Silesia and the counts of Glitz would again take place, and recover their full effect: the two contracting parties should mutually assist each other with sixty thousand men, to achieve these conquests." The king observes upon this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the republic of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifestation of the peace of Dresden, and a revial of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the present negociation. He observed, that in the course which the king lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna; that according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the same is the case as between the court of Saxony and the empress-queen of Germany; that an alliance which was authorized to do in such cases, would be to send these succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretence, on that account, to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the king: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather express an immediate prospect of that war, which the King of Prussia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the king to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his majesty and Russia, by her secret intrigues and machinations; he alleged that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly acceded to the mania, furnishing its ministers at Petersburg with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but was disposed to see it ratified immediately; that the partitions which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipsic, signed on the eighteenth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, without his approbation, which was owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the King of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he insisted, that even in this case the King of Poland could have no right to make a partition, without his approbation: he likewise acknowledged, that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again that it was considered: but he was bound, not to have paid what was withheld, whenever this could be done without risk; and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favour; circumstances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a
letter from Count Fleming to Count de Brühl, informing him that Count Uhlefeld had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the King of Prussia; that Saxony in particular ought to be cautious, as the court of Dresden, without having intended in form to the treaty of Petersburgh, was not less an accomplished in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been deceived and woefully imposed upon, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risk, conquer in effect, and share the spoils, of its neighbour. In expectation of this period he saw the Austrian ministers laboured in concert and underhand with the more adroit, to bring the 
Casa Federica into existence; for being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia would authorize the emperor-queen to take some steps against Poland, which, as he could kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embowling the king with the Empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess with all sorts of false intimations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his majesty's charge a variety of designs, sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the czarina; sometimes views upon Poland, and sometimes intrigues in Sweden. By these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, she had resolved to attack the King of Prussia, and, whether he should fall upon any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him: a resolution which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; for, being engaged in the suddenness of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements, contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the King of Prussia.

§ XV. This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed; and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the ministers of her imperial majesty. Spectious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this contest, it must be observed that both are adoptet illicit practices. The emperor-queen and the Elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation; and, without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprises of such a formidable neighbour; but, at the same time, the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much further than defensive measures. Perhaps the court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether sufficient to justify her proceedings, and the loss of the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the King of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power, to take some step which might be annually increased and augmented, and the sacrifice of Dresden; and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confession she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch: and, in all probability, the King of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last rapine into his electoral dominions, and the sums he had paid for the subsequent peace. Whether they were authorized by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they then possessed, and which it might be supposed he might conquer, is a question which we shall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear, that his Prussian majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify. By the fourth article of the treaty underhand to a blaze that soon filled the empire with rum and desolation; and the King of Prussia had drawn upon himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who had assiduously pursued them, and every consideration of that balance which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to compose his destruction. The king himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert; but probably he confided so much in the number, the valour, and discipline of his troops; in the skill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the season, or at all events, to dishearten his enemies, before he should move to his assistance. In this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils. He found the empress-queen in a condition to make head against him in every army she had in dominions; and in a fair way of being assisted by the catholic king. Thus the King of England exchanged the alliance of Russia, who was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the empress-queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connexion with his Prussian majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary in Great Britain, nor as a protector to Hanover: and for this connexion, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by England as had never been given by any other prince of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

§ XVI. About the latter end of November, the Saxton minister at Ratisbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring aid against the invincible strength of the King of Prussia. He had also addressed a letter to the diet, demanding succour of the several states, agreeable to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden: but the minister of Brandenburg refused to lay it before that assembly, the minister of Brandenburg ordered it to be printed, and sent to his court for further instructions. In the meantime his Prussian majesty thought proper to intimate to the King and Senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation. In France, the prospect of a general and sanguinary war did not at all alloy the disturbance which springing from the dissension between the clergy and parliament, touching the hull Unigenitus. The king being again brought over to the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the pope, laying it down as a fundamental point, that whosoever refuses to submit to the hull Unigenitus, is in the way of damnation: and certain cases are specified, in which the sacraments are to be denied. The parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a declaración ion the rights of the Gallican church, issued an arret or decree, suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniences with which it might be supposed it was to the interest of the king to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the see, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The king, dissatisfied at the direction given to the archbishop of Rheims, that the middle Francia, on the twelfth day of November, the whole body
of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, took post in the city of Paris: and next day the king repaired to the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice was held. Upon other regulations, an edict was made; for suppressing the fourth and fifth, and sixteenth houses, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull Ungetus.

§ XVII. The great danger of England, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the poor, armed with the cutlers, who seemed to believe all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the head of their tenants and dependants. Disorders of the same nature were supplied by the counties, and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

§ XVIII. The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England. This was done chiefly at the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, and the inhabitants of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter-quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament; so that they were obliged to quit their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigor of this uncomfortable situation was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniences; a humane unexceptionable measure, which reeceived the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

§ XIX. On the second day of December, his majesty opened the session of the parliament, with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortune, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared, that the success and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude; and observed, that the growing difficulties of the Indian colonies might stand exposed to future losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said, an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and to this end, he would sum nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people; for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger. He took notice that the unnatural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by incursions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the Protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He came to understand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with perfect pleasure on the spirit of his person and realm. He told the Commons that he confided in their wisdom for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual and cheaper one; and he appealed to them, that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as least disturb and exasperate his people. He expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbance to which it had given rise; and he assured his parliament to consider of proper provisions for the poorer sort of the people. He thus concluded, remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signals proof how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown; therefore, they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

§ XX. The king having retired from the House of Peers, the speech was read by Lord Sandy's, appointed to act as speaker to that House; then Earl Cowper moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England, and this article was extremely disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session. They said they wished to see the present address unanimously agreed to by the Lords; a satisfaction which his majesty was determined to insert: for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure; because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expense, but furnished the court of France with a plausible pretext for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack; besides, the expedition was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult to the nation. Notwithstanding these objections, which did not seem to be very important, the address, including the paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

§ XXI. In the address of the Commons no such paragraph was inserted. As soon as the speaker had read his majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the House unanimously agreed; and it was presented accordingly. Thus necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the House, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence, suitable to such an assembly, resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his majesty's speech which related to the representation of the nation; and the work was intrusted to a class of people. A bill was now immediately framed to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution unanimously passed to the effect that the cargo might be forthwith laid upon all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities to be reported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. At the same time, Vice-Admiral Boscawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the House, that the king and the board had been dissatisfied with the conduct of Admiral Bung, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions. He added, that for the relief of the king, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what is usual in like cases, yet as Admiral Bung was then a member of the House, and as his conduct might detain him some time from his duty there, the board of admiralty thought it a respect due to the House to inform them of the commitment and detention of the said admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the House, in relation to General Knowles, was read: that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Conway with his forces, who having been disappointed, he had remained, before a council of war, from the orders of the field marshal, for his behavior in not relating an action which happened on the 29th of October, the preceding year; that the court, on the 7th of November, on the report of the major-general of his regiment, ordered him to be cashiered, and to languish in the prison ofibr. but, after some days, the court decided that, but for the major-general's express opinion, upon her being cashiered, she might have been removed, and that, by a different disposition of his situation, he might have been the more fortunate than the action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the action.
was read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

A. D. 1757.

§ XXII. The committees of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provisions for establishing his Majesty to discharge the expenses of the war with vigour. They granted fifty-five thousand men for the sea service, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen men for the land service; forty-five thousand four hundred for many new regiments; and apart from this, hounding four thousand and eight invalids. The supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his Majesty in forming and settling the numerous settlements in America; to strengthen the necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions, and those of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfill his engagements with the King of Prussia; for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, as well as the support of the common cause, for building and repairs of ships, hiring of transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of wounded and sick who served with the troops; a sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session; for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital of the martyred houses of the young poor children, to receive all such children under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one year, for maintaining and supporting the new settlement of Nova Scotia; for repairing and finishing military roads; for making good his Majesty's engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; for the expense of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain; for empowering his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year, and to take all such measures as might be necessary to suppress or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require; for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his Majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of the North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompense for such services as, with the approbation of his Majesty's commander-in-chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting against and against the enemies, for enabling the East India company to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalional of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts, and for defraying the expenses of the extension of the forts on the coast of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more safe and commodious the streets and passages, leading from Charing-cross to the two Houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge at Westminster. Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and three pence; the funds established amounted to eight millions six hundred eighty-nine thousand five hundred forty pounds, nineteen shillings, and seven pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds, ten shillings, and four pence; an excess greater, in case of payment of this fund, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

§ XXIII. Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those upon whom they immediately fell, and many of them were opposed to the establishment of the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations of sea, land, and in America, at the same time; and the British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependants of the ministry, who observed that, as Hanover was threatened by France for its connexion with Great Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they replied, that every state, in assisting any ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that, if the King of England enjoyed by inheritance, or conquest, a province in the heart of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have to support the expenses of the war, which the Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal, not only to draw her sword against the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence; that exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweet of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred, since the accession of the late king, had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms: that, since Hanover was the favourite object, England would save money, and great blood, by all the alliances and co-operatives of the states, and of the co-estates; and another good consequence of the supply of Hanover, was that it would enable the elector of Hanover to improve the condition of his people; he became more contented and independent, and the spirit. The sums granted by the committee of supply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and three pence; the funds established amounted to eight millions six hundred eighty-nine thousand five hundred forty pounds, nineteen shillings, and seven pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds, ten shillings, and four pence; an excess greater, in case of payment of this fund, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

§ XXIV. The article of the supply relating to the army of observation took rise from a message signed by his Majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promulgated to the office of principal secretary of state; a gentleman who had, upon sundry occasions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connexions with all the strength of reason, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the House an intimation, importing, it was always with reluctance that his Majesty asked extraordinary supplies, and in the united case of his Majesty, and the preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequences; and as these unjust and vindictive desegns were particularly and
immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally, the King of Prussia; his majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, that they would cheerfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfill his engagements with his Prussian majesty, for the security of the empire against that foreign enemy, and in support of the common cause. Posternity will hardly believe, that the emperor and all the Princes of Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; by no means delivered him from the necessity of the moment. He was allowed, that Great Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succour, whatever assistance he might demand. The king's message met with as favorable a reception as he could have desired. It was read in the House of Commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the King of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the plenipotentiaries at Westminster: the request was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readiness did they gratify his majesty's inclinations, supplied his request of men and means delivered him from the day of May, by Lord Bateman, intimating, That in this critical juncture, emergencies might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences; to which may be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his majesty was therefore desirous that the House would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the commonwealth; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A letter message being at the same time communicated to the upper House, their lordships voted a very loyal address upon the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the Commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

§ XV. We have already observed, that the first bill which the Commons passed in this session, was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and floor imported; as was permitted for a certain time to the importation of corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom, duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great Brit- ain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act two clauses were added, for allowing those necessary, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign-built ships, and from any state as amity with his majesty, either into Great Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from South- ampton or Exeter to the Isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding two thousand five hundred quarters. The Commons would have still improved their humanity, had they construed and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding corn, have raised the price of provisions to the utmost, by artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow-creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage. Upon a subsequent report of the committee, the House resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirituous liquors should be distilled from wheat. While the bill formed on this resolution was in embryo, a petition was presented to the House by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that, when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a rate, as the distilling of it was rendered incapable of carrying on business at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best barley and the least of the barley of wheat; that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: they, therefore, praved, that in regard to the public revenue, to the interest of the province of Barry, and to the interest of the others employed in the trade of maltling. Particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage. It was accordingly resolved, that the act should be so construed as to prevent the distilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months: but at the expiration of that term, the scarcity still continuing, it was continued by a new bill, the eleventh day of December, with a proviso, empowering his majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh day of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

§ XVI. The next bill that engaged the attention of the Commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who, nevertheless, did not venture to oppose their disapprobation. The establishment of a militia was a very popular and desirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile. It had formerly been an experiment worthy of the observation of the crown and the Commons; but now both apparently con- curred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth, though some acquiesced in the scheme, who were not at all beauty in its favour. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made, and a bill such foreseen, for the militia of Great Britain and Ireland, was read a first time, and referred to a committee of the whole House; and the bill was presented to the House by Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the House, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed of a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding: was a gentleman, without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a cour- tier without dependence.

§ XVII. While the militia bill remained under considera- tion in the House, a petition for a committee of the well regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jorists, and commonalty of the king's town and parish of Maid- stone, in Kent, in common-council assembled. At the same time the body of dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster; by the pro- testant dissenters of Shrewsbury; the dissenting ministers of Devonshire; the protestant dissenters, being freeholders and lords proprietors, of a limited time past, in the county of Con- tingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of Eng-
land, expressing their apprehension, that, in the bill then depending, it might be proposed to exact, that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and holding general courts-martial throughout the kingdom, they should pass into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than a declaration of such a scrape against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the House said so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be made more profitably employed, both for themselves and their country: and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the dissenters. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgesses of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchise, which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

§ XXVIII. After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it passed the lower House, and was sent to the Lords for their concurrence: here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of the militia to such a proportion as was considered salutary; namely, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments being canvassed in the lower House, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with the House of Commons, and the act would have become a money-bill in which the Lords could have made no amendment; in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet obtained, they obtained nothing essentially different from what passed in the last session. The next law enacted was, for further preventing embezzlement of goods, and apparel, by those with whom they are intrusted, and putting an end to the practice of gaming in public-houses. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on gaming in public-houses, and two Houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction. No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill in which the Lords could have made no amendment; in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet obtained, they obtained nothing essentially different from what passed in the last session. After the bill was passed, the Commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session, when they could, with more certainty, compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they resisted the pressure, and being executed in the full and honest manner, they were eager to seize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and therefore they acquiesced in many of the alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

§ XXIX. The next measure that fell under the consideration of the House was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and innholders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admission to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather. This objection, implying an attack upon the prerogative, the government did not think fit, at this juncture, to dispute any other war, than by procuring a new law in favour of those foreigners. It was intimated, "A bill to make provision for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom," that by the quartering act, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the collector-general, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore. This was almost a transcript of the mutiny act, with this material difference: it empowered the admiralty to grant commissions for impressing for the service, and to dismiss those that were in the same manner, as his majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny bill: consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

§ XXX. The same favourable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land forces and fisheries; a law which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow-creatures: all justices of the peace for the land forces, and the officers of the customs and corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the secretary at war, communicated in precepts issued by the high sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual places of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for the succeeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officers as, by notice from the secretary at war, should be directed to attend that service. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion, met with no objections, and indeed contained nothing differently from what the act passed in the last session. The next law enacted was, for further preventing embezzlement of goods, and apparel, by those with whom they are intrusted, and putting an end to the practice of gaming in public-houses. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on gaming in public-houses, and two Houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction. No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill in which the Lords could have made no amendment; in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet obtained, they obtained nothing essentially different from what passed in the last session. After the bill was passed, the Commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session, when they could, with more certainty, compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they resisted the pressure, and being executed in the full and honest manner, they were eager to seize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and therefore they acquiesced in many of the alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

§ XXXI. Divers inconveniences having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the House of Commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the Commons, not being tutored by a laudable concern for the interest of the wooden manufacture, after due deliberation removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered justices of the peace to make rates for the payment of wages, and to fix the said rates, forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The society of the free British fishery presented a petition, alleging, that they had employed the sum of one hundred thirty thousand three hundred and five pounds, eight shillings, and sixteenpence, together with the entire produce of their fish, and all the monies arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their ships, and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expense than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves still reduced in their present condition, and utterly incapable of further prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the further assistance of parliament. They prayed, therefore, that towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they

The owner making oath of the pawned, and rendering the principal, interest, and charge, the same shall, and is hereby declared, to be forfeited and sold, the exceptions to be accounted for to the owner not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within three years, 12
might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fishery acts, they were then bound by law to use. The quantity of daily shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and forasmuch as many of the stock proprietors were unable to advance any further sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risk any further sum in the undertaking; that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unanswerable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might for own interest be made answerable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing-seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While the committee was employed in delighting on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned, at a great expense and loss of time; and while the war continued, durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks, by going and returning without convoy: that ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shewn that the inhabitants of Shetland were thereby deprived of two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery served to the inhabitants of the islands for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbeltown in Ayrshire might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be engaged in the same with great advantage. The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring fishery; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented in fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring fishery during the proper seasons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any way or unconsumed land, one hundred yards of the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets; and that Campbeltown would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. The last resolution, however, was not then inscribed in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

§ XXXII. Such are the conjunctions, dependencies, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and inquiry in the legislature to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant adventurers in the city of Bristol, alleged, in a petition to the House of Commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with specie of the value of one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, of which money was brought to Africa and other places: and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North America, would answer the same purposes; and the importation of it tended not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation, but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present majesty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London was duty free, was permitted; but its being carried in coast-wars, or further by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and those who imported it by fur trading or by commerce, were therefore desired, that bar-iron might be imported from North America into Great Britain duty free, by all his majesty's subjects. This request being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm more seriously; and the committee, after full inquiries and all consequences which they alleged would arise from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were published on both sides of the question, and violent disputes were kindled upon it in the chamber; and others unwilling in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risk any further sum in the undertaking; that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unanswerable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might for own interest be made answerable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing-seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While the committee was employed in delighting on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned, at a great expense and loss of time; and while the war continued, durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks, by going and returning without convoy: that ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shewn that the inhabitants of Shetland were thereby deprived of two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery served to the inhabitants of the islands for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbeltown in Ayrshire might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be engaged in the same with great advantage. The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring fishery; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented in fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring fishery during the proper seasons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any way or unconsumed land, one hundred yards of the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets; and that Campbeltown would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. The last resolution, however, was not then inscribed in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

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upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded: that the most effectual method for this end would be the total prohibition of the importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; and, in the colonies, labour of all kinds is in great demand; and that the planters, who employs his own slaves, must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase-money, because, when one of them dies, or escapes from his service, the negro is replaced with another. A common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England; consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain considerably more per cent. than is expected in Great Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate; a circumstance which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventure, especially in time of war. With respect to the apprehension of the leather tanners, they considered, that as the coppers generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no man would be likely to debar them from the use of wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced. The wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where the woodlands are scarce, and, where it is not used, it will produce considerable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great Britain, no copperers would be brought up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord wood; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting has become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The committee appointed to prepare the bill seriously weighed and canvassed these arguments, examined the figures relating to the produce, importation, and manufacture of iron. At length Mr. John Pitt reported to the House their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act passed in the year 1760 to the proprietors of the iron mines importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great Britain; and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed. The House having determined on this clause, the bill was brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of hogs, and the bill was rejected. The Parliament, and the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, were all of opinion that the privilege of importation American bar-iron duty free, would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular might be exposed; and proved that, if the bill should pass, they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obligeing the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions. In consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing the sentence of imprisonment, and the bill was rejected. The conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage; then it passed through both Houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the House presented no address to his majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions that there should be laid before them, to the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the fifth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, and half year being distinguished.

§ XXXIII. From this important object, the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In consequence of a petition by the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames, and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the preservation of the American colonies, were bills to make effectual the several laws then in being, for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectual preventing the spreading of desolation, distempers, and all manner of diseases, time, raging among the horned cattle. A third arose from the distress of poor silk manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by war, and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting, that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, to organize thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the custom-house of London, wheresoever landed: but that no Italian thrown silk, other than that cut in Bologna, nor any other throw silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithstanding, it was resolved, standing several bills of strangers, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing the evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to suspend this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers.

§ XXXIV. The next evil regulation established in this session of parliament, is itself difficult, because, and had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperadoes concerned therein from eluding the service of the enemy a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying away any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to custom duties, the same not having been paid or secured by any person being aidy therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be suspected of promoting the reduction of goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein; should be indemnified from all such offenses, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the first day of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner fully discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favor of the officers who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity; Mr. Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for relieving them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The House, however, of Commons, after several petitions; the bill was prepared, read, printed, and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the House of Lords, where it was encountered with several objections and dropped for this session of parliament.
proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were empowered by the Commons for persons, papers, and records; and it was resolved, that all who attended the same common should have voices. Having inquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in to explain and amend the laws against vagrants, first-tellers, and purge-mongers. The committee also received instructions to inquire into the abuses of millers, maltmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the several instances where the same had been committed; a matter more incidental to the Commons than to the House of Lords. The committee was authorized to consider the foregoing resolutions for the purpose of preventing a regular and minute investigation, to introduce confusion and contest, to puzzle, perplex, and obfuscate; to tease, fatigue, and disgust the inquirers, that the examinees might be enabled to give information in a manner more suited to the nature of the business than to the exigency of the committee; and to the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, and partly general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people. A select committee would have probably examined some of the chairs of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret committee, could not, consistently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole House. It was likewise resolved, that a committee should inquire of the ministers whether they had any knowledge of intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended upon in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occasion; a circumstance that, in England, where the people are more warlike than in any part of the Continent, have generally found means to render such inquiries ineffective; and the same arts would at any rate have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret committee been employed at this juncture. Be that as it may, several resolutions were brought in to mitigate the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamour. By directions to the king, unanimously voted, the Commons requested that his majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters, papers, and documents containing any intelligence received by the secre- taries of state, the commissioners of the admiralty, or any other of his majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first day in January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the first day in August, 1756. They likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the thirtieth day of April, in the following year; with the copies of all the letters, papers, and documents relating to the command, and for the defence of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and on board the respective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state, or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inspection of all papers, which, in any manner, could in any manner tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron. His majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the House, ordered to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole House. In the course of their deliberations they addressed his majesty for more information respecting the manner in which the said papers were introduced into the House, and the orders of the House. His majesty, in reply, stated that the committee, after a full examination, could not have properly removed. Indeed, many discerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the war was undertaken by a committee of the whole House. They observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature, ought to have been referred to a select and secret committee, chosen by ballot, em-
fifty-five, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the demand against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh day of August, by Consul Banks, of Carthagena; confirmed by letters from Consul Bertes, at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and eighteenth of the same month, and by the Petition of the legislature. The First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Pitt, the secretary of state, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced, and Escalus, when the garrison of Minorca was amounted to no more than one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege, when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgcumbe, consisted of two ships of the line and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, nor provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready armed, miners nor any additional troops were sent to the island, nor the squadron augmented, till Admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the sixth day of April, with no more ships of the line than, by the most early and authentic intelligence, the government were informed would sail from Toulon, even were Mr. Byng should have been joined by Commodore Edgcumbe; a junction upon which no dependence ought to have been laid; that this squadron contained no troops but such as belonged to the four regiments in garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, and as a guard, and an equal number to be embarked at Gibraltar; which order was neither obeyed nor understood; that, considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations, the squadron, instead of the ships of the line and one frigate, which returned on the sixteenth of February, after having conveyed a fleet of merchant ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the safety of the fleet; for at that time, exclusive of this squadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped; that Admiral Hawke's squadron, instead of the ship of the line and three frigates, to cruise in the bay of Biscay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had sailed for the West Indies, and the eleven ships remaining at Harwich, for want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to carry any embarkation or despatch, consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca; that instead of attending to this important object, the admiralty, on the eighth day of March, sent two ships of the line and twenty frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off Cape Breart; on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West Indies, and on the sixteenth two more ships of the line and fifteen frigates to blockade the island, and intermediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherbourg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada; that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion; that length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there was in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, because the hands of the line were not at that time in equipoit. From these and other circumstances, particularized and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ships might have been detached to the Mediterranean, and that the defection against Minorca was caused by Admiral Byng: that the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost, and co-operated with the delay of the ministry in sending that force, and that the causes of the speedy evacuation of the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortress of Mahon.

GEORGE II.

Chap. VI.—A. D. 1757.]
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1757.—Book III.]

assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty’s commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory to the rights of the crown and his Britannic Majesty; that six resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the king’s instruction to his governor, requiring him not to give any assurance of such extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty’s prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade of shipping the kingdom any ways affected, unless by a direct act of parliament; and suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty’s pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica.

From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, Vice-Admiral Knowles, whose conduct on this occasion seems to have been justified by the legislature. The parliament, however, foresaw to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish town to Kingston, was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

XXXIX. The last subject which shall have mention made of it as having fallen under the cognizance of the Commons during this session of parliament, was the state of Milford-haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe, and commodious harbours in Great Britain. Here the court has found many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines. It might be fortified at a very small expense, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy; and rendered by far the most useful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruisers, trading ships, and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward; for, from hence they may put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water; they may weather Scilly and Cape Clear when no vessel can steer from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochefort; and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very useful sea intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London was presented, and recommended to the House in a message from the king, specifying the advantages of this harbour, and the small expense at which it might be fortified and improved, and praying that the House would take this important subject into consideration. Accordingly, a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relevant to the probable advantage of the proposal was examined and deliberated upon. At length the report being made to the House by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing to his majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbour on the western coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant ships, and sending out cruisers; that the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated, and it properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those important purposes; they, therefore, humbly besought his majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting and improving the present harbour, as the most convenient place for guarding the entrance called Hubberstone-road, and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbour, and that, until such batteries and fortifications could be completed, some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbour; finally, they assured him the House would make good to his majesty all such expenses as should be incurred. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promise that such directions should be given. The harbour was actually surveyed, the places were pitched upon for batteries and fortifications, were prepared, but no further progress has since been made.

§ XL. We have now finished the detailed of all the military transactions of this session, except what relates to the fate of Admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. In the meantime, we may observe, that on the fourth day of July the session was closed with his majesty’s baragouge, the most regal ceremony that ever appeared; the king turned upon his royal assurance, that the succour and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care, and, next to the security of his kingdoms, should continue to be his great and principal object. He told them he had given him as much as he trusted, by the blessing of God, might effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts: that he had no further view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most odious and most alarming attempts; and, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe, from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjuction.

§ XLI. Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on Admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honour by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services by the title of Lord Viscount Torrington. His second son, John Byng, had from his earliest youth been trained to his father’s profession; and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy. He had been in command of the Hispaniola, which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a court-martial, and it was declared by the court that he should be hanged in the harbour of Portsmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed. The court has also proceeded to examine the evidence for the crown and the prisoner, from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinions that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets, on the twentieth day of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his majesty’s ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip’s castle. They, therefore, unanimously agreed that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament passed in the twenty-third year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament, the laws relating to the government of his majesty’s vessels, ships, and forces by sea; and that he should die, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board of such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should please to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the admiral’s person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage; and, from other circumstances, they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection, to the king and his subjects, and did him as a proper object of mercy. The admiral himself behaved through the whole trial with the most cheerful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, he defended his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted; and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend by birth, was in that expectation; but, when he arrived to the completion of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might sum up all his fortitude to his assistance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the intended sentence. The admiral gave tokens of surprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder, either then or in the
court when the sentence was pronounced. On the contrary, while diverse members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced with a calmness and composure, so much such things demand, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court, as he retired.

§ XII. The officers who composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously submitted, without going into any argument, to the admiral's sentence, and made this remarkable paragraph:—"We cannot help lamenting the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under necessity of condemning a man whom your lordships probably know to be a captain of the first rank, a distinguished man, and a member of your Majesty's government, to death; and therefore, for our own conveniences sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his majesty's clemency." The lords of the admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the king, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings, and a great many others of the same nature. George Lord Viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman Admiral Byng, were submitted to his majesty's royal wisdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the admiral, in England and Scotland, exerted their influence and interest for his pardon; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favour, it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his preservation; but insubstantial arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land; sullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were sty to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne, and the sovereign was given to understand, that the execution of Admiral Byng was a victim absolutely necessary to appease the fury of the people. His majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion, that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the privy council to the admiralty, their lordships issued a warrant directing the execution to be performed on the twenty-eighth day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of explanation of his objection.

§ XII. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown seemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconsistent with law. A member of parliament who had sat upon the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the House of Commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on court-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on Admiral Byng, and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to have been erroneous. Mr. Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation to Admiral Byng, and resisted the efforts to obtain interference, he was a member of the House had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the result of a full and impartial examination of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for such scruples, and that his majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it appear from the said examination, that Admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and at the same time very severe, according to the maxim, summun jus summum iniuria. In such cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigour of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the case of Admiral Byng appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury, a species of intercession which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne. Admiral Byng was a very great man; he had rendered his country so many services, and was universally so well esteemed for his integrity and truth, that his arrest and condemnation had appeared to the whole nation an extremely unjust and inhumane proceeding. The court-martial had condemned him on the ground of cowardice and treachery, only two imputations that render him criminal in the eyes of the nation. Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamations. At present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention rather than a design to encroach upon the privileges of the House.

§ XII. The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy, and passed through the lower House without opposition; but in the House of Lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation. They sent a message to the Commons, desiring them to give leave that such of the members of the court-martial as were members of that House might attend their lordships, in order to give an account of the proceedings of the court, and to read their speeches. On the 10th of March, the House of Lords on the bill; accordingly they, and the rest of the court-martial, attended, and answered all questions without hesitation. As they did not insist upon any excuse, nor produce any satisfaction to account for such a proceeding, it was thought they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion for passing any such bill, which, therefore, they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy, than those mentioned in the letter sent to the board of admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were
HISTORY

I. THE UNFORTUNATE ADMIRAL.

§ I. V. The unfortunate admiral, being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity. He maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board his galley, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty. On the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, came to the galley, and, as they embarked with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, and stepped on the quarter-deck, kneeling on his cushioned one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive, that five bullets passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this execution was acted, from the hour of the cabin to when he had been deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

§ XLVI. Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, Admiral John Byng, whose nature's errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been really condemned, menly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations. The sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the day of his arrest, when there was no longer a cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty: "A few moments will now deliver me from the vurient perseverance, and frustrate the further malice, of my enemies; nor need I eny them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create. Persuaded I am, that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter; the manner and cause of my execution, and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indig- nation and resentment of an injured and deted people. My enemies themselves may now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding of my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful dis- charge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in any expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed on them more than myself; and, since I have been without the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquires me of these crimes: who can be presump- tuous and overbearing in such a judgment? any crime is an excessive judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and unreasonableness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved, and subside as my resentment has done. The Supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."
opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak and dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in the French alliance, and assenting to the dissolution of the union and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow citizens, and to impress on the public mind and heart a part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lege, esteemed the two most conspicuous patrons of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honourable though subordinate offices.

§ II. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they fixed the most perfect reliance; but these new ingredients were not so well received with the old levies. The administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, the lea was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junta found their new associates very unfit for their purpose. They could neither administer the state, for their country, nor for the true interest of their country. The new ministers combated in council every plan, however patronized; they openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the sovereign. Far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and mould with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show, that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards his country; and who immediately surrounding the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of those faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obtuse, impious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his majesty's inclination. These suggestions, artfully insinuated, produced the desired effect; on the ninth day Lord North left the cabinet, and the king in person intrusted the seals of secretary of state for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the exchequer to the Rt. Hon. Lord Camden, and the chancellor of the exchequer, of the court of king's bench, the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends; the board of admiralty was changed, and some others were made with the same intention.

§ III. What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lege turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not content with the public testimonies of regard, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present dire straits, were the same who, without offering so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present dire straits, were the same who, without offering so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present dire straits, were the same who, without offering so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present dire straits, were the same who, without offering so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; 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had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

§ V. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be rendezvous on the coast of Jersey, and two

notice, and two regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen

ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches,

and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward

Hawke, a man whose services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and Rear-Admi-

ral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mor-

dauet was preferred to take the command of the land forces;

and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unami-

nity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these

mighty preparations. The destination of the arm-

ament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exer-

cised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with

very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which

obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks,

while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the de-

lay, and repeatedly urged the commander-in-chief to expe-

dite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet

arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to sig-

nalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe, but the superfluities drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation. At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all the expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of May, and proceeded with the expedition of every move-ment with the love of his country, and solicitous for her

honour. The public, highly with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were

impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the

fourteenth, that even the troops began to conceive of a

declension that a descent was meditated on the coast of France, near Rochefort or Rochelle.

§ VII. On the twentieth, the fleet made the isle of Oleron. Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to Vice-Admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either

abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war standing

in the very midst of the fleet, and continuing to station that station for some time before she discovered her

take, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give

chase. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, Captain Howe, and Torbay, Captain Keppel, on the contrary, to retreat and thereby retard the battering of the fort, which he was immediately sent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his shipping's ships into danger.

§ VIII. While the above ships, with the addition of the

Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the isle of Oleron; and the commander-in-

chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful, had there ever been occasion to put them in execution. On the twenty-third the ran of the fleet, led by Captain Howe in the Magnanime, stood towards Aix, a small island situ-

ated in the mouth of the river Charante, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison com-

posed of three hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the Magnanime approached the enemy fired briskly upon her; but Captain Howe, regard-

less of their faint endeavours, kept on his course with-out being observed, and, after a short fire, he surprised the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort strung, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a point. Every one in orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was intrusted to Vice-Admiral Knowles, was

and

IX. Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it

greatly elated the troops, and was deemed a happyomen

of further advantages; but, instead of embarking the

troops that night, as was universally expected, several su-

cessive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of

the coast, and the employment of several vessels to learn

whether they were practicable, or to be compiled with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a sixty-gun ship against four French four-deckers, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprise on Rochefort. This a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook: but after a ship had been lightened for the purpose, the French knewles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which, the project of battering the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this venture was overruled, for reasons which we need not mention. It was not long to determine, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charante. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for

the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed. Each boat was similarly manned with each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when, at length, to attend to the undermentioned respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to ap-

pearance, were wholly abandoned. The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land-officers, in a council of war, employed the fire of their batteries, and, without any further attempts, fully satisfied they had done all to their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and choosing rather to oppose the frowns of a sturdy government, to the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coast of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

§ X. The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole

nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappoint-

ment, conjunct with the news of the reduction of the

island, that the pride of France would have been humbled by so

formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the

national voice, exclaimed against the commanding offi-

cers: enraged at the breach of faith, the officers dis-tributed

the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put

the nation to great expense before they had obtained the

necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must

fall some where, and the ministry resolved he acquit them-

selves and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to

appoint a board of officers of character and ability, to in-

quire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This they

it was that could appose the public clamours, and afford

general satisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriages of the expedition to his prejudice, but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the roar of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that England was a great and famous nation, and the public fame and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament, or hazard incurring the denson of England, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary pre-

vious information, or doing whatever might contribute to

the success of the expedition. It was asked, whether

reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be punished, rather than the ministry who

his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip, invested by a

powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought

against those who occasioned the miscarriage. The bill

converted and well appointed expedition! The people, they

said, were not to be quiited with the resolutions of a con-

cil of war, composed of men whose activity might frame
excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly mentioned, that such back-handers appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron, as occasioned the admiral to declare, with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into the Shannon, if he might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers, sent out to reconnoitre, had returned with such intelligence as formed a good or a desert impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander-in-chief would be his majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and by a vigorous impression, force that place." For to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there!" Such rumours as these, everywhere propagated, rendered an inquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the minister who had projected it. Accordingly, a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his majesty to inquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his majesty's orders.

§ XI. The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles Duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; Major-General, Lord George Sackville and John Walsh. To decide the state and capacity of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important fact, to which he called attention, was, that a landing from the Shannon to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetment, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covered way, and in many places, the ditch so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a fire that could be destructive above the length of a front of two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds near the river, which, however, were to be discovered by the tide, when the sun was rising and shining. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side, appeared, and on the land side he observed some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition the colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches be had him; however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one fathom deep, and for above the length of a front of two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It is true that Colonel Thatier, and thirty-five hundred men, appeared in time of peace; but it was likewise probable that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three years since the conclusion of the peace. The general orders were as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thiery, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the petty council. This pilot declared that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships; that he had, in particular, piloted the Magannine, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, was formed with a three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Barf, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which would undertake the Magannine alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vugerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of Fort Fouras, out of sight of the fire, upon a meadow, where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing-place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no water intercepted by ditches and moatages. He said great part of the city was encompassed by a wall, but towards the river, on both sides, the practice was level, and was only palisaded with fosses. To the intelligence of Col. Clarke and Thiery, the minister added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, then at Rochefort. It was informed the Mordant and Admiral Hawke, to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by orders from the minister of war, Lord Mordaunt by Sir Edward Hawke by Admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochefort to Fort Fouras, dated twenty-six days after theIntelligence. Then they examined the report made to the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth: Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth; after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a coup de main, or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute, if the design was discovered or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, many of his majesty did not require it should, unless with some proper place for debarking, and a safe and easy entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It is true that Colonel Thatier, and thirty-five hundred men, appeared in time of peace; but it was likewise probable that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three years since the conclusion of the peace. The general orders were as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. 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The enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon further examination. But the people then were more sedulous in serving something serious in the whole conduct of the commander-in-chief. They plainly perceived that canton took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he disbarred the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquainted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence, perhaps, might have restrained him. His captains would have confided in sounding such a resolution, so ill-fitted to the want of Mordaunt's inactivity; the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation, than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander-in-chief was expected by the people, as the real crimes were thus stationed to him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

§ XII. Having considered all these circumstances, and every possible argument, the officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave the following report to his majesty:—It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is, the not attacking Fort Fours by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to his majesty's first sign, which must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by Admiral Hawke, (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to Fort Fours for that purpose, but afterwards laid aside upon the representation of Vice-Admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ship designed for that service, was aground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been that, instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from Rear-Admiral Bridg-

ick, and the captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable nor practicable: but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of vessels at sea, or on shore, which might have prevented an attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty; neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's commands. And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible despatch. We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: but as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition, as it was not long before the council was re-assembled upon the expiration of the sentence which it was laid upon in the council of war of the twenty-fifth.

§ XIII. This report, signed by the general officers, Marlborough, Seckel, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation of the whole memoirs which were soon after written on the conduct of the commander-in-chief in the expedition.
French commerce. The Antigulian, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the Duke de Peithevier Indianam, off the port of Coruna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediately set out on its return to France, with a cargo of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigulian were squandering in mirth, festivity, and not, the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the results of these almost every commerce were then the measures taken with regard to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penhieve was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, and English was run by France twice the stock of the Duke d'Aguitaine Indianam, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Ege and Medway; the Penhieve Indianam, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the Dover merchant; and above six prizes of war, by the English privateer Captain Lockhart, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of two-one ships, homogeneous-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

§ XVI. Notwithstanding the large importations of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers will soon force the populace at the insinuous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppose the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour; and the moneyed men, many of whom were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful subjects. The distress extended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service. At last, the plentiful crops with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers of England and the Dutch were enabled for the first time to sell their manufactures at a profit. About the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, and amounted to twenty-three fine merchant vessels of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews by way of incitement to their valor; and the company doubled the sum, in remuneration of their fidelity and courage. His majesty having taken into consideration the conduct of these officers, and the value and usefulness of the kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchant-men, was graciously pleased to order, that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-Haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament should be erected. How far his majesty's directions were adopted and carried into effect, and by whom the enemy's privateers upon that coast sufficiently indicated.

§ XVII. Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, was more than counterbalanced by the considerations which were the obvious reason of our engagements. Not all the endeavours of the Earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish harmony and concord, could prevail. Circumstances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. The enemy, in the meantime, were pushing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by brigandages, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements, was, perhaps, more hurtful to us than the influence of all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had invincibly performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off by the utmost discord amongst them, in which we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudon, after the commander-in-chief; and four hundred Cherokee Indians still joined the British forces at Fort Cumberland; but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wool-creek, and filled it with logs. Every person the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of the present defence, by which our whole frontier was left open, and exposed to the invasion of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. Hence the recurrence of the distresses opened to our new settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign. § XVIII. In the meantime, Lord Loudon was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown-Forest, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisburg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the 30th of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he was enabled to march a path with a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to joine the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole force was marched a mile, and bivouacked within twenty miles of the enemy, with great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs; they brought the welcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest, with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in Legible, and had with him the largest body of the French army, for want of proper harbours and forts on the
yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advice, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax. Some would be for sitting still through the expedition of that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. This latter opinion was greatly vehement when a packet, bound from Louisbourg in France, was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Halifax were fully apprized of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was, therefore, almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient season, especially as the season was now so far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprise abortive. The resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might after-wards be put with intention to prejudice the public against the commander-in-chief.

§ XIX. Lord Loudoun's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William Henry, in all of which he was repulsed, and a reparation of the garrison. But his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an islet, he sent down three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived that, by measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mixed with this number, and, effecting the surprise, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impiety, that, in the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men were unhurt. This was followed by an attack on the British commander-in-chief, when at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George; it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of a hundred and seventy men, and covered by an array of four thousand, under the conduct of General Webb, posted at no great distance. When the Marquis de Montcalm had assembled all his forces at Crown Point, Trumann and his army were at Ticonderoga, he joined them in a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to Colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance, which it was useless for him to make. After a short interval he says he, "experienced their cruelty; I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the large body of men in our possession;" with this decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the Sieur Fontbrune, one of my aides-du-camp. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm. General Webb believed he had received all the intelligence and security bordering on information. It is creditably reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's designs and motions; yet either desiring his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia and fortifying Louisbourg; six thousand regulars would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from General Webb. They even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sent to beg their terms on the condition that General Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries. The garrison offered him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, the articles of capitulation signed by both parties. It was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William Henry, and the troops in the entrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers, the whole of their artillery, and the staff of the force, escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the savages: that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the entrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces; that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; and for which purpose it was agreed that a hostages, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified; that the garrison of the fort, and the troops in the entrenched and dependencies, should make their return to the place from which they came, on the date of the capitulation, against his most christian majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery-men, commissaries, and all employed; that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, should be delivered in the space of three months at Carillon; in return for whom an equal number of the garrison of Fort William Henry should be incapacitated to serve agreeably to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered; that an officer it was agreed remained as a hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should re- turn to their homes; that officers employed in the service, who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops; that in testimony of his esteem and respect for Colonel Demer and his officers, who, in the performance of their gallant defence, the Marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.—Whether the Marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed we cannot ascertain; but return to put pressure on them, as they were peremptorily broke, in almost every instance. The savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the
capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated those officers who had incurable delight in humanity. Some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under the protection of the French escort. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provisions, artillery, and every thing else left by the latter, and even destroyed the church on the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

§ XX. As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately after Lord Loudon's departure from Halifax, Admiral Howe, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. With these, consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, and other ships, which might be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength, while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Motte to an engagement, notwithstanding the superior number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twenty-first day of August, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength, and it is obvious, that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found De la Motte too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southeast. When the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg, and in twelve hours driven in two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship Tilbury was wrecked upon the rocks, and half the crew drowned. Eleven ships were disabled, others threw their guns overboard, and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequence of these disasters was, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southeast. When the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg, and in twelve hours driven in two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship Tilbury was wrecked upon the rocks, and half the crew drowned. 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§ XXII. In the East Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity best apt to command the admiration of their king and the interest of their country. We left Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta,
to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river; next day Colonel Clive landed, and, with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty-four hours made himself master of Basutungar, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January the admiral, with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This resistance, however, was soon abandoned, as warmly that the enemy's guns were soon silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack on the batteries vigorously and intercepting all supplies which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found nineteen pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisims, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the irreconcilable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hugli, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here the storehouses of salt, and vast quantities of the superior of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hugli, the Viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advantages to an accommodation, which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was joined by the Mogul, who, having laid his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement, and six hundred native and three hundred European of Captain Watts, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the wavy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great number of draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage had been than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the nabob into making concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. Admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when properly conducted, could perform. The subject of the negociation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firman, granted by the Mogul: that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass, in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money goods, and effects appertaining to them, that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: that they should have the right to pass on the roads and in the river, and all other articles imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heel up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the nabob's own hand.

§ XXII. Such were the terms obtained for the company by gallant and resolute conduct of their commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently distrusted in their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reestablished the name of British power, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the nabob, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a great deal of influence. Notwithstanding he had balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the favoured of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Murshidabad, in compounds his negotiations, and very soon subsequent to his engagements, the admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of their design was to carry on the war against France, which could not be carried higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be protected by the admiral. On the nineteenth of March the admirals, Watson and Pococke, arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salis- bury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by three strong batteries, in the form of two forts, disposed in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three days; whereupon some men of war, and the forts approached on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys of the fortress were immediately delivered to the English in the afternoon Colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garnished by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred native men, was accomplished by three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all sorts of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel; the Jesuits were permitted to carry away the church ornaments, and the nobles to remain in the full exercises of their liberties: but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the host of the settlement, which was a blow felt, but not to interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

§ XXIV. Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were conducted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which deservedly raised them in the high esteem of their country. They reduced the nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several parts of the article, and had no more time to put the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infracions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretexts, as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries employed him with all the arts of intrigue, and not a few of their European troops, under M. de Bussy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recompense for such hostile aggressions so powerful a prince, under the appearance of peace, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for
which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal.

Mr. Watts, from time to time, sent them intelligence of every transaction in the nabot's cabinet; and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as a traitor, and that he were grateful for the attention of the nabob towards him, within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in the military operations. During these deliberations, a most fortunate incident occurred. The governor of a great fortress, supposed to have fallen open by the hand of the enemy, was seen to be advancing with his perjury, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was conceived for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffer Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commandor, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated to Mr. Watts. He was so improved by the address of that gentleman, as in a manner to assure success. A treaty was actually concluded between thus Meer Jaffer Ali Khan and the English company; and a plan concerted by Ali Khan, which was to take by force, to the advantage of the viceroy, the defection from the viceroy. These previous measures being taken, Colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence, with the cast and assistance of his officers, attached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the nabob's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muradabad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June, a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that braoch of the river forming the island of Cassimbazar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advice from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaisance, where he encamped. On the twenty-third, at day-break, the nabob advanced to attack him, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and discipline he placed great dependences. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning: but a severe shower falling at noon they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which were held by the nabob's army. Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breastwork, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chief being slain, the men were so dispirited, that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffer Ali Khan, who commanded the left wing, forborne declaring himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon were taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muradabad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the nabob's subjects, and the greater dependences. He then ordered the company such extraordinary privileges, as publicly demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French forces in the province were entirely cut off, and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements: a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were扩充ed, the public credit augmented, the company was rewarded for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country was placed in the hands of the nabob, and only a few months sufficed to effect a complete and lasting revolution. And the triumph joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of Admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The admirals fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French, a few days after Colonel Clive had defeated the nabob.

§ XXV. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complicit, and vigilant, who, after the allowed, good the appearance of business or war. Contended with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the spirit of the French. Of all the French noblemen such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in a situation where fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and was fastidious enough to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his enemies render necessary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catherine, in the city of Aras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impiety, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe. On the fifth day of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return a Toast, he looked out of the window, to see what day came to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His majesty, applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! I am wounded!" Seized him in his arm, and called for medical aid. He had only one wound not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where, being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldy answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposed accessories to the design upon the king's life, were sent to the Bastille; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating tortures were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the plan and execution of his horrid design. In the meantime, the prince of Orange was put to death upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could suggest, was practised without effect; nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to a reserved or out of the way. This was done with great care, and the tortures, with such additional circumstances, as the most fertile and cruel dispositios could devise for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Convent of St. Paule, an iron collar, which was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture was again applied, and a physician
ordered to attend to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not without reason (and we consider that reason as a fertile root) to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragic event.

Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite tortures that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death warrant and the usual forms of humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Géron, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by the feet; and, while the horses drew afresh: a thigh and an arm were separated, and after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extreme of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes by the fire; his father, daughter, and family, banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Dammen effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Dammen and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undisputed evidence, that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several persons, a distress observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

§ XXVI. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the seals from the post of secretary of state for the marriage; and of M. Argenson from that of secretary at war. Their dismissal was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The only thing that the French newspapers mentioned was, the Queen had ceded the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of nearly eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Étérie, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the King of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the emperor, and guardians of the liberties of the empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British forces from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake. They believed, moreover, that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the King of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, was destined to storm the French army of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wurtembergers. But before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places bordering it to the King of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries; a detachment from d'Étérie's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East Frisland.

§ XXVII. At the close of the last campaign, the King of Prussia having gained a petty advantage over the imperialists under the command of Mareschal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxony army that had been defeated by the elector of Saxony, was obliged to retreat into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages. His Majesty and Mareschal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirm and the frontier along the Elbe; and Mareschal Soubise with 45,000 men was quartered in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the empress-queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the King of Prussia, was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisition to her allies, for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the czarina, true to her engagements, dispatched above a hundred thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design particularly to invade Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Austrian army, assembled in Bohemia, amounted to a score of thousands; they were commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that though their king was abolished in his kingdom, and they were reduced to the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join the general confederacy. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with six thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the King of Prussia, he was, in his quality of elector to Brandenburg, put under the ban of the empire by the aule council: declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fleets were extinguished into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for putting this sentence in execution.

§ XXVIII. In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity. The Russians, knowing that the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, for reasons both of interest and the safety of their dominions, would not be able to subdus their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The King of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Prussian monarch, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosers from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to reinforce the garrison of that place. He likewise sought the bodies which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security. He repaired to Niess, where he settled with Mareschal Schwarim the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed, that the King of Prussia, with a main body of his army, consisting of thirty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should direct. And accordingly the soldiers assembled by the King of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland, the irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.
land; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickow, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Erza, under the command of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and six thousand more, led by them on their march towards Great Zeiditz, where their head-quarters were to be, and requisitions were to be made. In the meanwhile, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued their preparations for war. They, too, kept up a resolute, not a passive, resolution. All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain at Dresden to defend it, and as no force was surrendering it at all, the notice was sent to the army, that they were immediately ordered the two privies to depart. The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States-general through Namur and Maastricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their high mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted, in order to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleased in excuse of their conduct.

§ XXXI. Scarce had the English army, commanded by the Prince de Souhise, set foot in the territories of the Electors of Saxony and Cleves, when they were informed of the session of the duchy of Cleves and the country of Mares, where all things were left open to them, the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdeburg, who were sent to facilitate their retreat. The disturbed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and every kind of provisions; and, worst of all, their arms were taken from them. The distressed and ruined, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and every kind of provisions; and, worst of all, their arms were taken from them. The distressing inhumanities declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted, in order to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleased in excuse of their conduct.

§ XXXII. During the recess of the armies, the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour. The Prince de Camoiz, the great chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the privates, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, "That the Empress of Russia was not only the first to take up arms against the French, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: that the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the King of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of his own dominions, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring coun-

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trees, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for the injuries they had sustained, but also to repel, as it had been unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the King of Prussia, as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour. With this view, the empress was determined to assist the King of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march, under the command of General Aprixin; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching together against the territories of Poland, her imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible. She further recommended to the republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the King of Prussia, and for restoring harmony among themselves as the most conductive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though sure of being secure in the contest, each side sooner prevailed, they divided into parties with less zeal than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the Poles were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others against, and the latter were assisted by the Duchy of Warsaw, which was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed; many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

In the mean time, Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several several peace propositions for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expenses she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the King of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she would listen to expeditons, of which neither the King of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of them as the guarantee of the imperial majesty. From the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several propositions to the empress, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin; but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menace, an answer was delivered to him by order of the empress, purporting, "That her imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he had urged the same propositions, was somewhat surprized, seeing as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained at issue, and the further propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menace made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the King of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the King of Prussia more blamable."

§ XXXIV. The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily arrested, all the emperors in Europe, except Russia, have always been kept to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end, the King of Prussia took possession of the frontier, and entered Silesia, to enter Bohemia to four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by Mareschal Keith; the second was led by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, the third by the Duke of Brabant and the fourth by Mareschal Schwerin. To consequence of this plan, Mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Guldor-Oese with pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were not so successful, and the battalions of Russian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The Prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers, from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without any resistance, and in the course of a few days, fixed himself at the head of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment in Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post of the route, and the Prince of Reuss entered Lichtenstein, without the loss of a single man; drove away the enemy the same day from Kranitz, and proceeded to Mährendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Patkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some companies of the enemy's cavalry, posted before Cöchlin, under the conduct of Prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kranitz. Night coming on, obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when, at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by Count Konigseg, and posted near Reichenberg. As soon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted behind the trenches. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they retired under the shade, and the enemy's horse-grenadiers of Kuhliden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the Prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who by clearing the road, and possessing the intrenchment, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time Colonel Patkammer and Major Schenfeld, with his hussars, though flankd by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrians horse-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilst General Lestwitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubt that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all either impeded the majesty of the Russian columns, or forced them to be taken by a circuit through the Darmstadt forested the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit, it began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded, among the former were General Porpora and Count Hobenstein, and among the latter Prince Lichtenstein and Count Mansfield. Twenty of their officers and four hundred soldiers were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns, and about a hundred men, were killed, and

b This letter was written in December; and the Romans, as we ob...
sixteen officers and a hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle Marschal Schwerin joined the Prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Bautz, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The Prince Anhalt-Desden, with a force of three thousand labor on both sides of the Prussian army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwern, half-way between Budin and Potschern, and, drawing up his troopers in several ranks, formed a circle round Prince of Bevern's army and that of Marschal Schwerin were so situated as to be able to act jointly.

§ XXXV. These advantages were but a prelude to a more decisive event. On the twelfth day of May, the army of Prague, and those of the Austrians, were engaged a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feat, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off the communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the Duke of Bevern, and by several thousand men and horses killed and wounded in the battle, amounted to one hundred thousand men. They were strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldau, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost improppable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Zsceka, and the right extended as far as Herbohob: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marschal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post; but the King of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldau on the fifth of May, he passed that river on the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving only a few thousand of the Prince of Anhalt-Desden; and being immediately joined by the troops under Marschal Schwerin and the Prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz; and at the same time Count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the cavalry, who first began to attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves. While the King of Prussia took the enemy in flank, Marschal Schwerin advanced in high spirit, and, overtopping the Austrian troops, surprizing his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately dismantled, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly cut through the morasses, crying out, * Let all brave Prussians follow me.* Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardor abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Marschal Schwerin, covered with years and glory, an officer whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service. In the meantime, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the pursuit, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were re-forming hastily towards Kastawor. Meanwhile the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the rear of the Prussian army, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Prince of Bevern, signaled themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries: Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his, left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldau. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of bravery on both sides, the Austrians were surprised within the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians, the resistance of which concluded with the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Bneschan, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretzuch, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and the Prussians occupied the remainder of the ground. The commanders, Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marschal Brown; but they were much harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under Marschal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former were General d'Amstel, the Prince of Holstein-Beck, the Colonels Gottle and Eberstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel Boke. Among the latter, the Generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Fenque, Hauthcharmov, Blückensee, and Plettenberg. The number of prisoners was very large, and the consequences of this battle were very much greater. Among these last was Marschal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, Colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian pandours, and four hundred horse, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed. He also completed the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the empire.

§ XXXVI. The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague, and on the left wing of the army commanding on one side, and Marschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marschal Brown, the two Princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke d'Arsemburg, Count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls, together with above twenty thousand of the inhabitants. The Austrians were resolved to retire to Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed: and in the evening of the 21st, the Prussian general Crausenberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In case an impression could be made on the king's lines, it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, which, it was hoped, would swarm on the lines of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. Happily a deserter gave the Prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. At six o'clock, the attack began on the side of the little town, against Marschal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldau. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were rising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over...
of the Moldau, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Broun and Podhala. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but this was about a quarter of an hour before. From the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of a hundred men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion. The darkness of the night prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, Captain Bolvig, by the light of this fire, perceived the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shout of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry; they were repulsed many times to the river, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. In either case the enemy kept up a incessant fire on their musketry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage the enemy. The battle of Parnowitz attacked a building of the convent, the fire was so intense at the same time, at the activity before Wellawitz. The pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musketry for about two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the pandours, who again took possession of the Red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continued fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and privates, made several breaches by which Prince Ferdinand, the King of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

§ XXXVII. The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Moldau, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable: houses, men, and horses, wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and dispossessed his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distresses of the inhabitants; the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practiced every straggler, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to relieve them to capitation. After the confirmation had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burgheers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, the Prussian general in chief, to save them. They were deId to: he gave voice of pity, and instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-
numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provisions, oblige it to surrender in a few days but, as the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that Count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the Prince of Bevern, but, if the latter took the field, the Austrians provided themselves with the means of pushing the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his majesty should either gain possession of the fortress, or at least have persuaded the host to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, elated with success, imbued in his valor, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, though all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marshals's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteen the two armies were in sight, and his majesty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of the army, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and Kolin, where the wounds he received on this occasion, in their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible interposition from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardor to the charge, but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did Prince Ferdinand and General Wessel return the most brilliant attacks, whose terrors, breaches, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to the defeat of the Prussians, to surround their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The king then made a last and curious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, returning to such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, in the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and Count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him, and the bullet fell placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advanced posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not less than 20,000 men, the morning after.

§ XXXIX. On the thirteenth day of June, the King of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the Prince of Bevern at Milkovitz. Mareschal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed the king's retiring, and determined to raise the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his majesty should either gain possession of the fortress, or at least have persuaded the host to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, elated with success, imbued in his valor, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, though all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marshals's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteen the two armies were in sight, and his majesty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of the army, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and Kolin, where the wounds he received on this occasion, in their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible interposition from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardor to the charge, but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did Prince Ferdinand and General Wessel return the most brilliant attacks, whose terrors, breaches, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to the defeat of the Prussians, to surround their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The king then made a last and curious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, returning to such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, in the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and Count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him, and the bullet fell placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advanced posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not less than 20,000 men, the morning after.

§ XL. When the Prussian army arrived at Nimbirch, his majesty, leaving the command with the Prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen prussians, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback. Immediately he gave orders for sending off his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; these were constructed with such expedition, that the tents were erected, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledge- dged errors of the emperor, were, that he did not give the sure, atoned by the cordon with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the Earl Mareschal, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people,indeed, imagined the king had blamable for checking the ardour of his troops to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests, over- ruo Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the empress-queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented Count Daun from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to the capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to com- plete the conquest of Bohemia. Two days after the battle, Count Daun marched all night with his corps to Nimbirch, where he joined the Prince of Bevern, and Mareschal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before, off, and Prince Friedrich, who had not followed the army of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did not further mischief than killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprompted Austrians received their deliverer, Count Daun, with an ex- pressible joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the King of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians harassed him as much as pos- sible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abounded with the remains of the Austrian army. The Prussians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abounded with the remains of the Austrian army. The

C "The imperial grannaries, says he, are so admirable crops; one hundred companies defended a strong ground, which my best infantry could not in a day do. But he never used double charges, but to no purpose. At first he shot a battery, but could not do it; but now, that he has two columns of artillery, ('tis better now to Brunswick, who has but one.) Only the Prussians have given me a battle, and it was in this battle that I received my wound. All my cavalry were present and idle spectacors, excepting a bold body in the Prussians, who seemed to have a private business. The Prussians and Austrians were not firing at each other, but were firing at others. They had the advantage of all they wished, and that is all we gave to them. The French army were near their line of battle, and several of my regiments were repulsed with monstrosity. Henry perpot
company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men. Of these three thousand battalions were to be Hanoverian; and, in the sequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hessians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe Gothans, and a thousand Luneberg horse, occupied the Weida hills, the troops of the continued states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeld. Thither the generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commands, the Duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence required to the army, which, having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeld, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron de Spiegel; six battalions and four squadrons under Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons under Major-General Ledeboeuf, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and two squadrons under Lieutenant-General d'Urbeg, in the neighborhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General de Haus, near Neenburgh. The head-quarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeld. On the second, the French encamped on the Lower Rhine continued filling ostringstreame. The siege of Gueldre was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising munitions; and a sort of peace, made by Bielefeld, as well as to ravage the country of Paderborn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the Elector of Cologne. On the other hand, Colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Mecklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the Duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camps, by placing it between Bielefeld and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy, who, declining to attack him on the side of Brackel, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on our right, if not to march between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops to be repaired by a second, near Burgborne, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the same time, Major-General Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to reinforce that post. Colonel Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Bückeburg. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeld; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The rear-guard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by Major-General Enstedt, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion, but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the chase, but were again repulsed, nor could they once break through Lieutenant-Colonel Allenstein's Hanoveran guards, which cleared away the enemy, with a determined rout of regular troops, and a new raised corps of hunters.

§ XLIII. The nilies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's despatches arrived to the extent of four deuils, who made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further: in the meantime the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Hertford, without any opposition; the French, however, made some molestation at the bridges. The Afgebucher troops which had been left at Bielefeld, to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herford, and a few days after this was done, the royal-guard corps again crossed the Weser, and sent over his artillery,baggage, and ammunition. At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldenberg, and only remained at Wesenitz having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness reassembled, and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeld, which the Hanoverians garrisoned, leaving to it only a part of a magazine, which had been set on fire. By this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Estrees himself, the prince of the blood, and all the officers, without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses. However, on the tenth of June their whole army, consisting of seven battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Rurenze for reconnoitring the country, was in the neighbourhood of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties by foraging the country round, which was about a thousand, and unused to the ravage of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies; but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the Dutch provinces. If the French should fix their head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The number of effecting this passage is thus related:—Marschal d'Estrees, being informed that his magistrates of provisions were well furnished, his own established, and the artillery and pontoon boats arrived at the destined places, ordered Lieutenant-General Brelogic, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Eghe- ren; Lieutenant-General M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabiniers, the royal hussars, and sixty pieces of cannon, to march to Liebeknecht. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the left of Julich; the rest of the troops, consisting of thirty-two battalions and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Uelckersheim, from whence M. d'Armoriens had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrenberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the intrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth. The mariscal having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeld on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock, to Horn, and on the eighth to Brakel. On advice that M. d'Armoriens had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his intrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and intrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for this army, and came down to the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of Lippe, and met the French at this place, and their amble pages determined to set out, the morning, he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the Duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armoriens, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvigny, which arrived about two o'clock. The mariscal having examined the course of the river,
caused the bridges of pontoon to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the Viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Brolio and Cheveret now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. These troops and generals being informed of what was to be done upon the upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East Friesland, under the command of the Marquis d’Aulnoy; and this detachment of infantry and artillery, marching from the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the King of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be used, and the officers held a council of war; but, in the meantime, their gates being shut, M. d’Aulnoy caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. This small force was not obliged to take so oath of allegiance to the French king.

§ XLIV. On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having had part of the electorate of Hanover under command, marched in three columns with their artillery, towards the village of Lutford, when Major-General Fustenburgh, who commanded the out-posts in the village, sent an officer to inform the Duke of Cumberland of their approach. In the evening they took possession of these posts with a body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights commanded by the battery of the same name, and them having being sensible that it would be always in his power to re-take it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Lutford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up to the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by Major-General Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamped the next day on the banks of the Duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d’Etretes had all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no room to doubt of his intentions: news arrived from Hanover of his having changed his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelem on his right, the village of Hastedt in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve pounders and howitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastedt to his right. Major-General Schenkenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery; his royal highness ordered the village of Hastedt to be cleared to his front, to prevent it from being occupied by the Dutch; and he ordered both arms all night. On the twenty-fifth, in the morning, the French army marched forward in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and counter-marching. This continued till evening, and the heavy guns upon the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lay all night on their arms; it was only posted in the twelve battalions of infantry, a thousand cannon to be repaired; Count Schenkenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field pieces of cannon; and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers under the command of Major-General Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve six-pounders, behind the village of Hastedt, and took all the precautions he could think of to give theretch of the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light, he mounted on horseback to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five, a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was strongly supported by the Dutch infantry and artillery. This was a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when their royal highness ordered Major-General Adolf Behr, who then commanded by the Weser, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops, that were exposed to it, never once alighted of their firmness. The fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his royal highness detached the colonels Darthenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons round the wood by Affelde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers to the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of French and Dutch that appeared marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it advisable to retire nearer to the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of the battery without opposition. Here the hereditary Prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbottell guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and took place of it, and behind them the whole of the French army, and the great force of the enemy, and re-took the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the cannonade, and by the weight of their fire, and the momentum of their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of stockading them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nurnburgh, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover the works, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover, had been removed. In this engagement, Colonel Bredenbach, who had been posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies in all the skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

§ XLV. The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced the Hanover, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition. They quartered in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the Marquis d'Etretes, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsellors of his favourite, the Marquis de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of her admirers and amours, and could have been so happy, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine;
laid two bridges over the Aller, in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march to secure the important post and passage of Ottenberg on the right bank of the river, and marched his army on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached Lieutenant-General Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottenberg, to which place he marched the next day, and encamped behind the French army's position, between Ottenberg and Rothenberg. The French took possession of Venzen on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen where the gates were immediately opened to them. The Duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communications with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavoring to effect by胡子 upon all the posts round him, found it his interest to leave the place and march into the township of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Schleswig, where his head-quarters were, on the first of September; and thence, on the third of the same month, he marched in the company of the Swedish army into the kingdom of Denmark, by his minister the Count de Lyny, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven, by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonnement.

1208

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1757.—Book III.]

though the event seems plainly to speak the last. Even at the
time, no comparison was made between the military
skill of the Mareschal d’Etretes, and that of the Duke de
Richelieu; but, however correct all these statements have been, this last,
which is the most important, and which shows the character of a soldier, ex-
celled all, or at least most of his contemporaries, in the more
refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we
have been speaking of, unpointed to supersede the
former in the command of the French army in Lower Sax-
ony, where he arrived on the sixteenth of August, with the
title of Mareschal of France; and M. d’Etretes immedi-
ately resigned the command.

§ 351. Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the
French sent a detachment of four thousand men to lay
under contribution the counties of Hanover and Brun-
swick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and
Verden; and it seems that in the view of this a military
meeting the Duke de Chevreuse was detached with
two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with
the title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched
thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison was
divided into two parties; one at the castle, under the
care of the purser, and the other under the care of the
lurge, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the
French army with all the succours the country could
afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel present-
ealed to the Duke de Chevreuse keys as soon as he entered their city.
Gottengen was ordered by M. d’Amontourre to prepare
him for a limited amount, upon pain of military execu-
tion, four thousand pounds of white beef, two thousand
brushes of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in
the whole country, a hundred head of hay, and other
provisions.

§ 3517. The Duke of Cumberland remained en-
camped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-
fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy
had
CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. The French enter the Prussian dominions, where they commit great disorders

§ 2. The Prussians, in their march to the Rhine, are immediately followed by the French, who, under the command of Prince Frederick, turn the town of Memel, and proceed to attack the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resources, at all once quickened their motions, and entered duelus Prussia under Marshal Apolin and General Furnieri, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine, can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Brabant, and made their way to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau.

Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anzamb and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of Prince Sobieski, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to make the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian general, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Prague, made the inhabitants give up the place by a ransom contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to intercept the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and collected large armies and their emigrants, and their emigrants, and their emigrants, 159,000 men, in the provinces of Saxony and Silesia; and so disposed their forces near Dresden, to the number of eighty thousand men. But the king, as he had no other means, was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. The king, harassed, and almost spent, and almost in the last and most dire distress, was, in a manner excluded from the empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expenses of the war, and by the convention of Cluj-Seven, he was deprived of all his allies, and left without any assurance whatever, excepting what the British parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that, which the King of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, it is necessary to return to the above mentioned transactions. The general of Bercincham to march with all possible expedition with the troops under his command, to join the Prince de Soubise: the gens-d'arms, and other troops that were in the hand-graves of Luneck-Cassel, rejoin the same order; and sixty battalions of foote, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Maresch Buchele crowned his army at Brunswick on the fourteenth of September, and having, in a few days after, assembled a hundred and ten battalions, and a hundred and fifty squadrons, with a hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfshut, he entered the King of Prussia's dominions with his army on the 27th, and entered into the city of Dusseldorf, columns, which penetrated into Alberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is said to have condooned.

In the meantime the Duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

§ II. The allied army, after the battle of Halleck, marched directly to the Luneck, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbuttel, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, they immediately turned off to the Lower Weser, retaking successively from Hameln to Nuënbirg, Verden, Rotenburg, Buxschude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistances and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war. They were thereabout a hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a neck, instead of taking the other route, which was only about a hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of safety. By this unhappy proceeding, the Allies were deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the German Confederation, and have rendered his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the
employ the power which God hath intrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, he finds the enemy, in the course of the peace, to have perpetrated any injustice, he will, no doubt, bring to light the truth of his accusation by the force of a just and good war. When every other effort shall have failed, and when circumstances, the king hath no other part to take, but to

the best intelligence, whether they ever were really design-
ed to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the villages of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage done to the peasants was compensated with money, though General Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provi-
sions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and shifted they were, in earnest, determined to accom-

The first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered; and, by the articles of capitulation, it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with their arms, the king in the course of war, after having inter-
gaged not to violate against the empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

§ V. His Prussian majesty, justly foreseeing the great enor-

mities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as theirs by right of conquest, published the following declaration:—"It is instantly known, that the King of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, had it down as a maxim to seek the friend-
ship of the true, and defend the arm of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfac-
tion to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning empress; and this happy union would have continued, if evil-minded designs had not broken it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty paid the most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturb-
ances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might implicate him in a difference with that court, not withstanding the great grievances he hath to allege against it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it its instrument for breaking the scheme of Austria. His majesty hath given the whole world in-
testable proofs, that he was under an indispensable neces-

sity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their continued and decided motions to take up arms; even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him. His majesty hath not neglected to coat the motions with which the court of Vienna hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the em-

press's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indi-
guration of that great princess, if the truth could be placed before her without disguise. The king did more: he sug-
gested to her imperial majesty means sufficient either to

excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid upon the justest grounds the execution of those en-
gagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a mani-

fest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the Em-
pess of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unmanothing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the king. This conduct would have imperilled his

majesty the whole of Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. The king finds with regret, that all his precau-
tions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire

are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have pre-

vailed. His majesty sees all the considerations of friend-

ship and good neighbourhood set aside by the imperial court of the Empress of Russia, and all his endeav-
ors with his majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and, con-
suddenly, upon the important post at Gagel, situated between Bremen and Loya, in the Zitau, after an obstinate defense made by the Prussian garrison, under Major-General Puttkamer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Austrians, there were left half a town to themselves, the Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the Prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leinemeitz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lusatia. The king of Poland detached a large battalion of his troops still kept possession, while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, Prince Henry described the retreat, which he did not resolve to follow, because he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge of Leinemeitz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowatz, near the field where the battle of Lobschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escort; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high ground at Lassechitz, a little beyond Levania, where it had bivouacked the night before on their rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian bussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon-shot of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-third, they marched towards Nellenfend; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta; on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusien, where, by the end of the month, it encamped near Bautzen.

§ VIII. The king's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the Prince of Prussia retreated with greater reputation for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gagel, sent a strong detachment against Zitau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the King of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they began to batter it with immense fury, and so fast that most of the garrison finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men to hold the town, the citizens, their parents, and friends, as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into this unfortunate city with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends the Austrians would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place: but in this particular their expectations were disappointed. The prince of Prussia, who rushed in with the regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zitau; instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses in the town. The Governor, and all their valuable merchandise they contained was either carried off or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedral of St. John and the church of SS. John and Paul, the court of Brussel, the castle, and the other residences, were burnt, with eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town, by the emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there were left but one house in any condition, three eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-works. The Queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the King of Austria, though not his to retort, the Prussian army, in this case, made an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can alter for such barbarity?

§ IX. The corps under the Prince of Prussia, which had been witness to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event, the Prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigue of the campaign, quitted the army, and returned to Berlin, and the Austrians, at the same time. Prince Henry, was looking for an opportunity to attack the Prussians, who was within a few miles of the town of Pella, and having also a comfortable neutral ground between, the Prussian army, under the Prince of Anhalt, encamped near Pelsa, the Neck of the forest, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed to his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some great numbers of prisoners and the two hundred houses of the town of Pirna, he pursed his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the army of Bautzen and Scloritz. The Prussian army, now re-assembled at this place, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the garrison camp at Pirna, under the Prince of Anhalt, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Saxon army, the Prussian army, in order to confine them on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success. Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason seemed obvious:—The Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany: and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unforeseen war: because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must desert their country, their prince, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

§ X. It will be proper here to take notice of some events which could not easily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history. —The empress-queen, more imibited than ever against the King of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, Count Colored, and Muns. Zobem from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time Count Kautzitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give, the King of Prussia, as well as by other undertakings, had furnished him with so many materials of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria; her majesty, the empress-queen, had thought proper to recall her ministers, and reflect upon this transaction in the course of time, in answer to a great many communications she received from England on the subject. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. De roble, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of London: and in a few days they arrived in their own time. On the seventh of July, General Peas, commandant of Ostend, Nespont, and the maritime ports of Flanders,
sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British ships at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empress-queen till further disposition should be made. The reasons alleged by the court of Vienna for detaining the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the ship, were two, viz. that at the ports of Ostend, Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, "That her imperial majesty, the empress-queen, could not, with indifferency, see England, instead of giving the successive and final notification of the first, by the most solemn, and in alliance with her enemy the King of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privations to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the King of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing, by a message to his parliament, that she had formed, with the most christian king, dangerous designs against that elec- toral and independent prince. Considering, however, the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the fore-mentioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been allowed by treaty; and declared all such open and explicit intercourse openly violated." Notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend; the ministers of her imperial majesty, who considered her action a good revenge for the postage of English letters brings into the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands. Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her imperial majesty, received each of them a French garrison of thirty thousand men. The left the next day, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the empress-queen still reserved to herself, her full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries. At the same time, the imperial and most christian majesties notified to the respective governments that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their ports, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Guelders, which had hitherto been guarded by the French ever since the beginning of the summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin; but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologne, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant and forty-seven men. By the surrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdeburg; and the empress-queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marck alone.

§ XI. To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the king of Prussia. The advanced posts of the Prince of Altenburg at Pissa were attacked on the tenth of August, by a body of Hessians, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire; the loss of several men, and two pieces of cannon. On the nineteenth of the same month, at the morning, a great number of Austrian pandours surrounded a little town called Gotthe, in which a Prussian garrison was placed; and with a design to take it by surprise. The pandours attacked it with as much violence as they could, killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss. These, however, were but a sort of preludes to the corps of infantry and cavalry, which appeared soon after Silesia, which had hitherto been undecided this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahns, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only a hand-ful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottenburg, Frankenhausen, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Francheon the army of the emperor was assembled with all speed, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the imperialists; the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Strasburg. They were now, in the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Po- merania; and the Russians, who since the taking of Memel had not done the King of Prussia much damage, besides that of breaking the Russian treaty, entered into an alliance with them, and interrupting the trade of Königsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation. Field-Marshal Leibnitz, who had been left in Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velan, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Amelet, advanced against the territories of the Prussian king, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, Colonel Malachowski, one of Mare- schal Leibnitz's aides-de-camp, was informed of the approach of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having taken a thousand prisoners. A Russian had given the Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

§ XII. Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went as far as Hermsdorff, and the Prussians as far as Krensdorff, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburgh Prussia, Mareschal Leibnitz, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number of troops, desisted; and a treaty was agreed upon by both parties, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirteenth of August. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under command of General Ap- ozen, were posted in a field, looked on as the most advantageous camp near Norkitten in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an intrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred guns, and the beginning of every day was devoted to the inspection of all the eminences. Mareschal Leibnitz's army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigour, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The Prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Rus- sian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of gren- diers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, Mareschal Leibnitz seeing that he could not attempt to carry it, without expen- ding his army too much, took upon him, with General Zapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of this second line, and attacked the gren- diers, which were cut off in their retreat; but they were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction. Count Dahlna was the only one that was wounded.

§ XIII. After this engagement, Mareschal Leibnitz changed the position of his army, by drawing towards
Prussian majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Rossa, accompanied by Mareschal Keth, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a magnificent position under the walls.

With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurt, to give an effect to the projected invasion of the empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurt, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eysenach, where they intrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschabern, near Erfurt.

While the two armies were thus situated, Major-General Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the empire, and a great number of Croats and pandours, returned posted himself at some distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but General Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemy with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon this new conquest, and to retire, having been persuaded that they were suffering from the spread that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the king himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and General Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about one hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Prussian majesty advanced near Eysenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly intrenched, that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurt, and soon after to Nausburg, on the river Salz; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurt, and Wiernam: which last place, however, they soon after quitted.

§ XV. Upon the King of Prussia's leaving Bernstetl, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of General Winterfield's troops, being part of the army of the Prince of Schwarzenberg's army, on a high ground on the other side of the Nisa, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the place; but the loss was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave General Winterfield, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the next following. The Generals Nadadu and Clerici, Count d'Arberg, Colonel Ehrichhausen, and several other persons of distinction, were wounded, and the young Count of Grosstebeck and the Marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians, who took six pieces of the Prussian cannons, six pairs of their colours, and made General Kemeke, the Count other's staff-officer, prisoner. In this skirmish, the Prince of Bernven, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Quaes at Sygersdorf, from whence he marched to Havlau, in Silesia, and on the first of October, reached Breslaw, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslaw, to the fortification of which he immediately added several new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field; yet great rejoicings were made at Prague.
rable loss to his Prussian majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

§ XVI. A body of the French, who, let loose against the city of Prussia, by the ever-memorable and shame-
ful convention of Closter-Sven, had entered the ter-
ritory of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, were worsted at Eisle by a party of six hundred men, under the com-
mand of the Hon. John Keeling, who, with the command of Branden-
wick which had detached a body of troops with which his
Prussian majesty had sent him to defend those countries.

The Prussians took prisoners the Count de Louvigny, one of the French officers, and four hundred
soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable
booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men; and,
moreover, a French officer, and forty men, were made
prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check the French
evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while, but
returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a
considerable reinforcement from Mareschal Richelieu's
army, which he now could easily spare, Prince Ferdinand
was obliged to retire to Weissenburg, near the city of
Magdeburg. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at
a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprising
activity of their king, now drew nearer, and menacing
them. Mareschal Richelieu, with eighty batta-
lions, and a hundred squadrons, entered the country of
Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the
allied army of the French and imperialists, being joined by
French detachments under General Richelieu, defeated a
regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth.

Marched to Wittenfels, a city in the very centre of
Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in
Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stettin; and the
Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Liebf-
nitz, and a considerable part of Slesia, had now laid siege
to Schweinitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in
order to attack the Prince of Beren in his camp near
Hindenburg. This prince was about to make a
destructive incursions into Brandenburg; to oppose which
his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his
regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country,
and sent the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau from Leipzig, with
a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he
himself marched with the troops under his command to
Interlbech, on the frontier of Lower Lusatia, to be the
more at hand to cover Brandenburg, and preserve the
communications of Slesia.

§ XVII. While these precautions were taking, General
Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, enter-
red Brandenburg on the sixteenth of October, and the
next day travelled before Beren. In the evening he de-
manded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns;
but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand.
The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs; but before
they could do any farther mischief, they were obliged to
retire in great haste, at the approach of the Prince of An-
halt-Dessau, whose van-guard entered the city in the
evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged
the queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to
Magdeburg on the twenty-third; and the most valuable
records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the con-
fluent of the Havel and the Spree. On the other hand, the
un-
favorable inhabitants of Leipzig now felt the thy the cruel effects of the power of their new master.—
The Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of the
king, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns,
a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This
truth they represented, but in vain. The short time
allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and
all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved
infructuous, they were subjected to the rigours of milita-
ty, and being in a state of great distress, their houses
were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best
apartments, and lived at discretion; but the sum demand-
ed could not be found. Such was the situation of this
devastated city. On the fifth of October, an express arrived,
with advice that his Prussian majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes
afterwards, attended by his life-guards. At the same time, a
rumour was spread that the city would be delivered up to
pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost con-
sternation. Their fears, however, and in that respect, were
soon abated by his majesty's declaration, that he was willing
to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum
required should be immediately paid. All that could be

was done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and
others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were
drawn for in the name of the King of Prussia, on the
five hundred crowns, and hostages were given by way of security, for the payment of thirty thousand more within a time which
was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the mil-
itary orders of the French, under the command of King
Lusignan, were observed and executed. That the king, his
majesty, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, that he would obey his orders.
The enemy then thought of besieging the city; but, before
they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were taken by surprise on the part of the King of Prussia,
who, judging that his fleet would probably induce them
to take the step they did, had, by previous and private
orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which had been sent in pursuit and now returned by
long marches to Leipzig; upon notice of which the
city was reached. The Prussian army was

under the command of the King of Prussia, who
would, had he been reinforced, have been capable of
acting with the French, and, in conjunction with them,
would have been certain of a victory, if not of a

It was by the science of the French, that

the French, that

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The

\[A. D. 1577.—Book III.\]
them, and in open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their returning to Meresbourg, the only retreat which could then have been left to them. In this situation the King of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and above all to retire with great precipitation on the enemy's left wing the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them asecond, and gave them some reason to fear that a determined charge would have resulted. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did not leave them unmolested. In the meantime, the Prussians marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position, and was ordered to march at full gallop. They availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and to prevent their retreat in front, which was excessively gained thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fell on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them, and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to enter into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the 29th of October in the night. The King of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckenberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reason the king thought proper to canton the army in his nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage wagons, which they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was General Mencke, and among the latter, the general, that they had in the night of the 29th.

§ XIX. Whilst his Prussian majesty was thus successful against the French and imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground apace in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of Count Nadasti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian army had a decisive battle, which they determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth, they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred and twenty-five. As the Austrians were largely outnumbered, the French, on the sixth of November, the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken shelter in the fortifications, which it was strongly entrenched in the marketplace, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of this place, General Nadasti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, with the remainder of his army, advanced on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern, with the main army of the Austrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marschal Donau, who, whilst he was in siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being now re-assembled, and intelligence having been brought not only of the King of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the Prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately to attack the last in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of November, in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and thus continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire from small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals fearing their intrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The Prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the twenty-fourth, their commander-in-chief, the Prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groomsman to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner. After some days of imprisonment, the Prince of Bevern was brought to Eberstedt, and there, on the twenty-fourth, was ordered to be turned over to the Emperor. It is impossible to state the manner in which he was received, or that he was treated; but it is certain that the latter, when he saw the marks which it asserting his Prussian majesty had sent him express orders not to quell on any account, was so enraged, that he swept at the Duke of Richelieu with him by the fifth of December, to which we shall shortly come to bear.
place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, and baggage of the Austrian army, which had for some time marched out with all military honours, conducted by General Lestwitz, governor of Breslaw. Though the Austrians sung Te Deum for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army; for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain on the side of the Austrians, were General Wirwers, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general, Kleist, was found dead on the field of battle.

§ XX. The King of Prussia, who, like Caesar, thought nothing was done while anything was left undone, stayed no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched with the greater part of his army to Silesia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumberg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached Marrelch Kehl, with twenty thousand men, to clear the Austrians, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a service which he performed so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satt and Leitmeists, and even to give an alarm to Friesland reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslaw, he was joined by twenty-four thousand men; which, when he ordered Lieut.-General Saxon, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the Prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their king upon his march.5 With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were intrenched at Lissa near Breslaw. On the 14th of December he seized upon their own of Neumark, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his horsemen to surround them, and, as a drum and trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves; but, withal, the Austrians, General Zithen fell upon them en masse, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this severe battle, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light-horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian horsemen, and three regiments of Saxon dragons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to general their own, till their batters should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their intrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, General Zithen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered, and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, moved his army, so as to guard the enemy's right and rear, he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacki

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5. While the Austrians were endeavoring to prevent, on their roads the passage of the victorious Prussians, the victors were already marching. Animating by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, these, which happened to be very small, they entirely massacred. Thus seized, they marched not very certain of their way, in hundreds, and, in their marches, the guard of the Austrian troops, as far as possible, were followed by the same fortune which freed them from being directly to the army commanded by the king himself, which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the Prussians, who had been attacked almost at the midst of that army, with his bayonets, shahs, 

6. In this attack the Prussians sustained the greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it; then the enemies' artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own power. From that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they had always been remarkable, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of Count Damm, who remembering his former success, was imbued to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's success, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, being on the first of November, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition of their troops was more advantageous. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that General Nadasti, who was placed with a corps of reserve of dragoons, should be led away from his own detachment. It happened as he had foreseen; this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy continued on in great force, so that they engaged with the enemy on all sides; but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and, for a moment, seemed to overawe them. But, what was the might, the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslaw, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Czath and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand wounded, made up of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They took also a hundred and sixteen cannon, fire-arms, and about fifteen thousand wagons of ammunition and baggage. The campaign of that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with astonishment, that the same prince, who but a few months before seemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harassed by long and painful marches and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one, except himself, thought past redress; but in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, he was able to conquer the united forces of France and the empire at the battle of Breslaw, on the fifth of November. The victory of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the powers of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage he immediately invested Breslaw, and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success, were at first at first for storming it, but the king, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering the situation of the place, he had already undertaken, and the fatal consequences that might have ensued, was persuaded to employ a new plan, and to commence operations by the disembarkation of an army at the estuary of the estuary of — .
enough, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breslaw surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure, with every peculiarity of ceremony, was carried off by the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged. The magazine had an area of fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the besiegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and equipped with guns, and ammunition, such as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein: the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia, which the King of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate fall, fell again into his possession; and his losses, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only repossessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Trenchet, and several other places, and left the empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, in a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established. § XXI. The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved upon one open declaration against the King of Prussia, and, in consequence of that declaration, the siege of Breslaw was raised; and so that by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns in the province of Pomerania, which, at that time, held the principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, General Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, that the King of Sweden, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the King of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country must hand over their money to them, and to their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish majesty: that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that, no matter how much contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline. After this declaration, they attacked the little fortress of Pomenania, but, owing to the principal garrison, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe executions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advances in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the King of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the Court of France, to obtain a more favourable Mediation for his dominions: but his Swedish majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alleging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of his dominions, to make such an offer would be highly improper to take such a step, in favour of a prince who had not only broke the laws and constitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even attacked, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulick council too, seeing, or

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4 Such was the rigour of the season; that nine hundreds of the soldiers dropped down dead on their march, not only from the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers, and indeed this practice of winter campaigns, in such a cold country, bareth very little regard to the dictates of humanity.
pretending to see, the behaviour of the landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his serene highness towards the end of this year. The court of Great Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maastricht for their provisions, ammunition, and military stores, and the promises which had been made to put the hands of the French, which had before been properly renominated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so: but in vain; a pernicious answer being all the satisfaction that was given. The tenacious and indefatigable with which the States-General had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew upon their high mightinesses a further remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year by Colonel yerke, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to enrage the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria:—

Concerning the critical situation which Europe had been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself that this court of Vienna and the sale of regard to the circumstantial conduct observed by your high mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands.

It was at least surprize our knowledge, that within any previous consent of yours, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw their own, as well as the Dutch, from these three immense and tend thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty is indeed so unattainable and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretences they may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it does not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your high mightinesses. The king never doubted that your high mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding; and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your high mightinesses will have perceived that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the necessity of securing the provinces of the trophe of the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity for providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, high mightinesses, it is but too true that the two great powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states. The late demand made to your high mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The sincere friendship and parity of interests of Great Britain and Holland, and the close ties that should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a renunciation of all our rights. The king commands me, therefore, to recall to your high mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your high mightinesses. None of the new alliances have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest.

In the treaty between your high mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht, on the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifth article, are these words: "It is also agreed, that no province, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve, to the French, or their successors in the crown, or the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most Christian king, or of any his successors in the crown, or the house or line of France." In the barrier treaty these stipulations are repeated in the first article: "His imperial and catholic majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory, of the said country, shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolved to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever: so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the States of the house of Austria alone, through his imperial and catholic majesty in treaty to the said lords the States-general.

A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evidence all that I have just represented to your high mightinesses; and whatever other pretences the court of Vienna may have put in the way to cover the enforcement of these treaties, the thing remains, nevertheless, evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or sincere, if the successions once imminent, lend thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty is indeed so unattainable and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretences they may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it does not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your high mightinesses. The king never doubted that your high mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding; and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your high mightinesses will have perceived that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the necessity of securing the provinces of the trophe of the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity for providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, high mightinesses, it is but too true that the two great powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states. The late demand made to your high mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The sincere friendship and parity of interests of Great Britain and Holland, and the close ties that should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a renunciation of all our rights. The king commands me, therefore, to recall to your high mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your high mightinesses. None of the new alliances have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest.

The letter, which was written in French, has been translated for you.
declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the King of Great Britain declared, that the overtures made by his majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his majesty as king; that he saw, in the same light as before, the permanent leverage of existing pacts with France and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers: that he considered as a fatal consequence of this declared determination, that to alienate the attention of the continent, Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that whatever might be the success of his arms, his majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the King of Prussia in employing the most scrupulous means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of the common enemies. He concluded with assuring the King of Prussia, that the British crown would continue to fulfill, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of all the aid which he could securely depend, not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plighted of the British nation, which, like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the neglected infant, in the hands of its master, and has, when it pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help ownins their surprise, at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of the British crown, the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as his friends and party affirm, by those very potentates that now reside here, with whom they have the same connections.

§ XXV. His Britannic majesty was resolved that the King of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indulgence, whatever reasons he had to explain against the convention of Closter-Seven, which could not, in the judgment of the British ministry, be considered by his majesty's electoral majesty, as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which, forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his service. These stipulations also met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army, in their retreat before the enemy, were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule of the nation, who had been actually disarmed; which was dis sus- gular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth and animosity of tone; and had the convention been formally restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of Hanover; and they were reported to have used remembrances in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles. The former saw the elector of Hanover left by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and charged the whole form of a gainer, that, in a little time of his most illustrious majesty; while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the British crown. The latter, who, in the letter of the British ministry, rendered the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time of his most illustrious majesty, the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the British crown. The latter, who, in the letter of the British ministry, rendered the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time of his most illustrious majesty, rendered the verge of destruction. They, therefore, determined, either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill usage to an infliction of the treaty, or, should that found impracticable, recourse to an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used without reserve. They were so sooner informed of the capitulation than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally en- dorse to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country, by levying exorbitant taxes, and committed outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the con- ventional act as an additional motive to the conclusion of a negociation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose; but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the elec- torate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's de- monstrations. At last they were bent upon keeping that precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general paci- fication, they imagined would counterbalance any advantage that Great Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been enabled to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great Britain would have saved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best sol- diers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of peace for good. But the British ministry, in England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befell the electorate. He could not hear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own particular were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige. Actuated by these motives, he was pleased with the establishment of the Hanoverians pal- pably constrained, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He, therefore, in quality of Elector of Brunswick-Lunebourg, and in the capacity of a friend, observing, "That his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the Duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter the country, as specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed; that the French court con- tended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more; but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negociation had been actually disarmed, which, had been formally upon certain conditions, though the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was not totally changed, nor was it at first apprehended, that general and general, was now become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles; that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced with them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army and his dominions; and, by the most outrageous conduct, freed his Britannic majesty from every obligation under which he had been bound by the convention; that, in the midst of the arms, the most open hostilities had been committed; the castle of Schonfeld was been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war; the prisoners made by the French before the con- vention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the elector, by the immediate release of the French prisoners made before the con- vention; from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and a ship was had that, when the French army had approached to themselves part of those magazines, which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the King of Eng- land in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement. 

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GEORGE II.
to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice, that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, sackling, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation." Such were the professed considerations that deterred his Britannic majesty to recommend the Duke de Richelieu's conduct, which he disapproved, and had recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on Prince Frederick of Brunswick, brother to the Duke of that name, who was by nature and by profession a master of that art which had been established under the Duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the Elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to be persuaded that he and his army were so placed as to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from several of his generals, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the king his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood: with that view he desisted to his serene highness, in the name of his most Christian majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfiling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian arms; but he could not help approving his serene highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorized so to do by the rules of war: that he would set fire to all palaces, houses, and gardens; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inaccessible cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He would not leave the Elector of Hanover these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation. To this latter, and was seconded by the Count de Lynsen, the Danish ambassador, who had mediated the convention, Prince Frederick returned a very laconic answer, intimating that he would give the Duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eagerness of revenge, and in the distance had sustained by the capitation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

§ XXVI. About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of Prince Frederick, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whether they resided in arms, or in the peace. Part of the rear, consisting of two thousand men, was in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorf, and entirely defeated by General Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after this accident, they took possession of the town, and captured and reduced the Hanoverians, commanded by General Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenburg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of Prince Frederick, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harburg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army. When, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December, Prince Frederick began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the Duke de Richelieu. The Hanoverians, called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep walks of his Britannic majesty, with the greatest regard to his majesty's property; the Prince Frederick on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops, so divers occasions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the most base kind, acting in the same manner with all the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops, posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazins, as they continued to ravage the countryside, and strong intrenched, that Prince Frederick could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time his troops were exposed to great hardships, as they were detained in the same quarters; the Hanoverians, he retreated to Ulten and Lannenburg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed several small enterprises by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought from the out-parties with various success. Their imperial majesties were no sooner apprized of these transgressions, which they considered as infractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister from the King of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with his ministers; and that his residence at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by this intimation was equalled by the account of the淀粉 of the Austrian government, again, was, in some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburg, that the czarina had signed her accession in form to the treaty between the courts of Austria and France, and that the king of the house of Bourbon de Liedé had proceeded to Lyons.

§ XXVII. In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth day of November the Queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and purity, whose constitution had been broken by grief and anxiety consequent from the distress of her own family, as well as from the distress of her misfury to which she was exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The States-general proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course, between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the King of Spain was gratified for this forbearance, as he was anxious to avoid a belligerent powers, implying that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandise which were of a contrary tendency, and the operations at sea during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French
privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. The Green-wich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the French, from the same motives as those which inspired themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Anspautane, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and about the same time, the Aquillon, of nearly the same force, was driven ashore and destroyed near Brest, by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeralda, was taken in the month of July, and another, mounted with an English ship of inferior force, under the command of Captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signified himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be accustomed with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and retaining their whole attention on advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

§ XXVIII. These events cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of Captain Rettenmeyer. They were furnished with twenty-six carridge guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from the Island of Martinique, after an obstinate battle in which he lost his own brass, and amongst them, that most gallant and renowned privateer of the line of battle, a prize that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly directed his men to be on the alert, and that the King of Prussia might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the Commons he expressed his concern, that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service; and whatever they might depend upon, that the best and most faithful economy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in some parts of this kingdom, which he had calculated upon to draw from his countrymen that spirit of confidence, and pressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that without such supplies, the state of the nation, and all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves. The time was, when every paragraph of this oration, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been censured and impeached by the country party in the House of Commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service. They would have inquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to adhering to the principles upon which the constitution of the community was maintained. They would have observed, that the first and principal protestant country of the empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted, that it would only serve to destroy the balance of affairs; and that they would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this consequence, that it therefore belonged to them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents; a trust which they had done nothing to have that trust of the nation, and that the nation, and that the government was safe and sufficiently discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigious step, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous circumstances under which it groaned, in support of Detz, whose lieutenant was called Dervil, and who had one Ghent for surgeons.
of connections and alliances that were equally foreign to her considerations, and consequent to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great Britain ought to have had no concern, and which must be the certain and utmost least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the economy to be used in managing the national expense; finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the utmost cost of the service, and the other determined to have the strain thrown used to flow from an opposition, and to consist of difficulty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the sovereign was adored as the oracle of divinity, and those happy days were now approaching that saw the Commons pour their treasures, in support of a German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

A.D. 1758. § XXX. To the speech of his majesty the House of Lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The Commons expressed their approbation with equal enthusiasm, and only the objection made was to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately proposed. Their complaint was more substantial in the resolution of the House, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines; and the standing army, consisting four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons, at home and abroad, the expense of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders in pursuance of the address from the Commons, they now allotted four millions, twenty-two thousand, eight hundred and seven pounds, seven shillings, and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together those forces formed last year in his electoral dominions, and again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; for the ordnance, by way of reinforcement, including bales, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-one pounds, five shillings, and eight pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds; for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds, seventeen shillings, and eleven pence: towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds; for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, for sixty days, together with the sum for their maintenance at that time, pursuant to thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence three farthings.

To the foundling hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy, and two hundred thousand pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds, four shillings, and nine pence farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subjects, as well as for the maintenance of his foot and horse guards, for the sum of one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charges of the troops of his majesty in the province of Milford, they allotted nine thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds, thousands, ten shillings, and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expenses, contingent upon the services, however, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, in the defence of Hanover.

For the extraordinary expenses of the land-forces, and other services, incurred to the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred sixty-five thousand, four hundred fifty-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and one farthing. They provided two hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the coming year; seventeen thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital; above twenty thousand for the expense of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia; and for reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts and the colony of Connecticut, their expense in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, the sum of forty-one thousand one hundred seventeen pounds, seven shillings, and sixpence halfpenny; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the fortifications of the same; for fifty thousand pounds they allotted twenty-nine thousand pounds. The East India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds on account, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a man-of-war and all that expense, including the pay of them in lieu of the battle of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty pounds were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten millions four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, about ninety-six thousand, eight hundred and fifty pounds, and one penny. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favour of our allies, whom the British nation thus generously paid for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million eight hundred sixty-one thousand eight hundred ninety-seven pounds, seven shillings, and four pence, there were allotted two hundred and forty thousand pounds for the support of the continental connexions, a sum consis-
siderably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of Charles the Second, and what part of the sum granted to the first adventurers might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expense incurred by expeditions to the coast of France; the chief, if not sole, design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies and subjects, for belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money, annually inqulled in the German vortis, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not only the British nation but mankind might have been able to steer from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and, thus cut off from the resource of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

§ XXXI. The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realize those articles of supply, had been advanced by the sinking fund, the sum remaining in the exchequer, produced from the sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum. these annuities to be transferable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security—one million six hundred and six thousand and seventy-five pounds, one penny, one farthing, issued and applied out of sums remaining in the exchequer, the receipts from the surpluses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund—a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of the kingdom, as well as from every kind of property and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds—an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April—an additional tax of sixpence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great Britain, the exportation of British gunpowder, the security and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the encouraging the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise; to the above, might be added an own expense—an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of sixpence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be made or wrought in, into the kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined—a cessation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of silver plate—a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or made wines, without licence, and a further licence for that purpose—and a loan by exchequer bills for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament.

These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, six shillings, and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds, six shillings, and nine pence, so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of the House of Commons, whose compliance was so freely bestowed, the national debt was at this time swollen to that astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions three hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence farthing; a sum that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in Christendom.

§ XXXII. The liberality of the parliament was like the rock to the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the Commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was, in pursuance of a message from his majesty, communicated to the House by Mr. Secretary Pitt, signifying, that the king had ordered his electoral army to be put into a state of preparation for raising a corps to the seventh of May, against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the King of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be had before the House, the king, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons for the support of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of France against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the meantime, under the absolute necessity of recourse to the House; the present supply might enable his majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recited by the speaker, than it was unanimously referred to a committee of supply, who granted his majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason. This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the protestant religion

might, on or before the twenty-first day of April, make a deposit of ten millions five hundred thousand pounds per annum, on such terms as he should choose to subjoin therein, raising these five millions with the column, as security for the deposit, an annual future payment on a perpetual annuity, as such sums so recovered by the receiver should be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied to the said ten millions of five hundred thousand pounds, for the purposes aforesaid, and the subscription provisions to the steps appeared for the respective payment, should be allowed an annuity for returning the such sums so recovered, upon the payment of such respective payments to the respective sums on which such pay out, were directed to be made, it was resolved, and this resolution was to be stated to the House of Commons in this session of parliament, and, if not otherwise, the subscription provisions to the steps appeared for the respective payment, should be allowed an annuity for returning the such sums so recovered, upon the payment of such respective payments to the respective sums on which such pay
was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the names and secret propensities of the principal agents and to particularize the means by which they were to be properly authenticated. In that case great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States-general of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable exertions to support the protestant religion in the Netherlands, and who have always lent a helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Northels, who had so solemnly sworn in the most solemn manner, the unpredjudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor that it would prove altogether without effect. Without regarding the general lawfulness of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that unpromised over God's people, and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impair the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the king, at this juncture, was in nothing more discreditable than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of King William, when the act of settlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should be subject to a council in council; and that this council should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation as they shall think best. In what manner, howsoever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

§ XXXIII. So fully persuaded were the ministers, that the Commons would cheerfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Prussian majesty, which, that it might have the firmer constancy, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transmitted and signed by almost all the privy counsellors who had any share in the administration.

This treaty, which was signed at Westminster, imposed, &c. that the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannic majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious; and their majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorized their respective plenipotentiaries to that purpose. The plenipotentiaries of the contractors were first to treat with one another, and to communicate their respective views to their respective majesties. The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain were Henry Earl of Pembroke, one of the lord chancellors of England, one of the council of state, and President of the Chamber of the Exchequer; and William Pitt, Esq., another of the principal secretaries of state. In the
and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by the continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to their satisfaction necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufacturers of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable despatch. In a letter to the king it was intimated to both Houses, and entered into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; for prohibiting the exportation of corn, and the transport of any corn or meal for foreign parts, allowing the importation of corn, datis-free. A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole House, a bill was presented for prohibiting the paying of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary; but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

XXXV. In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Gage, that the militia was deemed necessary, and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily to provide for the sustenance of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the lower House, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the Lords, as well as the lower House of Commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited: a debate arose about their formality, and the House unanimously resolved that a motion should be made, authorizing the Lords, if they thought fit, to give such a direction to the House of Commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordsships desired the House would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the House of Lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill, the Commons hoped their lordsships would make them acquainted with their intention. The Lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the Commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the securities. In the meantime, the meetings being satisfactory, the members attended the House of Lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea affairs, touching the inconveniences which had formerly attended the sea service, as well as the remedy that the House of Commons had given for the complaints of the seamen. A committee was appointed to view their messages through their House, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his majesty's assent. The militia act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarming nature. The power vested by law in the crown over the militia, is even more independent than that which it exercises over a standing army; for this last expires at the end of the year, if not renewed by act of parliament; but as the power of the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective places; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should be refused to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants and manufacturers of the city of London, who in the common course of things, might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their cargoes had not been procured by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufacturers greatly prejudiced, and the consumers in a great measure frustrated: they therefore prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organize silk as should appear to have been imported into Hamburg and Hanover before the first day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the House complied with their request, and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was given to the mutiny bill, and the other annual measures for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to inquire into the expenses of the navy, and what laws were passed for preventing them, the bill was passed and performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance; and, in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were passed and prepared into laws, continuing acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual.

XXXVI. The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the House of Commons alleging, that the toll upon loaded vessels, or other craft, passing through the arches of London bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five, for improving or repair some arches in the said bridge, which had been and were under and the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expense, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act unnecessary, and for power to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges, and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London presented another petition, alleging, that, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had established a number of houses on London bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches for encouraging the importation of silk works, &c. for the same period, and to this was added, a clause for the raising a special public revenue for the support of the navy, and another clause in the said act, to proceed to the whole raising of bounties upon the importation of British silk or silk manufactures, and to vest the power of setting on any fine, &c. The temporary part of the act for establishing the service of the militia was continued under the arches, relating to the power of appealing to courts. Those measures were granted, but the officers were to be paid in every prayer, &c. Until the twenty fourth day of September in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four, a tax to be paid by the masters and owners of every vessel, and the members of the common council, for the support of parliament. 11. An act of the 3d of George II, to prevent frauds by banknotes, &c. for the same period. 111. An act of the 8th of George II.
might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expense, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve a public passage to and from the city, until the great arch should be finished, which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a further considerable expense; that the sum necessary for carrying on the work, being greater and exceeding the sum, included in the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at four score thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London bridge was calculated for the great good of the public, for the advancement of the commerce, and commerce, among the making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they, therefore, prayed the House to take the premises into consideration. This petition being recommended by his majesty to the House, it was read, and the passage over and through London bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burdensome to trade; but this encumbrance was prevented by a petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make it a free way for all heavy merchants' subject; they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confided to the tills formerly granted for requiring the said bridge, they represented the hardship which they and the traders would continue to labour under: they alleged, that the surveyors and workmen, then employed upon this work, had discovered the true principles on which the head was raised; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now a strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundations were rotten; that they were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses. This remonstrance made no impression on the bill being on a motion of Sir John Philips, read a third time, passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent.

§ XXXVIII. The interest of the manufactures was also considered, with the encouragement of maulder, a plant essentially necessary in dyeing and printing calicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon inquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the title of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament; but whereas this encouragement was made temporary, it is not easy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause, relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twenty-first year of the present reign, intituled, "An act for the better adjusting and more easily removing the hardships, grievances, and of certain complaints, of such apprentices." No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor as those that are daily accumulating in England; in no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private
lhammer navigation, and, in a little time, diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. Numbers of persons committed, and the sums produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and left given, to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other encumbrances, that might affect any honours, mansions, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, where public registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: but this measure so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with the desire of all, and was immediately dropped, not a little to the prejudice, the motion, some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countermarking the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates are encumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage under which they laboured would be exactly known. The next object to which the House converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engaging fishmongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and, in this part of the bill, with a view to such an object, enacted, that every thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition. Inquiries were made, petitions presented, and at last the whole bill, being passed through the lower House, was conveyed to the Lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

§ XXXIX. The occasion that produced the next bill which miscarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his majesty's land-forces and ships by violence and constraint, commissioned officers thereby appointed were vested with a power of judging ultimately, whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person so impressed by those commissioners should be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of parliament, a gentleman having left his国家, was accused of injustice and neglect, in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty; for, according to the act of habeas corpus, to which this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be despatched, he was discharged, in consequence of his application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the subject, upon the writ of habeas corpus, was prepared, and presented to the House of Commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It importuned, that the several provisions made in the act for impressing and committing, and committing the officers of the admiralty and Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas corpus, in cases of commitment or detainee, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all persons, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatsoever; that, upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his behalf, and in the presence of the officers of the admiralty and Charles II., the tumultuous and disorderly meeting, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainee for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, an habeas corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted, in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided, by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas corpus granted in the vacation time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint: and therupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation. The Commons seemed hearty in reading up this additional business for the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity; but in the House of Lords, such a great number of objections were started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that House in the next session.

§ XL. His majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling Hospital to the House of Commons, which through the indefatigable zeal and courage of Mr. Grove, of that charity, the growing annual expense of it appeared worthy of further consideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep a foundling Hospital, or a number of marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but before the House could take the report into consideration, the parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the private called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ship homeward bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested the property, and, having, by the aid of some French owners, now presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice: representing the great expense at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the House should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and just and convincing, and might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power, the House, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving the privateers no credit for the expense, or unwilling to take any step which might, at this juncture, embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alleged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, insomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses: but this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

§ XLI. As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstances of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the present investigation. At the beginning of this session, Lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed the House, by his majesty's command, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that House, was in great distress for discharging the necessary orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The Commons immediately resolved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, returning him the thanks of this House for his gracious message of that day, in the commodities he had bestowed upon him, and of the reason for putting Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the House, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of India, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and
reparis of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sums granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African colonies, recommending a message in a letter from his majesty, was presented to the House, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the meantime, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants interested in extending to the British sugar colonies in America, alleging that the price of negroes was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast. The committee, greatly alarmed at the undertaking, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the coast of Africa: that by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarr'd from lodging their slaves and merchandise in the forts and settlements on the coast: therefore, prayed that the act might be reversed; that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle, in Africa, should have free liberty, from sunrise to sunset, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandise in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases without paying any consideration for the same: however, the same to be recou'led at the proper cost and charge of their respective owners. The House having taken this petition into consideration, inquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved, That the committee of the African company had faultily discharged the trust reposed in them, and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit, as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they had made some progress in. The principal town of Guinea, would have succeeded, and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition.1

§ XLIII. The longest and warmest debate which was maintained in the course of this session arose from a motion for leaving in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future parliaments, a measure truly patriotic, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on preference, that, whilst the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper in thought of introducing such an alteration in the form of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of corruption and venality. The alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an enclosure which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the lessening or corruption, to the general satisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by the leal and patriotic spirit of its people. Indeed, a quick succeed-

1 Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the House, that as pp. 466 was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to demolish the buildings of that company, but in the second instance, they, being furnished with the former stock of their supplies, and having by the king's permission, as at his own cost, been continued in the employment of the profits which the works might produce, for the support of their respective trade, and the safe-guarding of their plantation, and adequate compensation for, to great an undertaking. The petition was
change from indulgence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and industrious master, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disorders of the preceding campaign, had, on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any voluntary exertion of the national power in the service of the country. He affirmed, that though he himself appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than Captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (said he,) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy; shall we give them battle? They are the finer ships. "Then fight them we will, there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, the French squadron put to sea, and charged further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was particularly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, their squadron was taken, after having given up a large engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, for their ships were in a shattered condition, that he made a signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unmaneuverable for action; their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much disabled, as not to be able to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of Captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape Francois, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kersun had taken his departure from Cape Francois, for Europe, Admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica, with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their way to Europe; Captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for the attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and Captain Forrest directed his course off the island; but the next day only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoined the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly, Captain Forrest, in the Augusta, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and the island of Hispaniola, with four ships of the line and one frigate, to execute an attack on the French. But the admiral, having taken, and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the admirals, not contented at attending the inferior and dis- tinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one Captain Avey, commander of the Adventure, a small armed vessel, in the government's service: falling in with the Marseilles, a ship of 20 guns, and the l'Isle d'Haiti, a frigate, both French, he ran her a-board, fastened her boltstap to his capstan, and, after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by Captain Parker, in a new frigate of inferior force. Dutch frigates also fell into the hands of the British, with a formidable prize. There was a large number of merchant-ships taken, and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the admirals, not contented at attending the inferior and dis-
all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Léognan, another harbour in the bay. At this moment, Lord Forrest, the governor, sent his two ships near a port called Petit Gouave; coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, and that he had two of his large carracks, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board his five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Gouave, and intercept any of the fleet that might be on the same course. The corsair ran after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; and after the carnage, the Solide, and the Theodore, struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant also submitted; and the Mars made sail, in hopes of escaping; but the Augusta, coming up with her about noon, likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, some of which they were said to have found shelter in. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors, who had added another chapter in history to produce such another instance of success.

§ XLV. The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, Admiral Blowavsen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran aground, and perished; but her men, stores, and provisions were saved through the goodness of the succeeding mouth, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the bay of Biscay, with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape Breton or Canada; and about the same time the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of Commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garrison, amounting to three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and some of their baggage and stores were washed ashore by the breaking of the ice, which the commodore armed for that purpose. It was in the same month that the admiral received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by Admiral Osborne, who, while cruised between the Strait of Dant and Carthage, on the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the Marquis du Quene, consisting of four ships, namely, the Fourdrain, of eighty guns, the Orphén, of sixty-four, the Orphite, of fifty, and the Pleade frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blockaded by Admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthage. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than he scattered his ships, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthage, in which he were. In the meanwhile, of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the Orphéa, having on board five hundred men, struck to Captain Storr, in the Revenge, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement. After the French were driven before the ships of the line, he was sustained either by the ships of the line, or the Nevers and Preston. The Monmouth of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Gardner, engaged the Fourdrain, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with forty-two carronades, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of Monmouth and du Quene. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant Captain Gardner lost his life: nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships could bear on the flagship. In Hampton-court, appeared, this mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Orphite was driven on shore under the arquebuses by the ships Montagu and Monarque, commanded by the Captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleade frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer. This action was fought on the 9th of March. Osborne had of two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain, and the disaster was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the isle of Anx, a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions intended as a supply for their settlements in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their anchors, and make their preparations for a sudden escape by sea, but a great number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rodden the isle of Anx, finished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and sent them further in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of surprising the enemy, but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered the scheme impracticable. In the meantime, the French threw overboard their cannon, stones, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying away the iron in their magazines. The Enemy, landing in the mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Mary's in the isle of Ré, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bordeaux to Gbene, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two frigate ships. The enemy, finding the repair of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was overbalanced by the loss of Captain James Home, commander of the Plote fire-ship, a brave accomplish officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck, even when he was disabled, and tell gloriously with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

§ XLVI. On the twenty-ninth day of May the Baisenable, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannons, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the Prince de Montmorenci, was captured by the Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orrent to Brest, attacked by Captain Denis, in the Dorsershire, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging. These successes were moreover overcheered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that had happened to the English on the 15th of March in the Mediterranean; for Rear-Admiral Bradderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the foremost deck of the third-rate, the Minotaur, in a manner, that not only occasioned the death of the master and two dozen people, but saved several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being commended to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six
o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavors proved fruitless, and no hope of saving the troops remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into the crowd, that in a few moments it overran. The admiral, foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his clothes, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant-ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderman sloop. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoke; nothing was heard but the cracking of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of frenzy and desolation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a confagration, sought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the sea, and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to the commerce of the city. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition: the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six fireships, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of Commodore Howe, who had signalled himself by his gallantry and conduct the course of the preceding campaign. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profession, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion he was assisted by the council of Lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the Duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, and in the course of the siege of Namur, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops having been encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the several transports on the 6th of June, the magazine of stores in the magazine of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest. The two fleets parted at sea; Lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the bay of Biscey, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while Commodore Howe, with the land forces, steered directly towards St. Maloës, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the proposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and, therefore, it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancale, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloës. Having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed, without farther opposition, on the sixth day of June. The Duke of Marlborough immediately began to march towards St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Maloës, he ordered one small storehouse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole town. The Duke took the place of St. Maloch, about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancale for several days, during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers; but, in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Flavere-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats provided for landing were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were reshipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same place, where they were given to prepare for a descent; but the Duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by Commodore Howe, thought proper to waive the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries; and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms to dispute
the landing: nevertheless, the general resolved that the fort would be, and, Tironville, and Galite, should be attacked in the night by the first regiments of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprise, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not get a riding without extreme danger and difficulty, nor properly sustained in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aside; but at the same time a resolution taken to stand on towards the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to the danger of low-water, for the tide blew down the coast; besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, and the tempest abating, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the issue of an enterprise achieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view, namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of the German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a considerable number of troops to prevent the insult and invasion; but whether such a mighty amusement was necessary, for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same amusement might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to our own, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

§ XLVIII. The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season; but, in the meantime, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops, with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to Lieutenant-General Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with Commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service. This fleet, with the troops being properly everything prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the second of August on the west of Cherbourg; the enemy had intrenched themselves within a mile, extending from the fort Eureville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Beyond this intrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risk was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw forward some imbraces into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation, while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball machines, which shot great quantities of shot to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While the ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and landing without opposition, instantly formed on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by ledges, and covered with orchards; and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British lines were formed, the town being attacked in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire begun; but the French, edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piqueted with the advanced posts of the English. In the meantime, the rest of the infantry were embarked in the transports, and landed at sunrise, the light troops were not yet landed, General Bligh encamped that night at the village of Eureville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and inky manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely in possession of the British, and the two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces marched behind St. Aulne, Eureville, Hommet, and La Gaite, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed, in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not returned, and all the coast forts were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed, the roads and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were so soon known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning a general order was committed, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the baston; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bastion of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, which is the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance, it had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were embarking the contrivance, and every thing was prepared for the destruction of the fort, Bligh sailed; and the ships of a contrario formed a little after, so that the horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Wallon, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every thing was expected. At this time, the garrisons were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light-horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and bastion of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town; and a plan of re-embarkation concerted; as it appeared from the report of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, which was thirteen days from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.
the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunoire, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloës, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The town and vessels being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Browes, where three or four small ships and three bomb-ketches were brought about fifteen small vessels; but St. Maloës itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its basin extends above two miles in breadth at its mouth, and has the appearance of a considerable number of batteries; and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channel; besides which there were five pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the basin was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Maloës was dropped; but the general being unwilling to re-embark, without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had by this time quitted the bay of St. Lunoire, where it could not ride with safety. The entrance to the bay of St. Cas, near three leagues to the westward.

§ On Friday the eighth of September, General Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of six miles, which he reached in the evening; next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, in which he intimated that they would not desert, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles up the side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Malignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two batteries; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continued his route through the village enclosed in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnitred for embarkation, the General determining that the Duke d'Agillon had advanced from Brest to Lombarde, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of light horse, a body of picked men, and two corps of seamen. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking; for this reason a proposal was made to the general, that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army subverted strongly of blind security and rash presumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have escaped, and the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been re-embarked on the left, between the two inlets of the bay. The three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation began, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinction; but a considerable number of the boats carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The French troops were brought up in considerable force to cover the embarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers were stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats' crews, and regulate the service; but, notwithstanding all the caution and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in carrying the happy soldiers. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a windmill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with a design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havoc among them, and into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Major-General Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and advance from the bottom of the hill to the bank that charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion; but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to charge with the men in an open field, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank would have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them on the same side, because exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as in all probability they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation. The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic: they faltered, they broke; and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great caracasse. General Dury being dangerously wounded, Dury being dangerously wounded, the enemy, where he persisted; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered or cut a conside, rate distance in the water by a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havoc was more-
over increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed; but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and procuring refreshment for the vanquished.-But one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution.-The conduct of the French was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war has subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and proceed without seriously abating from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading army will always find his accentuated by the insight he takes the soldiers, and even form friendships among them; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire or draft-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers; discover breaches, bridges, roads, and defiles, and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and hushing the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such innovations will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best, is but a pitiable way of carrying on war: and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debased by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanliness; and, as an exterior custom, their dress; they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty; they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner; under a divided and disorderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element: nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unsatisfied peasants. Their duty on such occasions is to be the least unmanly part of a soldier's office; namely, to run, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and are employed in such a manner that the officers, who should superintend them, are not only unable to prevent these excesses, but are often themselves in a state of as great disorder as themselves, and procuring refreshment for the soldi
the English privates swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained.

In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers as merchants, at this time, and conspired and ruffled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domesties belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the court of Denmark, had three times sucessively by the crews of three different privates, who forced the hatch, rummaged the hold, broke open and ruffled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and threatened him with violence, extorted money with threats and promises, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promised, in the gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

§ 11. The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable trade, not only in taking the fair advantage of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar plantations. It was with designs of France to purchase the French privates. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and they had reason to believe their design too frequent succeeded.

A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some were tried with insolvency and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English, for, having by these captures, violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the United Provinces, the subjects and monstirons were made to the English ministry, who expostulated, in their turn, with the deputies of the States-general; and the two nations were infamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, represented, that the king, his master, could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies; that he could not expect his subjects, by whom they were so nearly connected with his subjects, would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the crown. The States were sensible of the justice of these articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his majesty's abstinence of the violence which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them that his British majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

§ 111. These professions of esteem and affection were not attended with the observance of the sentiment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen and stir up the animosity of the English. The French Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation; while, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had sustained from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect. Such was the memorial delivered by the Count D'Auffray, intimating that the empress-queen being unable to receive the commission for acting alone, and actually defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Neu-

port; and applied to the French king, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her imperial majesty think proper. The spirit of the Dutch adventurers, and their pretences with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States-general, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violations and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privates on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their high mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two sources of the power and greatness of the Dutch nation. Should they offer to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the princess governante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France, against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, with equal doubt, her work was equally of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Expedition against Senegal. § II. Fort Louis and Senegal taken. § III. Unsuccessful attempt upon Goree. § IV. Expedition in Cape Breton. § V. Louisbourg taken. § VI. And St. John's. § VII. Unsuccessful attempt upon Terendring. § VIII. Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English. § IX. Brigadier Forbes takes Fort de Quenes. § X. Goree taken. § XI. Shipwreck of Captain Hector. § XII. General exploit of Captain Tyrell. § XIII. Transportation in the East Indies. § XIV. Fort St. Rasulp taken by the French. § XV. Second engagement between Adam Popovce and M. d'Affree. § XVI. Progress of M. Lally. § XVII. Transports of the enemy on the continent of Europe. § XVIII. King of Prussia raises contributions in Germany, and the declaration of the War of the Thirteen. § XIX. State of the armies on the continent. § XX. French king changes the administration of Hanover. § XXI. Peace of Dresden and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. § XXII. Treaty between the French king and the Duke of Orleans. § XXIII. General council against the Elector of Hanover and others. § XXIV. Frenchланк takes the Duke of Brissac. § XXV. The Duke of Berwick and the Duke of Richelieu recalled. General conduct of the Duke de Bourdeaux. § XXVI. French navy off making a junction to drive the Dutch. § XXVII. Hoya and Mundin. § XXVIII. Prince Frederick destroys the French at Clovelly, and takes Duke de Bourdeaux. § XXIX. The French are unsuccessful in their attempt on the coast of the Baltic. § XXX. Death of the Duke of Marlborough. § XXXI. Occupation of the North sea islands by the French. § XXXII. He retires Moravia, and invades Olmuts. § XXXIII. He is obliged to raise the siege, and retire unto Bohemia, where he takes Kremersgard. § XXXIV. Progress of the Russians. § XXXV. King of Prussia destroys the fleet of the French at Zorren. § XXXVI. Expedition to Silesia ordered by the Austrians at Heilbruck. § XXXVII. He returns to Silesia. § XXXVIII. Suburbs of Dresden burnt by the Prussian general. § XXXIX. King of Prussia crosses the river Neisse, and relates their designs. § XL. Inhabitants of Saxony gravely oppressed. § XLI. Progress of the Swedes in Pomerania. § XLII. Prince Charles of Saxony elected Duke of Courland. § XLIII. France declared the chief mercantile to the court of the empire. § XLIV. Death of Pope Benedict. § XLV. King of France accepts the title of Protector of the French ministry. § XLVI. Conduct of the King of Denmark. § XLVII. Ambassadors to the court of the king of Naples. § XLIX. Conferences between the British ambassador and the States-general. § L. Further proceedings.

§ 1. The whole strength of Great Britain, A. D. 1728. was afterwards increased by the petty descents upon the coasts of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole coast of Africa, from Senegal to Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up the coast, and fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gun-senega, of which a great
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quantities is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it in France, and paid in excise-pieces for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a study of the commerce of the coast of Senegal, and, on making an adjournment of the commerce, and contrived a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moonsh King of Leghembu. He found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, which was an important part of the strategy, and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the king of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britanian major's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantages that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw other important consequences of an extensive trade, in a country, which, over and above the important nature of the articles, such as gold dust, elephants' teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergis, and caviar. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, Mr. Cumming formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming, to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of six hundred land forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the lords of the admiralty allotted two hundred marines only for this service. After repeated solicitation, he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two busses, and make an attempt upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary weather until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable part of the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprise. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by Major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as principal director and promoter of the expedition. This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming landed, proceeded in the sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal treaty made in the Arabian language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neigh-

bours, called the Diable Moors; and the queen dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Fort Louis; but she assured him, that, should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the meantime, one of the chiefs, called Prince Amur, despatched a messenger to the king, with a letter in which he declared he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops, and that, in his opinion, the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army. By this means, Mr. Cumming, with the French and three hundred English, arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the thirtieth day of April, he was a bed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road at the mouth of the river, and here he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the mouth of the river, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of two small frigates and a sloop. The enemy cut off the guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, Captain Millar, of the London buss, seized the opportunity, and immediately dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the busses and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached shore, where they formed a little band, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels: so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they had their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising the intrenchment, and部份ing the ships, the enemy submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

§ 5. While the expeditions were in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After some hesitation, Captain Marsh and Major Mason agreed. That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandise and unconfined treasure should be delivered up to the receivers, and all the forts, storehouses, and the expeditions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation was signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have the like security. This was agreed upon by all to any other part of the country. The Captains Camp-

a The same natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of the gum Coast, and called in maps, the Cape of Good Hope and indies.

b In this occasion Mr. Cumming may be seen to have acted directly contrary to the views and principles of the society, a body of men who never declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes must be accomplished without the assistance of the society. He was not only by no means acquainted himself about them. He also desired, let the consequences be what it might, his brotherhood should not be changeable with what was his own single act. If it was the first military scheme of
bell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that the garrison was left without notice. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the champaign; but no notice was taken of their message. The reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort-Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last. Keppel, in the batteries, and some pieces of cannon, in the immediate capital town. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French direct general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. The request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort-Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had embarked. The French, seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and Major Mason took possession of the fort. The houses, and most of the pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandise to a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty; the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous deputies, presented, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent aegreos and mulattoes, settled at Senegal, amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factors, Bastide and Gabarus, the latter suffered nine hundred miles further up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition was in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

§ III. Fort-Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the river, and to protect and distract the enemy, it was deemed necessary to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and stored, and loaded into three thousand and five hundred ships, for the West Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced, and in that case, the nation would have gained the considerable expense of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel. At present, the ships by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition returned in a manner most disagreeable, though the muscarine was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

§ IV. Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, that only had not approach the fort till three in the morning, the conduct of Brigadier-General Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort Du Quene, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison in Canada, in the reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-General Amherst being joined by Admiral Hood, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the last day of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, opposite the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line, and five frigates, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English ships. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions expressed in such a manner, as to be thought unable to resist the attack. All the magazines were blown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places, which could not be properly secured; and in one of these the English troops were disembarked. The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembee, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats, before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time the two other divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the Brigadiers Whittmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide the enemy's attention, and distract the enemy's fire. The enemy was completely taken in the rear, and the surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries, which did considerable execution, Brigadier Wolfe purposed his point with admirable composure and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eagerness and alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also; but without an obdurate opposition; and the stores, with the artilleries, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements on this boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which was very marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp and works, and the establishment of the stores of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely.

§ V. The governor of Louisbourg, having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well-directed, was maintained against these posts, and they works from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour; and the Apollo, of fifty guns; the Chervis, Birca, Eidele, Diana, and Echon frigates.
divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the meantime Brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Light-house point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of June, the Echo, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers after having escaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ship the admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the Comete had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, the English used to send over the immediate command and inspection of General Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under Brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazement, and grippingly incommenced the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the Entrepreneante, Capricieux, and Celebre, were set on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes; so that none remained but the Prudent and Debenarue, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached from the harbour under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musketry; and boarded the enemy sword in hand.

The Prudent, being a gound, was set on fire, and destroyed; but the other vessel was seized by the English, and thus was the triumph of the siege. In the prosecution of the siege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon and other implements, with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance, till, at length, their shipping being all taken and destroyed, the casue, ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered useless, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Port Mahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might now morning expect a general assault by the shipping under Admiral Boscawen. The Chevalier Ducruet, permed at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than consent, defend his post, and stand an assault, which the admiral and general of the colony presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July, by a capitulation, signed by Major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms, and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus at the expense of about four hundred men, killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg: in which the victory found two hundred and twenty-two pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms; but the garrison was joined with the seamen, marines, and other mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England.

The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the English, who had been attention of so many considerable ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel despatched for that purpose, with Captain Amherst, brother to the commander; who was intrusted with eleven pieces of colour taken at Louisbourg: these were, by his majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

§ VI. After the reduction of Cape Breton, some ships were detached with a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, since the beginning of the war, supplied Quebec with a great quantity of provisions. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Newfoundland fled for shelter from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted to the king's arms, loaded with the deathless and the session of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a large present of goods. The town and the fort was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

§ VII. The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquer of Louisbourg and St. John was not a little checked by the disaster which befell the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of General Abercrombie, and the loss of the fort of the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief object of his enterprise, with a view to secure the frontiers of the British colonies, ready for a passage for the winter, and the conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the lake George, in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred boats, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the proposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. With the advantage of this success, the British were situated on a tongue of land, extending between lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded by water and woods, where they were supplied with a morass. The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced posts, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of a regular progression or passing-five white boats being extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe, being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment which likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and, a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, taken prisoners, and from the destruction of two taken prisoners, including five officers. This party advanced, after the loss of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unhesitatingly regretted, as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner in his career, ac-

I may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which Admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expense to the nation, which Louis-

bourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the
tivity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiers by his generosity, awakened by manners, and engagements.

The general, however, the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it advisable to march back to the landing-place, where they reached about eight in the morning. Then he de-

terred Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formerly proposed; and Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, just where it takes its origin from the lake Ontario.

To the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaux, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenae, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was unconsidered and ill contrived; nevertheless, it consisted of fifty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, and an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, and to prevent the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levis, on his enterprise against the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which earned eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whether he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenae, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and provisions, more than was contained in one consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the lake Ontario, and grievously harassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward.

Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centred at Fronte-

nae, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thou-

sand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the acquisition of the latter, that British traders, from their number of the enemy, sold at three times the price of the same articles in France, loaded with the expense of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Lawrence.

§ IX. In all probability, the destruction of Fort Frontenae facilitated the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, intrusted to the conduct of Brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia to the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, encum-

be reinforced in his turn; for General Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, where he left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted. Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, with six companies of the royal Americans, with the batteaux, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had also abandoned. The general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where, he understood from the prisoners, the enemy had assembled eight batteaux, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a for-
midable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been de-
Queene, and advanced Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles further to a place called Lyl-Henning, this officer detached Major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very severe action began, which the English, from among their dead for three hours against cruel odds, but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyl-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred killed and taken; in which was Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Queene, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, Brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the prospect of a step, disabled and abanoned the fort and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed hearty to renounce their connections with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of its Britanic majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the defences at Engeon Duque, in consequence of Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat he found near Lyl-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania: but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigue of the service. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this part of Great Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of the continent of America; the reader will be convinced that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighborhood of Fort du Queene, the conduct of Great Britain secured many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of the continent of America, and conquest of all Canada. In the meantime, the Admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they desirous to the westward coast, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

§ X. The conquest of the French settlement in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilst France still kept possession of the island of Gooee, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa by the reduction of this fortress. For that purpose Commodore Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb vessels, and some transports, having on board seventy-two hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by Colonel Worgie, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Gooee in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Gooee is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the palace fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inaccessible, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island: and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French of 8000 men, under the command of M. de St. John de la Motte, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed along-side of the different vessels, were stationed, and the ships weighed on the twenty-second of November, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the garrison concluded that all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but he was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the ships lost not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed. The French were so incomparably more wounded that their wounded was very inconceivable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprise in loud clamour and shouts, and were engaged with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hooted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the meantime, the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Senegal was in the first instance set free with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandise, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being too far distant, the commodore, Major Newton, together with three ships for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalo kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage, being discharged in three cartel vessels to the commodore; set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort-Louis with the rest of the troops, under Colonel Worgie, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the King of Leghville: but was not allowed to partake of the bonfire set up in great humour, or maintain the disposition he professed to favour the commerce of Great Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations, and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of his subjects.

§ XI. Commodore Keppel having reduced Gooee, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed. This expedition was considered as one of the most important adventures in the war, and was much talked of; but was at the same time reproved by some, who thought the command of the commodore was not in the right disposition: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connexion.

§ XII. The incidents of the war that happened in the West Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the number of prizes of Jamaica, where Admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to the conduct and situation of that place. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship, the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and
destroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but its valor appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship, the Buckingham, by Commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward islands, he fell in with the Weasel sloop, commanded by Captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadalupe. The engagement was immediately discovered, where they engaged in a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrell immediately gave chase with all the sail he could bear; but he was so much hindered by the number of ships he had to engage, that he was forced to leave off, received a broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrell ordered his commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chasers, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes taking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came alongside of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a broadside, which did not produce any considerable effect, but was answered, with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrell was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand: so that, being entirely disabled, he could neither order nor direct the conduct of the ship, his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against four enemy's ships; and the officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, piled his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French ship of the second rate, and force her to strike. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, piled his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French ship of the second rate, and force her to strike. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, piled his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French ship of the second rate, and force her to strike.
was mortally wounded in a rally at the siege of Madras. Admiral Pocokoe, having, to the best of his power, repaired the damaged and the sail again set the whole squadron in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirteenth day of the month of July, the Pocokoe sloop, being plundered, and the French squadron stood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that the admiral's was surprised to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth of July, he sailed a third time in quest of M. d'Apêche, and in two days perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They did not sooner descried him advancing than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apêche set fire to sail and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running ght in a very irregular line. The British admiral then signalled the general chase, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and so they escaped, and the sail there joined to them. They were escaped, by favour of the night, into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocokoe anchored with his squadron off Carcar, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisturbed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including Commodore Stevens and Captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French squadron amounted, according to reports, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the Eng- lish admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

§ XV. Mr. Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's, resolved to extort a sum of money from the King of Tanjore, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain sum, which had never been paid, and was matched with a body of three thousand men into the do- minions of Tanjore, and demanded seventy-two, which was extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Naccare, a trading town of the sea-coast, and afterwards advanced to the capital; but he had pur- chased the siege till a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the King of Tanjore, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carail about the middle of August, and from hence retired with his army towards the end of September. He afterwards cantonned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the inci- dents of the succeeding year. In the meantime, the land- forces belonging to the East India company were so much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

§ XVI. Having particularized the events of the war which has taken place this year in Europe, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British force. While in the West, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit, and to defend a foreign elector, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immeasurable sum of money, from whence she obtained not the smallest benefit, and whose services were not necessary to the support of the French government, she has been nearly engaged in those of the Swedes, who, from the defection of her allies, have been left to bear the brunt of the French army. Both Empresses had been engaged in a sort of civil war, and the disaffection of the emperor of Russia to his mother, and the changes in the coalition and in the disposition of her forces, have rendered it difficult if not impossible for the British government to form a plan to secure her victories. The Radetzky, who had been so long the enemy of Austria, has now turned his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning any provisions of fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.
of January they had evacuated all Prussian Pomerania, and Leewaladt invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pom- erania, except Stralsund and the island of Rugen, and pos- sesses himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected. The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breis- lau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantonized, the head-quarters being fixed at Koniggratz. The King of Prussia, having clothed all the troops of the most christian monarch to the campaign, to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The Breislau business was settled at the town of Schweinitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantonised in the neighbourhood of Breislau, to penetrate into the Austrian or Silesian territory. To John Faida, or his attorneys; that the magistrates of the towns, districts, and common- alities, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faida, or his attorneys, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, dis- tricts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-Seven, France had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the 23rd of March 1712. France inten- ded to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in the purchasing places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree above mentioned, the administration of John Faida extended to the countries which might here- after be conquered; and as at no time neither in a large, nor considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He justified these pro- ceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practised the same, and had even conquered the country of his allies; but bow the practice of his declared enemies, in the countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of protector of the protestant religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to his dominion, not, as promised to remove thereof, and to settle his dominions in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependents; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the Duc de Deuxponts, in behalf of the royal pretender, the landgrave, the plan of a treaty found on the following conditions: The landgrave, having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the king and his allies; and give no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote, in the general or particular assemblies of the empire, against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contribu- tions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all that is supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for wareike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the King of France should confirm all that the Electors, Princes, and Rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of

Spokoenen and Villeneu, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.
assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the emperor and the empress-queen, that in consideration of the immense losses and his most serious suffering, and of the French invasion of his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arms and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the interest due by him, and the passage money of the troops, and if, in renovation of this convention, the states of his sovereign should be attacked, his most Christian Majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours. This negotiation was carried on the due respect of the reading upon the resolution of the Diet, and if he be not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had been led with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his averring prejudice, the interests of Great Britain: but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most unimportant, expedients might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How far he readily concurred in this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war, and in the course of which his troops were hired to the King of Great Britain, and his government, alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great Britain, although he was a principal in a plan that stood connected with a solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be exalted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

§ XXI. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch. The Duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the King of Great Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the totering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles: so that the negotiation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the Duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the convention between the French king and his Austrian ally, thought proper to impose. These importations, that his most Christian Majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in those arsenals; that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, should be disembarked and disarmed; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the king or his allies: that the duke should be permitted to maintain a battallion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and family, and that he should be furnished with money and other necessaries from the exchequer. Mar-eschal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire: that his forces should immediately join the army of the empire, and be under the orders of those who should be appointed for that purpose. If the Duke of Brunswick should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the Diet, approved and confirmed by the emperor. In consideration of all these concessions, he undertook to support the French king, and to execute proposals that would gratiously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswick. How scrupulously soever the duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother Prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, had ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswick, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had entered into with the French court; and the Duke of Brunswick, upon his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke wrote an expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdi- nand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops from the avowed designs of his brother upon the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops; and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual. Notwithstanding this warm remonstrance, Prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops and the hereditary prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalized himself by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father à propos that expressly contracted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

§ XXII. The defeat of the French army at Rossbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire. The French king was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. At little formidable were the denunciations of the empress, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the empire, and with all the avowed discontents of the King of Great Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the King of Prussia. The French court likewise published a virulent memorandum, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated, and set aside, drawing an invincible parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost
every meanness that could sting the character of a monarch. And in answer to the emperor’s decree and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmimgin, the electoral minister of Brunswick Lueneburg, present to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his sovereign had done to the house of Austria, and the ungrateful return he had reaped, in the queen’s refusing to assist him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. He endeavored to prove the contrary, but likewise extenuating the noble exhortation, and encouragement, and even joined the enemies of the elector, in contempt of her former encouragements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted every argument in this charge which his minister had brought against him, as well his virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

§ XXIII. While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lueneburg, divers petty enterprises were executed by detachments with various success. The Hanoverian General Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlinburg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Aeschersleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halberstadt, and with naked and shameless violence seized and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occurred in Burgh, Vogelsack, and Rüthenhude, and cleared the whole territory before the gates of Halberstadt, the Duke de Broglio assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantonned at Otzberg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded a surrender of it. Perceiving that, in case of refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to desire a short time for deliberation, he told them, that such favours, as Richelem’s orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay.

He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with the demand. A second detachment was immediately despatched to the Duke de Broglio, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, the enemy marched into the city at midnight, after having promised unconditional surrender, on the hope of being released from the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was not determined, but the army, under the command of Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the city of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rothenburg, Otzberg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

§ XXIV. By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the Count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army. The latter did not attempt to enter Hanover, but marched directly from Hanover, took possession of the city of Halberstadt, and joined his predecessor in the army, of which he had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new commander found his master’s forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and dis- tempers arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of Prince Friederich of Brunswick, who had advanced towards the rear of the Hanoverian army, and March 4th, he established his head-quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, calling in his march the troops that were in Emelien, Cassel, and the landgrave of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harassed in their retreat by the horses of theHanoverian army, which had in the fall of the preceding year, by cutting their public roads, seized one thousand fine horses, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-wagons, and some artillery. Such was the phụcishment of this retreat, that it was considered as the last time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Dehnhof, who were made whom they were pursued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse; but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by the honour and integrity of the Duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but by the true integrity of his whole conduct, convinced them without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor on the approach of winter, so that the people became long exposed to the horrors of famine; an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the tules that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroic behaviour on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the Count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to Heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy, in their sermons, did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the Duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisitely pleasing and happy sentiment, and such a satisfaction to all the inhabitants of Hanover, who have reason to admire great merit, in the Duke de Broglio, and who would have rejoiced to be able to extol the generosity of his liberality, who, without a doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

§ XXV. The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelin, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, on the marches of which army the enemy placed in garrison at Minden, to retake the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the Duke de Chabot, with a considerable body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weser, despatched the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that place. This detachment, however, was repulsed with the utmost intermitancy. The hereditary prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the army, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the Count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in the event of the enemy dislodging the hostiles; but some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of cavalry artillery, the Duke de Richelieu, desponding, and frustrated in his design, it was considered, for the sake of safety, he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of the capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but his cannon, stores, and ammunition, were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, whose valor and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion. After the reduction of this city the hereditary army advanced towards Hameln. The regiment of Rettichow, one of Hanover’s fraternities, established his head-quarters; but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, calling in his march the troops that were in Emelien, Cassel, and the landgrave of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harassed in their retreat by the horses of the Hanoverian army, which had in the fall of the preceding year, by cutting their public roads, seized one thousand fine horses, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-wagons, and some artillery. Such was the punishment of this retreat, that it was considered as the last time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Veghte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Dehnhof, who were made
prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The Count de Clermont, having the greatest share of the blame, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while Prince Ferdinand cantonised the allied army in the bishopric of Münster; here, however, he had the misfortune to remain inactive. May he be ordered a detachment to pursue the Rhine at Duisburg, under the command of Colonel Scheithauer, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of September the whole French army under the Rüd the night before, constructed a bridge to the French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Kueseworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken, and Prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Düsseldorf. To the meantime the Count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong intrenchments, until he should be properly reinforced.

§ XVI. The court at Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the Prince de Bourbon, who, it was said, had received orders to penetrate, by this route, into Friesien, and join the French army in Saross at Hanover. In the meantime, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the Count de Clermont; and, as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for re-forming the troops by severity and example. The Marshal Duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war with uncommon ability, wrote a letter directed to all the corps of the army, threatening them, in the king's name, with the severest measures should they continue any longer at the scandalous practice of having commissions; an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretences, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The Prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuiys, a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in the plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, Prince Ferdinand resolved to evacuate that place, and fortified a small place for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to Lieutenant-General Sporcken; the command of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, was assigned to Prince de Bourbon and Major-General Wachenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the Prince of Holstein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the Prince of Holstein and Lieutenant-General Sporcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheithauer's corps, were ordered to occupy the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendock; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town of Hulsle, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embroiled the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince, having viewed the position of the enemy and the obstacles that occurred, gave guides, and having received all the necessary hints of in-

1 Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement, was the comte de Bourbon, only son of the Marshal Duke de Belleisle, and head of that illustrious family, a young noblemanto of extraordinary accom-
impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy’s country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince de Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Aixen on the twenty-third of July, with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The Duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise, having learned at 6 o’clock, that the Hessian troops, under the Prince of Ysenburg, were retreating towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men, to the village of Sangershausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their order. The Hessians, though in great inferiority to the enemy, now gave a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy’s left was obliged to give ground. In consequence of the loss of the bridge, he advanced, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the water; and the Frankfurt regiment, pursuing the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the Count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden; but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The Prince of Ysenburg, having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Embeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men: but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

§ XXVIII. The progress of Prince Ferdinand upon the Meuse had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains; and it had happened that he found itself incapable of advancing; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine; the first was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present position he was hemmed by the French army on one wing, the other by the fortress of Guelders, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army: besides, he had reason to apprehend, that the Prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embeck. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong post of Aachen, a passage on the left bank, and, with the troops of the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had delayed too long the passage of the river at Embeck. That well determined the Prince de Soubise, his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhineberg. At this place Prince Ferdinand received intelligence from the Prince of Nassau, that part of the army, which had crossed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the Prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His serene highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to General Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable, so that M. Imhoff was left to the mercy of his own resources, and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. This general having received advice, on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same way, he contrived, by a laborious march, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of General Zastrow, who reinforced his accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner reproposed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp. Imhoff’s front was now covered by a strong division of troops, which appeared as if they were marching on the ground on his right, from whence he could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a copse, with orders to the other, that it might come on in its proper place, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front. The battery was used on this occasion, and the charge giren with such ardency and precision, that after a short resistance, the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of wagons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, which amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expense.

§ XXIX. Immediately after this action, General Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions, to reinforce General Imhoff, and to enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while Prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Saxten: from whence he proceeded to Rheineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he was obliged to march to得很 high on the left bank of the river, and lay a bridge at Giehthuyen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the design into execution, and the very next army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeld; to which place General Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment. Notwithstanding the enemy returned, the two armies on the Rhine were so well matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over Prince Ferdinand, detached Prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement to the Prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gottengen, and seemed determined to attack the Prince of Ysenburg at Rhineberg. But the enemy, whose troops were too much dispirited, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom General Oberg now assumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fuide
at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dispose on the first of November. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, General Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Lattenberg, advanced towards Lattenberg, where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, and taking five field-pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line, the village of Lattenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Lauterwangen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked Major-General Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advanced, and the allies in front and flank. They were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way: and General Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, formed a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up and managed under the direction of the Duke de Breglio. Having marched through Munden, where it was evening, the army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Gropen, on the other side of the Weser; but at day-break prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fulde, where they encamped. In this engagement General Oberg lost about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reapplied very little advantage from his victory.

By this time, Prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Monster, while M. de Contades encamped near Ham under the Jippe; so that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, without stopping, he had also dispersed them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to harass all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia. Several of his outposts were established, those extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigue of the campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the Duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

§ XXXI. Having thus partially considered the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavor to trace the steps of the King of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March; and carried on his operations with such vigour, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trnovany, garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the communications of the army of the Elector of Saxony. The Baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian general, Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that county, and abandoned the place, and retreated within twenty miles of Koniggratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of Marschal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna. Over and above these excursions, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother Prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the empire, which the Prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Hamberg, in Franconia.

§ XXXII. The King of Prussia, whose designs were, perhaps, even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, by which he expected to ravage and contribute. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops near Niess, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by Marschal Daun, which was composed, as the French army, was divided in the service, of the landgraviate of Hesse, with the design of conducting by Prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and General de la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having assembled his forces at Zastrow, in the princi- pal, to which the king was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Zastrow, and perhaps have been enabled to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and Marschal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege. Mean- while, the Austrian commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty’s motions and designs, quit his camp at Leutomyssel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Bilia. Being still too weak to encourage an investment, he managed to formidable, in the neighbourhood of the king’s army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in waiting. The detaching of Gunterberch, on the right of the army, which the king was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Zastrow, and perhaps have been enabled to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and Marschal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege. Meanwhile, the Austrian commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty’s motions and designs, quit his camp at Leutomyssel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Bilia. Being still too weak to encourage an investment, he managed to formidable, in the neighbourhood of the king’s army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in waiting. The detaching of Gunterberch, on the right of the army, which the king was determined to seize the besieged occasionally; to harass the besiegers, and to intercept their conveya from Silesia; and this scheme was succeeded to his wish. Olmütz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a pro- digious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments, in the night, which fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forger here illustrated, in the Prussian army, the necessity of an investment of the place, and the whole force of that army. The Prussians were inevitably forced to the conclusion that it was impossible to invest the place. With the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the be-
The Austrian general harassed his foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and
kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the king finished his first parallel, and his main army took
possession of the town, with much vigor, as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place; but when
his design was entirely frustrated by an untoward incident. Mareschal Dauw, having received intelligence
that a large convoy was about to leave Silesia for the Prus-
sian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of intimat-
ing the king to desist from his enterprise. He sent
General Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards
Bahn, and another detachment to Stadtholtebe, with
instructions to attack the convoy, and, in readiness to
himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended
to give them battle. The King of Prussia, far from
being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of
the Austrian general, to suspect his real scheme, and
immediately despatched General Zieten, with a strong
reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted
by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who
had been sick, and were just recovered. Before this
officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the
twenty-eighth day of June; but the assailants were
repulsed with considerable loss. Mareschal Dauw, how-
to, took care that they should be immediately reinforced;
and next day the attack was renewed. An action of
four hours, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the
defiles of Domadtet, when the Austrians charged them fur-
iously, and it was even contested, as long as the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and General
Zieten, after having exerted all his efforts for its preser-
vation, being obliged to abandon the wagons, retired to
Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the
enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together
with General Puttkamer; and the King of Prussia was
obliged to relinquish his enterprise. This was a mortifi-
cing necessity for a monarch who, as he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding
the gallant defence which had been made by General Marshal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a
vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hardsoever it may appear,
he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead
of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from
his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the
frontiers of which were left uncovered by Mareschal
Dauw’s last motion, when he advanced his quarters to
Posna, in order to succour Olimutza the more effectually.
After having secured the city, and welded his citizen’s army, Mareschal Dauw unravelled his design from the
eveny, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he vacated the intrenchments he had made within his own
province, and proceeded to Bohemia. He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz; and Mareschal Keith having brought away all the
the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon,
postred his march by the way of Liatau to Mughitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian majesty had gained an
entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, com-
maded by the Generals Bucow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but the
conduct and circumcision of the Prussian commanders
After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Kre-
sna, General Laci, who was posted at Gibau with a large body, had not been able, by dint of every measure and
funds, to receive the retreat of the Austrians with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged;
and the Prussians pursued their march by Zittau to Leutmysse, where they seized a magazine of meal and
forage, which had been left to them by the army in its retreat
the Prussians, pursued their march by Zittau to Leutmyssel, where they seized a magazine of meal and
forage, which had been left to them by the army in its retreat
the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hohenlaufen possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as
he advanced; but Mareschal Keith coming up, ordered
him to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood
with the loss of six thousand men, having three hundred
men, who were taken prisoners. While the
march was thus employed, the king proceeded from
Leutmyssel to Königsgratz, where General Bucow,
b distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, be hovered on the skirts of the enemy, hampering their parties, accosting the soldiers to strict hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

§ XXX. The King of Prussia, being induced by a consciousness of his parts to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp at Koeniggratz. He was attended in his march by three thousand baggage horses, which, not fitted for the road, made his march hot; but, notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landshut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Donha at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge, thrown over it at Gatavise, and having resided one day advanced to Detmold, where he encamped. The Russians, under General Fermor, were posted on the other side of the little river Mittel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quetschau. Without being determined to hazard a battle, the army passed the Mittel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zomendorf. The Russians, by whom he was outnumbered, did not wish to dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side defended by cannon and a chevaux-de-frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zomendorf. After a round cannonade, the Russian infantry were ordered to attack the villages, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening, and left the left flank of the enemy uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of General Seydtitz; and the king, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which

both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance; at length General Seydtitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, the flood was continued to stand the Russian storm; the baggage was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape shot, and being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased, and it was reported some of the army had been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation which was very elegantly performed. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rally a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a complete success, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are reported to have been very stoutly attacked by von Dieskau, in four squares, with five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victors, were several generals, and a good number lost their lives in the hands of the Russians. One officer, who was above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aides-de-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the dangers of the field, and the whole army, exasperated against this enemy, because they had had to battle the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorize. The Prussian army passed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed against the enemy, who, never...
thoroughly, maintaining the position without attacking. On the twenty-seventh, they seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors; instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landenberg; but afterwards turned off towards Viertel, and posted them- selves in a scheme for attacking the Turks and that village. Immediately after the battle, General Ferme, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to Lieutenant-General Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead and take care of the wounded; and proceeded to his Prussian general with the humble request of General Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should have such medical assistance as the situation required. In answer to this message, Count Dohna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of General Browne; and concluded his letter by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

§ XXXVI. The King of Prussia had no sooner re- pulsed the enemy in one quarter, than his presence was required in another. The powerful forces of the camp of Mareschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the Prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother, Prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have found such an asylum as Saxony could offer in Saxony. The Prussian monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin, with a reinforcement of his forces; and in a few days, the army, composed of part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such un- wearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torsau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Meanwhile the enemy marched a great distance to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy com- munication with the army of the empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Konigstein, to favour the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburch; to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the Gener- al-Henrle and Dr. Voss; and to interrupt the commu- nication between Prince Henry and the emperor. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Konigstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, by a very feeble resistance, to the Prince de Deux- ponts, who forced the gates. The same night they entered to Pirm. When the King of Prussia, therefore, arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and Mareschal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution to take, but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of pro- vision, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittitz, that he might be enabled to seize the invariable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The king having detached General Ratzow on his left, to take possession of Wessenberg, marched forwards with the rest of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having discharged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both quarters, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this situation Mareschal Daun resolved to set offensively; and formed his plan for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an over- sight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He deter- mined to take the advantage of this, and to employ the flower of the whole army on this important service, well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and, in all probability, completely defeated.

Having taken his measures with wonderful secrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the night. Their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there.

The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury, for, notwith- standing the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion and dispersion of the French army, the enemy, so surprised, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without being in want of order or place of support, to the great advantage of the Prussians, who, in consequence of their victory, the Prussian army, in consequence of their success, and made the French general commit another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually pre- vented him from securing reinforcements on their part, where Mareschal Keil, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant monarch shot the heart through the breast of Prince Francis of Brunswick had the misfortune to be the sample: Prince John of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner, and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprised, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed the operation of their detachments, which had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforce- ments and resolute resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these cir- cumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the con- fusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschütz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his bag- age. Nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussians; and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprise prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full exten- sion, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The King of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not recover, except the death of Mareschal Keil, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune.
men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time as the Austrian troops were being so generally as to overlook the ramparts, and
command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian force should appear on his side. The suburbs had been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. To these houses, which were generally lofty and
magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people residing there, in masses, had been assembled by the words of stragel, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun, having more nothing to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch to Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harasce and De Ville, should prosecute the reduc-
tion of Neuss and Coesel in Slesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up to activity what he wanted in number, and, if possible, to raise the siege of Neuss and Liegnitz. With this view he decamped from Dolberschts, and in this situation his army marched to the enemy, marched to the enemy, marched to the enemy, without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Slesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of General Laudohn, who harassed the Prussian forces, and gained some petty advantages over the army. Count Daun not only sent his detached corps to retard them in their march; but at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the asengers. In the meantime, having received intelligence that the army of Prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the prince from that country, and redu-
cing the capital in the king's absence. Indeed, both these armies, which were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipsic, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction, the second by the army of the emperor under Prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under General Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would render without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege.

The army of Prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital before the Prussians, with whose forces he had put off from his enemy, marched towards Leipsic, and even invested that city. During these transactions, General Haddick advanced against Torgau.

§ XXXVII. The Field-Marshal Count Daun appeared on the sixth of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockwitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian husars and independent bat-
talions, which were posted at Striesen and Gruenenwiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amount-
ing to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs bellmell, posted Colonel Lamitsch, with seven hundred
thority that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the palace to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, in furo conscientiae, justify an officer who had committed an illegal or inhumane action, is a question that an English reader will scarcely care to consider. One hundred and fifty thousand men in arms were thus during the campaign, observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories, so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrians with moderate success, and the city was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenburg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then raised the siege of Leipsic. Meanwhile, the king prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops, under Daun, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November Count Dohna retired from Dresden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor’s conduct. The Russian general, therefore, should be forewarned that a large body of Prussian soldiers posted in the streets for that purpose: he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amongst the flames, or under the roofs of the houses. The descron of the humbly and falsely false inhabitants, the total ruin of the habitations, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation; but the account of the Saxony minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particulars therein alleged, in a fair detail, authenticate the truth of the proceedings of the Prussian troops, and principal inhabitants of Dresden. The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the baron solemnly assured the diet, that the King of Prussia, from his grief at the murder of those old friends of his, who had always felt the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which so many fellow-creatures were overthrown; and that if his sore was such, the innocent inhabitants of Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regret, the present war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He, therefore, called upon the Prussians to renounce all the concerns, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil upon the flames, must answer to God for the blood of that had been and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, if princes taught to believe, that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging Power, that will exact a strict account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than the demolition of a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as a private murder.

XXXIX. While Count Dohna was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the King of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neisse, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrians; and Harsdorff, by the presence of a force vigorously defended by the Prussian governor, Thesky, till the first day of November, when the Prussian monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprize. It was, however, observed that the king, on this occasion, seems to have been more disposed to avoid the consequences of the successful efforts of his troops, conducted by generals of consummate skill and unassuming resolution. His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular, the Austrians had the advantage. It was, however, by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his
dominions were recalled upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter part of September the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Dresden, commanding them to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand, the magistrates represented to the king's representatives, who had been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, that they were absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies: that the trade was stagnated and raised, and the inhabitants oppressed, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cemeteries, towers, and steepleps; then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by General Hauss, who told them, the king his master would have money; and if they refused to part with it the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address they replied to this effect:—We have no more money; we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the king's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, proceedings were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreadful plague, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgler that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the customs were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report! When the King of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depository for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but upon his last arrival at Dresden, he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time the spies were set on foot, and whilst thus the Prussian army treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Prussian generals had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers, who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-councillors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the King of Prussia demanded new contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severity that shocked humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw-beds, he extorted from them several thousand bills for large sums on their foreign correspondents: a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than to a people who were capable of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the extent of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have been balanced with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the baronies committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war; and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, whose inhabitants had never been involved, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms; was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

§ XLII. Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign which had terminated with the defeat of the Swedes, it now remains that we should particularize the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of Count Hamilton. We have already observed, that in the beginning of the year 1758, General, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor Count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired: but the supplies and reinforcements expected from Stockholm were delayed in such manner as to occasion, to the money of the subsides promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that part great season was elapsed before they undertook any attempt to answer the purposes they had designed under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a great ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event impeded to the practices of the Prussian army. The Swedish army, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to move against the army of the Electorat of Saxony, and the beginning of July, his army being in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anschum, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Meanwhile, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and the beginning of July, his army being in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anschum, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. 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were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs, of the Russian army.

The diet of the republic was opened on the second day of November; but it was dissolved on the third, as if by mutual consent. The march of the French troops was unbeknown to the Polish government; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamours; and many were prevailed upon to retire gently to their homes, in a state of tranquillity, but when this ill-advised attempt miscarried, Pauloph, the son of the nuncio of Volpiana, stood up and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the mareschal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a secessus consilium, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture. The King of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his children. Duke Charles, in the duchy of Courland, had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The States declared, they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, Counts Regenvald and Palz dated their resignation, and the king of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburg confession. His Polish majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son’s interest, ordered Count Malachowski, high chancellor of Poland, to deliver to Prince Charles a commission, which the king intended, on payment of a stipulated sum, to the states of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment; which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the diet. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The canons, who in the month of June had signed her sentiments and designs against the King of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined, to resist the encroachments of the German body, which, under the command of the Elector of Saxony and the King of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured: and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against whom his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, Hesse, and Buskeburg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Post Ferry, he said, would hardly believe, at that a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wittelsbach, were engaged to invade the countries of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration. He owned, that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden: steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the empire permitted the co-operation of one or more foreign troops, not, indeed, for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged that he had resisted the conduct, and chastised the injustice, of those co-states, who had assisted his enemies, and maintained that his troops should be restored to him. He added, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, because they had supplied the King of England with auxiliaries, it was as much as was becoming and proper to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries; surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of
the war who had favoured the unjust enterprises of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose to his imperial majesty that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the emperor-queen, the faculties of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the Duke of Württemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britishic majesty, Elector of Brunswick-Lunebourg. For this purpose the minister most urgently desired that she should immediately give the necessary instructions for their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britishic majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seuen; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a restoration of the approaches styled against the King of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and entitled, "A Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, relative to the Breach of the Capitulation of Closter-Seuen by the Hanoverian."

But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published: in which, among other curious particulars, the learned, exposition, said to have been written by the Prussian commander to the King of Great Britain after the defeat at Colm, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the public. He also, in his address to his Britishic majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's fleet, they had a fair prospect of success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would not be satisfied with a diversion, but she took no pains to conceal her views, and her emissaries declared publicly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, "that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from England all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies: only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces, and aspire at conquests."

Such were the professional sentiments of the British ministry, founded on clear truth and demonstrable, when the business was to prove that it was not the interest of Great Britain to maintain a war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was extinguished, suppressed, and changed into the grand and treatise of the English nation, then the partisans of that very ministry, which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an overmatch for France by sea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependants, were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingenuity of the emperor-queen, and demonstrate the opposite measures adopted by the imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

§ XLIV. If the empress-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolic Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he exalted her purity, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predecessors, the princes of Hungary, who had always accustomcd to fight and overcome for the catholic faith under his holy and meritorious constitution, which he stated to derive from the regard of Prosper Lombartini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, had been dear to his predecessor in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rosia; afterwards promoted to the patriarch by Pope Clement XII. In the nomination of the republic of Venice: was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Celi, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated Protector of the Pandours, or Galicians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and was a vigorous spirit of devotion among his successors: so that his life was exemplary; his morals were pure, and unimpeached: in his character he is said to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and, in every respect, worthy to succeed to the apostolic sway.

§ XLV. The King of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavored to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which were made by the house of Parma in the provinces of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and preserve his dominions; according to the position of his country. As for the King of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: but, in the latter end of the season, his attention was engrossed by a domestic event, but very alarming. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of dissatisfaction among his subjects; or, finally, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine; perhaps all these motives concurred in giving to the people, and the States, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September, the King, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, was met, and stopped by the bishop of Evora, who met him at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with musketeons, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign, drove the mules at full speed; a circumstance which, in some measure, disconcerted the other two companions, who pursued him at full gallop, and having no leisure to take aim, discharged them to return to the tandem through the back of the carriage. The slugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself self grievously wounded, and the blood flowing upon him, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, composed the conclusion to retum to quarantine, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen, and the excessive effusion of blood; but without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the reprise, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. That instance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on
a supposition that it must have been the effect of Divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence. The king, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the queen with the absolute power of government. In the meantime, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the Cardinal de Salabendra, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately put on all the shipping, in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with the promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins; and such other measures used, the result of which was, that the persons engaged in a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The Duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mazarinches; the Marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the Count de Attougui, the Marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularized among the transactions of France and Spain; and it will therefore be unnecessary to observe, that the king's wounds were attended with no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

The countries were tissued with a continuation of the disputes between the parliament and clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the king had interposed his authority: first proposing an accommodation; then compelling the parliament forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, abating their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recall and reinstate those venerable patriots and divines, who, during the convulsions of the irreligous insolence and turbulent spirit of the Archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not content with depriving, he augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks, presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other prelates, being of opinion that the bishops had been encroached upon by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation; they renounced and persevered; and the bishop repented his injudicious and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reduced the national debt of Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered and overpowered it. They also forbad the exportation of gold and silver bullion; and practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. The ships destined for America they detained, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the harbor of Havre; from the colonies from their havens to the channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Lawrence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbours of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers, in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the straits of Belleisle, daring to approach the continent, which, ever, led them directly into the river St. Lawrence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced that it needed to fetch new shipping, or furnish proper convey for commerce, her minister nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, which did come down to the French coast and succeeded in these expedients. The ministry of England did not think it necessary to furnish intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station in the North sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland; others cruised the coast of the channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships, sallying too from the sugar colonies, and cruised among the French settlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

§ XLVIII. With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the King of Denmark wisely pursued that course, which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers; he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects; he received large subsidies, in connection with the French ministry and occupation of the German dominions; and much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the protestant religion had anything to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch: nor was he misled into all the expense, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that ignis fatuus which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany. However he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom, whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or permitted once more into the electorate of Hanover; whether the empress-queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the King of Prussia circumscribed within the original bounds of his dominions. He might observe that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic, and blind to its own interest, as to permit the Empire of Russia to be drawn in, and remain conjurists in the kingdom of Prussia; but even if the enemy should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to put himself into war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor,
if he had, it is to be supposed that a prince of his capacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of its revenues, and endangered its distant territories. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its
resources, loading its own back with the most goryous'im-
practicable, an enormouse business with bankrupt de-

er ; and in a word, of expending above a hundred
and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant
country, the entire property of which was never valued at
one sixth part of that sum; as it had no material existence, but a
common alliance arising from accident. The King of Denmark, though himself a
prince of the empire, and possessed of dominions in Ger-
many, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue,
as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the
quarrel; yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and
land upon a respectable footing; and by his conduct, he
not only provided for the security of his own country, but
overawed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a
prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as
he might choose to trim the balance. Thus he preserved
his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished;
and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honoured as an
umpire.

§ XLVIII. The United Provinces, though as adverse
as his Danish majesty to any participation in the war, did not
then yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue,
as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the
quarrel; yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and
land upon a respectable footing; and by his conduct, he
not only provided for the security of his own country, but
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he might choose to trim the balance. Thus he preserved
his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished;
and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honoured as an
umpire.

The charge of violence and injustice, which they brought against the
English, for taking and confiscating the ships that trans-
ported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the
West Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the
trade of commerce between Great Britain and the states-
general of the United Provinces, concluded in the year
one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, stipulating,
That whatever shall be found on board the ships of the
states-general of the United Provinces, though the said
part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great Britain,
shall be free and unmoiisted, except these be prohibited
goods, which are to be served in the manner described by
the foregoing articles. From this article the Dutch mer-
cchants, when they said there were no prohibited goods
on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any
of their ships, or make the least inquiry to whom the
merchandise belonged, whereas it was brought, or whither
bound. This plea the English casuists would by no
means admit, for the following reasons: A general and
perpetual license to carry on the whole trade of their
enemy would be such a glaring absurdity, as no convention could
agree to: common sense has dictated, and Grotius de-
clared, that no man can be supposed to have consented
in an absurdity; therefore, the interpretation given by the
Dutch to this article could not be supposed to be its true
and genuine meaning; which, indeed, relates to nothing
more than the common course of trade, as it was usually
carried on in peace. But, even should this inter-
prefile be accepted, the article, and the treaty itself,
would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty,
controverted between the two nations in the year one thousand
sand six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed
since that period, stipulating, in a special article, that nei-
ther of the contracting parties should give, nor consent
that any of their subjects or inhabitants should give, any
protection to the enemy's merchandise at sea, or on the fresh waters;
or should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories to
furnish, any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, monies, insurance, in-
struments of war, or other necessary to continue the war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or
condition soever. Now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances during the present war, both in
Europe and America; and wherever they have so openly constra-
tioned one of their subjects, the English have been obliged to contrary
any other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the ob-
servance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours
with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner,
to furnish the King of Great Britain, in case any of his
territories in Europe should be attacked; for nothing
could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation
upon which this refusal was founded: namely, that the
hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English,
when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France;
and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon
the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely de-
fensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself
has no significance. The French, as in the present case,
will always commence the war in America; and
when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for
the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the Eu-
ropean coasts by the English, the French have no right to ask
for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were
the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all
benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting be-
tween them and the States-general of the United Provinces.
It being impossible for the English to terminate the war,
while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their
commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to
suppress such collusion by that necessity; Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for desist-
ing from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace
no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of
any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the
French ports in America or the West Indies; consequently
the treaty which they quote can never justify them in car-
ying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was
not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when
that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority
is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined
that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the
goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry
them without permission, whether by land or sea. The French islands in the West Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they
could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply
them without finding under this precept. It was for
these reasons that the King of England declared, by the
mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the
Hague, in a conference held in the month of August, with
the deputies of the States-general, that though he was
ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed
for giving satisfaction to their high mightinesses, with
whom he bad always studied to live in the most perfect
union; he could by no means, nevertheless determined not to assist
in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the
merchandise of their enemies. The individual traders of

In the reign of King William, when the English and Dutch were en-
gaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Den-
mark also entered into the contest, on the side of the latter, which, as
the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that
were commerce carriers, the complaints of these carriers
had not the less, and the grievances were given to understand, at both
places, that these should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France,
but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration,
the Dutch, under the weight of that which Grotius had written in
his note upon that author's treatise on the Laws of Nature and Nations,
every mercantile nation will run considerable risks in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports: and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of Holland and the other subject states of Great Britain, they were frustrated of their efforts to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their present expenses, and that the national credit of the country was at stake. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the States-general, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion: nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals influenced by motives of self-interest, which co-operate with the same energy in both countries, and among the subjects of Great Britain. After the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber, from Ireland and the British islands. In this manner, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the British ministers, in the course of this last war, endeavored to break into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or demand from the States-general, should now swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousands families. Considering the nature of the States-general, and the states of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to forego all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such traffic.

§ XLIX. Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the States-general, which we have already mentioned in another place, it was likewise the circumstance somewhat to which the queen of England was led to address a memorial, on the princess regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose with the court of Holland; and, at the same time, she promised to co-operate with representations made by the States-general, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of England. The minister, in order to avoid extremes, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States-general, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and explanations. At the end of June, at the month of June, the princess regent, on the States-general, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in the navy: and that a war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports: and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of Holland and the other subject states of Great Britain, they were frustrated of their efforts to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their present expenses, and that the national credit of the country was at stake. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the States-general, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion: nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals influenced by motives of self-interest, which co-operate with the same energy in both countries, and among the subjects of Great Britain. After the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber, from Ireland and the British islands. In this manner, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the British ministers, in the course of this last war, endeavored to break into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or demand from the States-general, should now swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousands families. Considering the nature of the States-general, and the states of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to forego all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such traffic.

§ L. In consequence of this interposition, the States-general that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and West Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the princess-regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce; that the states of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overysell, and Groningen, joined them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, it was not exposed to any serious inconvenience, than the division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable, while the republic in the meantime would remain in a dangerous condition, both by sea and land. They advanced, that they were already exposed to danger from their more distant neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times,
but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates, and take measures and exert every reasonable effort with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land forces, so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was understood, that the duty of all officers residing well within the country to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, adventurously at this period to involve their nation in war with Great Britain, was a matter of the greatest consequence, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities; the ocean was covered with the trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scourged the seas, and made prize of their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

CHAP. X.
§ 1. Domestic occurrences in Great Britain. § II. Trials of Den. Hensey and Warburton. § III. The minister of the most extravagant and illiberal. § IV. Society for the encouragement of arts. § V. 2nd session of the parliament. § VI. New treaty with the Ottoman empire. § VII. The papal ravine. § VIII. King's message to the commons. § IX. Bills relating to the distillery, and the exportation of corn. § X. Petition from the juries of Northing. § XI. Bill for the improvement of salted beef from Ireland continued. § XII. Bill for the better protection of the laws. § XIII. Act for the relief of delivery record. § XIV. Bills for the improvements of the little department of police. § XV. Bill for the better education of the poor. § XVI. Bill relating to militia battalions. § XVII. Bill relating to the duty on provisions. § XVIII. Act relative to the duty on plate. § XIX. 2nd act of 1675. § XX. Unsuccessful ball. § XXI. Case of the misconduct debtors. § XXII. Case of Capt. Walker. § XXIII. Remarks on the bankruptcy laws. § XXIV. Proceedings in the city to the state of the poor. § XXV. Regulations of weights and measures. § XXVI. Resolutions concerning the Foundling hospital. § XXVII. Messages from the king to the parliament. § XXVIII. Session closed. § XXIX. Preparations for war. § XXX. Death of the Prince of Orange and Princess Elizabeth Caroline. § XXXI. Examples made of traitors. § XXXII. Accounts of some remarkable murders. § XXXIII. Murder of Daniel Ullake. § XXXIV. Maltroy of the Prince of Orange. § XXXV. Heresy on other ships of war kept at Blackwater. § XXXVI. Fire in Coith. § XXXVII. Methods of defending the country against an invasion. § XXXVIII. Method of protecting the coast. § XXXIX. Methods of maintaining peace abroad. § XL. Desperate measure at sea. § LXI. Captures made by order of the admiralty. § LXII. Captain Hovden takes the Egmont. § LXIII. Captain Barronmore the Count of St. Flour. § LXIV. Captain Feather takes a French East Indiaman. § LXV. Priets taken in the West Indies. § LXVI. Engagement between the Hercules and the Flor. § LXVII. 1st and 2nd deere of Great Britain for Admiral Knowes. § LXVIII. Admiral Knowes destroys M. de la Caze. § LXIX. Preparations made for the French, by the Neapolitan king. § LXX. Arrival of a Dutch ship from the city. § LXXI. Admiral Hawke takes the Spanish fleet. § LXXII. Arrival of the Grand Turk. § LXXXIII. Loyalty of the Irish Catholics. § LXXXIV. Dangerous insurrection in Dublin. § LXVII. Alarm of a deserter in Scotland.

In the course of the year it appeared that the measures which had been adopted as a spy for the French ministry: to which, in consideration of a patry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an inquiry touching the source of this information, and soon received an assurance, that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother, a physician, in London. The suspicious naturally arising from this, and the circumstances in which a minister of the English secret service, Hansey was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expeditions to North America, the capture of the two ships, the Alcudia and Lys, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even informed them that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochefort, and advised a descent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the nation's credit. After he was apprehended for guilt of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions: but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found it inexpedient to meddle with the matter, he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The severity of the government was much about the same period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a series of his articles, reflected on the kind and conduct of the ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success, of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him.
severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England, was pitched upon as the last and most effectual plea of reflection that this court of king's bench, was found guilty of having written the sixth letter to the people of England adjoined a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine and to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour: so that, in effect, this good man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion, than he could sustain: that, whatever remorse they might feel, however they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reforming that corruption, which the pen of a friend could sustain: that, whatever remorse they might feel, however they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reforming that corruption, which the pen of a friend

§ III. Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuousness of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national institutions: witness the great number of hospitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contribution, or raised by the subscriptions of gentlemen at the court of king's bench; in this country the public began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an asylum for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will, he bequeathed a sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be paid in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this purpose was discharged by the action of the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maiden educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage portion, provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly, on the first of May, the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a full assurance of the same reward, were also summoned to appear, and were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every May. The charity established by Mr. Raine has been conducted in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds to defray the expense of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity, of this excellent institution. Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, desirous of the happiness of their countrymen, were deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom could not be persuaded to own. They considered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wracked in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the pernicious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly parents, before they had acquired experience, or courage to resist the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered over with that dark and desolate liesm that the world would not sustain, and the public consider as an accursed death. They, by the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered over with that dark and desolate liesm that the world would not sustain, and the public consider as an accursed death. They, by the
compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements in agriculture, commercial enterprise, and the arts and sciences of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so copious, the benevolence so universal, and the spirit of the Duke of Marlborough, with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. This, however, left an academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but in order to extend this advantage, which was not attended without difficulty and expense, the Duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of the academy, at the expense of the king, for the sake of his daughter, and engraved; and furnished it with a collection of original plaster casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists, Mr. Wren and Mr. Scheemakers, and under the founder bestowed premiers of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making up the model of it in basso-relievò. 

This academy was, in 1758, at the Houses of parliament met at Westminster, when his majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the lord keeper harangued them to this effect. He told

"A member among transactions that distinguish the history of Great Britain, scarce a year goes by without proving some incident that strongly marks the spirit of the age, the nature of the times, the state of the kingdom, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so copious, the benevolence so universal, and the spirit of the Duke of Marlborough, with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. This, however, left an academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but in order to extend this advantage, which was not attended without difficulty and expense, the Duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of the academy, at the expense of the king, for the sake of his daughter, and engraved; and furnished it with a collection of original plaster casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists, Mr. Wren and Mr. Scheemakers, and under the founder bestowed premiers of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making up the model of it in basso-relievò.

This academy was, in 1758, at the Houses of parliament met at Westminster, when his majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the lord keeper harangued them to this effect. He told
them, his majesty had directed the lords of the commis-
sion to assure his parliament that he always received the
highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any
event that might promote the honour and interest of his
kingdom and his enemies. It was in the harbour of
to the assistance which they unanimously gave, his majesty
had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the
most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end,
that the operations of the maritime enemy were unequally
affected, and that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless
his measures and arms with success in several parts, and to
make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of
Great Britain was not to be provoked with impunity; that
the conversion of the greatest part of the British fleet, with
the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, the demolition of
Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in
America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to
bring great distress to the French commerce and colonies,
and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those
of Great Britain. He observed, that France had also been
made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to
invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her
own coasts are not inaccessible to his majesty’s fleets and
armies: a truth which she had experienced in the demoli-
tion of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great ex-
pen$e, which were reduced to the loss of a great number of
ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his
majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of
that crown. He told them, that in Germany his majesty’s
great advantage was the jealousy of Brunswick, which
found full employment for the enemies of France and her confederates, from which the
English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most
advantageous: their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his
majesty’s troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and
glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to de-
eliver up the persons of all those who, being,
which was still making noble and glorious efforts against the
natural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of
his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the
gentle protection received from his majesty’s fleet,
flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such
troubles. In this state of things, he said, the king, in his
wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to
persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectu-
ally, if necessary, in support of his arm, and elevating
himself up to the height of his empire, he had
support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his majesty’s
allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to
equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the
Hanseatic League, that the benefit of the war, which
was to be otherwise expensive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the
Commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for
the destruction of Louisburg, and had ordered the
measures which were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired
only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war
with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services.
In the last place, he assured them, the king took so much
satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his
faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now
to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it:
that this union, necessary at all times, was more espe-
cially necessary, and his majesty, verily doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from
it would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it.—The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this
handsome letter in a civil war; but it seems the eloquence
of expression he will wonder that, in particu-
larizing the successes of the year in America, no mention
is made of the reduction of Fort Du-Quene, on the river
Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength
and situation, the erection of which had been one great
motive to the war between the two nations: but he will
be still more surprised to hear it declared from the throne,
that the operations, both by sea and in America, had de-
trived the most extraordinary advantage from the
attacks of the privateers of England. An assertion the more extraordinary, as the British minis-
try, in their answer to the parallel, which we have already men-
tioned, had expressly affirmed, that "none but such as
were as unaccountable, and not such as had been
wrong that, without a diversion on the
extent, to employ part of the enemy’s force, she is not in a condition to
hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. That they must not, therefore, expect that the forces of
England are not able to reseat those of France
unless the latter be hundered from turning all her efforts to the
sea." It is very remarkable that the British ministry
should declare, that the war in Germany was favourable
to the English operations by sea and in America, and
almost in the same breath accuse the French king of having
fomented that war. Let us suppose that France had no
will to maintain in Europe; and ask in what manner she,
in that case, would have opposed the progress of the British
army by sea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to
such a condition, that it durst not quit her harbours; her
merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confined in
England, and the sea, with a might, of necessity, would, in
these circumstances, what expedients she could she have
contrived for sending supplies and reinforcements to
America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great Britain
in any other part of the world!—None. Without ships and
mariners, how was she to employ her armed forces, for this
respect, as useless as money to a man shipwrecked on a
desolate island. But granting that the war in Germany
had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French
ministry from the prosecution of their operations in
America, (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed,) the
question is not, whether the hostilities upon the con-
tinent of Europe prevented France from sending a great
number of troops to America; but whether the
expedition of so many was either necessary or expedient for
distressing the French more effectively in other parts of the world? Surely
every intelligent man of candour must answer in the nega-
tive. The expense incurred by England for subsidies and
armies in the empire, exceeded three millions sterling an-
ually: and this enormous expense, without being able to
protect Hanover, only served to keep the war alive in dif-
ferent parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been
employed in subduing and destroying the last
monuments of Great Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in
America and the West Indies, France would have been, at
this day, deprived of all her sugar colonies, as well as of her
settlements in the continent of America; and she would have
likely been able to prevent those operations which
would have brought the French nation the
most important advantage. In the conclusion of the peace
of Utrecht, France was to have gained, or lost, beyond the
denominate in which the King of Prussia is engaged,
lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to de-
feat himself against the multitude of enemies who attack
his dominions, be is obliged to take new measures with the
King of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety; and his Britannic majesty had at the same time signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and in consequence of the above considerations, he submitted to his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their majesties have nominated and authorized their ministers to concert and settle the following articles:—All former treaties between the two nations, particularly that signed at West- minister on the 16th day of January, in the year 1756, and the convention of the 11th of April in the year 1758, are thereby dissolved, and they were hereby inserted word for word. The King of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorized by the King of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rials-dollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratification, if the King of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties. The King of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the King of Prussia, not to be bound themselves not to conclude any treaties with the powers that have part taken in the present war, any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly in- cluding the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a re- newal of the subsidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance, until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burdens, and the compliance of the Commons be in some future session exacted. Of course it was perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy; every other article was left to the interpre- tation of his Prussian majesty.

§ VII. The parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the House of Commons were immedi-ately convened; a new convention was made, and, with the consideration of the events of the ensuing month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, on the service of the several provinces; and for the operations by land, a body of troops, amounting to fifty- two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxo-Gotha, and Buckeburg, to the number of fifty thou- sand, and five battalions on the Irish establishment in actual service in America and Africa. For the mainten- ance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, and two pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and forty-two pounds; for the general of the victorious army, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence, for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, New...
utmost importance, and be attended with the most peni-
uous consequences, if proper means should not immediately
be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirable that this
House will enable him to defy any extraordinary expenses of
campaigns, number of several families of the people of the
year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and
to take all such measures as may be necessary to disap-
point or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as
usual, being in the main of the same kind of part, being,
and as usual, being, a local, popular measure. A meeting was
be read, a motion was made, and agreed to nem. con.
that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith
formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was
granted, to be laid on the table in question-hall, to be
referred on the sides, that should be given in the next session.
This produced a bill enabling his majesty to raise the
sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned,
comprehending a clause, allowing the Bank of England to
advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any
sum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of
the fifth and sixth years in the reign of William and Mary,
by which the bank was established.

6 IX. The bills relating solely to supply being discussed and
expedited, the House proceeded, as usual, to enact
other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions
having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New-
Sarum, praying the house to make provision of
low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour, had
been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober,
healthy, and industrious; representing the ill consequences
which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these
laws, and the consequentuncan of the first part of
the whole House resolved that the prohibition to export
corn should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of
December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-
ine; subject nevertheless to such provisions for shorten-
ing the said term of its continuance as should therefore be
made by act of that session, or by his majesty with
the advice of his privy council during the recess of parliament;
that no corn, or grain, or flour imported, or brought in at price,
was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make
low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour,
should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December,
in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.
Before the bill was formed on these resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same pur-
pose as those of Bristol and Sarum: while, on the other
hand, petitions from a great number of the malt distillers of the city and suburbs of London,
alluding to that, it having been deemed expedient to prohibit
the distilling of spirits from any sort of grain to the
twenty-fourth day of December; many distillers having
not, for that reason, import spirits from foreign ports, or
being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in
many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom absolutely
necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues and
other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of
the climate; that if they were denuded of the use of malt
spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with
which, as they generally resided near the sea-coast, the
smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the
small spirits could be afforded; and that the prohibition
or suspension of French spirit would drain the nation of ready
money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the king's
revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that
the small spirit was the foundation of the trade, and disposed of their materials; that all of them would
probably take the same resolution should the bill pass
into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition
would cease, should it be continued at a time when all
sorts of grain abounded in such plenty, that the very
waste of materials by dissipation, over and above the lying out
of the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor;
that the business of distilling, by which so many families
were supported, would be banished from the kingdom
entirely: especially, as the expense of establishing a large
distillery was so great, that no man would choose to em-
ploy his money for this purpose, judging from experience
that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce
the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch
of business. They affirmed, that from the excessive use of malt spirits no good argument could be drawn against
this branch of traffic, no more than against any other com-
monplace of life; that the excessive use of common
ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people,
yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the prac-
tice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of the
brewed liquors. They urged, that if necessary, some
parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage but a coarse kind of barley, called big, which,
though neither fit for brewing nor for baking, may never-
theless be used, were not to be disposed of; but purchased by those concerned in this branch at such an en-
couraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher
quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biscuit, to the islands of
Guernsey and Jersey, for the sole use of the inhabitants;
and another to prohibit the making of low wines and spirits
from bran. Much more attention was paid to a peti-
tion, arising out of the country of Southwark, a petition,
that their farms consisted chiefly of arable land, which
produced much greater quantities of corn than could be
consumed within that county; that in the last harvest the
most prodigious crop of all sorts of grain, the greatest part of which had, by unfavourable weather,
been rendered unfit for sale at London, or other markets
for home consumption; that large quantities of malt were
sold at twenty shillings per quarter; and for the grass of
barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred
and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated: that the
petitioners being informed the House had ordered in a
bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they
begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it
would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farm-
ers of that county, as they had offered their corn for sale
at divers ports and markets of the said county; but the
merchants refused to buy it at any price, alleging its being
unfit for the London market, the great quantity of corn
with which that market was already overstocked, and their
not being allowed either to export it or make it into malt
for exportation: that the removal of these obstructions might be removed, or they, the petitioners, indulged with
some other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance
was duly considered, the bill passed with the amendments,
because of the proviso, by which his majesty in council
was empowered to alter the shilling toll chargeable with
respect to the exportation of corn during the recess of parl-
ament; but the temporary restraint laid upon distillation
was made absolute, without any such condition, to the
no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers,
who had spared no pains and expense, by private solicita-
tion and strenuous dispute in the public papers, to rec-
mand their cause to the favour of the community. They
charged that malt and spirits were the only articles of
being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in
many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom absolutely
necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues and
other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of
the climate; that if they were denuded of the use of malt
spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with
which, as they generally resided near the sea-coast, the
smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the
small spirits could be afforded; thus the increase of
consumption of French spirit would drain the nation of ready
money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the king's
revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that
the small spirit was the foundation of the trade, and disposed of their materials; that all of them would
probably take the same resolution should the bill pass
into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition
would cease, should it be continued at a time when all
sorts of grain abounded in such plenty, that the very
waste of materials by dissipation, over and above the lying out
of the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor;
thus the business of distilling, by which so many families
were supported, would be banished from the kingdom
entirely: especially, as the expense of establishing a large
distillery was so great, that no man would choose to em-
ploy his money for this purpose, judging from experience
that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce
the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch
of business. They affirmed, that from the excessive use of malt spirits no good argument could be drawn against
this branch of traffic, no more than against any other com-
monplace of life; that the excessive use of common
ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people,
yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the prac-
tice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of the
brewed liquors. They urged, that if necessary, some
parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage but a coarse kind of barley, called big, which,
though neither fit for brewing nor for baking, may never-
theless be used, were not to be disposed of; but purchased by those concerned in this branch at such an en-
couraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher
rent to their landlords than they could otherwise afford: that there are every year some parcels of all sorts of grain so damaged by unsalubrious weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for broad or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmers, if there was no distillery, for the use of which he could sell his damaged commodity. They asserted, that malt spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of commerce, particularly that of the coast of Africa, for which traffic no abundant collection could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natural price is so fond, that they will not traffic with any merchant who will not discriminate against the sale of such spirits, for sale, but also for presents to their chiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great Britain must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expense from Holland; that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impossible for the traders to sell it so cheap, on the coast of Africa, as it might be sold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great Britain in this branch of commerce. To these arguments, all of which were plausible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that malt spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitching poison, for which they would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had proved most fatal: among the effects which were the consequences of drinking geneva; and since the prohibition of the distillery of malt liquor had taken place, the common people were become apprised of its appearance, and had used that beverage with circumspection sufficient to prevent the legislature not only to interdict, but even totally to abolish, the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication; and yet there was not the lower classes of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well regulated commonwealth. Their assertion, with respect to the coarse kind of barley, called big, was equally made as a deviation from the natural price as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread; and with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillery would not purchase it at such a price, but would undeniably the farmer for the charge of thrashing and carriage; for the distillers are very sensible, that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from damaged corn, for which the market is so low, that the increase in the price of malt, which is far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, however, an easy matter, to prove that the distillation of malt spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North America. Certainly it is, that in these branches of traffic, the want of geneva may be supplied by spirits distilled from sugars and molasses. After all, it must be said that the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article; a consequence which, at all times, ought to be sacrificed to the health. If the proof of such a measure as insinuation be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the less the malt spirit is drank, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be consumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the beverage be augmented accordingly.

§ X. In the meantime, all sorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace and the grand juries, assembled several times, and petitioned the House of Commons, for leave to issue out of the common fund, held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the House of Commons, in the beginning of February, a petition, representing, that the weather proving unfavourable, as a part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that unless it should be speedily manufactured for that purpose, it would be entirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very sensibly felt by the landholders; they, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be liable, for malt raised to the farmers, such further relief as to the House should seem just and reasonable. In consequence of this petition, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as it appeared upon the examination of the petition, that there were Six Acts of Parliament passed, and great abundance diffused through the kingdom, they resolved, that the continuance of that part of the act prohibiting the exportation of malt, ought to be abridged and revoked, and the said Act of Parliament, as to that part thereof, was amended, under proper regulations, with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on these resolutions, was discussed, and underwent several amendments; at length it was sent with a new title to the Lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal sanction.

§ XI. While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the Commons unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause extending this permission to all sorts of salted provisions: it was resolved, that the greater part of salted provisions, which the Dutch had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewise received another considerable alteration, importing, That, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence, charged by the former act to the importer of these drier salted provisions from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for such a quantity of salt as is requisite to be used in curing and salting thereof; and to prevent as well the expense to the revenue, as the detriment and loss which would result to the salted provision importer, from opening the casks in which the provision is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preserving the same, in order to ascertain the net weight of the said provisions, an act was passed, authorizing the greater part of salted provisions, which was enacted, That from and after the twentieth day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and four pence should be paid upon importation of all provisions from the said kingdom containing thirty-two gallons; and one shilling and three pence for every hundred weight of salted beef, called dried beef, dried neat's-tongues, or dried hog-meat, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

§ XII. No bill was more eagerly desired by the government than one to be made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide a security against the recurrence of such anomalies in future: and with this view the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy." While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, presented a petition to the House, alleging, that the inhabitants of those islands, which lay in the British channel, within sight of the French coast, long considered the protection of the said islands as a matter of importance to the states of the commonwealth, embarking their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French ships, and being disguised like fishing boats, had not only taken a considerable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their designs, on many important occasions; that these services could not be performed by large vessels, which durst not approach, because the cost of outfitting vessels of that description without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed signals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burdens, they declared that they were ready to present to the House, petition to prohibit vessels of the same description, and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advan-
tages, but expose Great Britain to infinite prejudice from the small-armed vessels of France, which the enemy, in that case, would pour abroad over the whole channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They propose, therefore, that all privateers as belonging to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counsel, and be indulged with the same security as vessels belonging to the French privateers.

This representation being referred to the consideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which at length obtained the royal assent, and contained these provisions: that in all causes of prize, except those of the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burden of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the admiralty, or persons authorised by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burden, the owners thereof giving such bail or security as should be prescribed; that the lords of the admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his majesty in council, whose determination should be final: that, previous to the grant of any commission, the persons proposing to be honoured and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: that persons applying for such commission should make oath of being low and dependent, and give certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the commander should not depart: that, if, after the first day of June, any captain of a privateer should agree to the trade of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as a prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that, with respect to contraband merchandise, all such persons should be declared freed of the commission in the instant vessel, and for the sum of five hundred dollars, and be entitled to a commission of the same nature and kind as formerly. And it was resolved, further, that a commission should be granted to any privateer: that owners of vessels, not being under fifty or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, should be held twice a-year in the Old-Bailey at London, or in such other place within England as the board of admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value thereof; and that the same must be appraised by two of the commissioners, with the entrance of the owner of the vessel, and not by the master, who is the present of the owner of the neutral vessel, and then set her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandise before condemnation: that no person should be appointed to the said office, either by the minister or court, or in any other way, without the personal consideration and recommendation of the said admiralty; and that the colonies and provinces should be made directly responsible, according to the nature of the act, to their respective legislatures, or to the proper governor and council of each, for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security: but, that should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchant vessels, when entered, landed, and sold at public auction, and the produce to be esespated at the bank, or in some public securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture. Finally, the

force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of the neutral nations, they were not by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people.

§ XIII. Every circumstance relating to the reformation of the marine must be an important object to a nation, whose wealth and interest depends upon navigation and commerce: but a consideration of equal weight was the establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the parliament, was found still in a state of confusion, and incapable of being made, with regard to the present state of the nation, necessary. His majesty having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, recommended to the House the making suitable provision for defraying the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expense already incurred by this establishment were referred to the committee of supply, who, after having duly perused them, resolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, and for repaying a sum advanced by the king for this service.

Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to the advice of the council, for the further regulation of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniences by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both sides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal assent, but proposed an address to the king, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution several acts of parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually served in the army, were become well acquainted with the said laws, and the most zealous of them, very early in the session, espoused by those who foresaw that the establishment of a national militia was calculated to send the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how zealous soever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their endeavours to the utmost of their ability in disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable, to execute the intention of the parliament in some particular counties, where the gentlemen and the officers were averse, or upon principle, from looking upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the king resides, was one of the last counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble, or first clause, in one of the present acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made some progress in establishing the militia, without completing the same, and that, in certain other counties, little progress had been made therein; his majesty's lieutenants and the deputy lieutenants, and all others within such counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these counties had an invidious compliance with the act in question; others gave or offered commissions to such people as throw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment of the militia, and consequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity, from engaging in the service. The mutiny bill, and that for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or alteration.

§ XIV. A committee having been appointed to inquire

in possession of the doors. They, therefore, proposed a method for raising 500,000 pounds upon this occasion, and presented to the House a bill for raising and collecting these taxes within the respective counties, particular rids, and the borough officers, that the same might be brought into the public revenue, for the pay of the militia, or any part thereof. The five shillings tax was not only a bood to the king, but a great encouragement to the officers of the militia, as, in case they could not possibly pay the five shilling, unless the people were disposed to pay it of their own free will, as they could not construe the word was
what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the House touching the revival or continuance of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence whereof, the following was drawn up, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going, or remaining, on the禧 as a place for executing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. This last was almost totally metamorphosed by alterations and amendments, and at the last reading was, in fact, the most remarkable of those, that more creditors than one shall any prisoner in execution, and desire to have him detained in prison, shall only respectively pay him each such sum weekly, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: that if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to those who were in execution, while those not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds, cannot easily be conceived. A man who, through unavailing misfortunes, hath sunk from affluence to misery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who already knows the distress of life, nor ever enjoyed credit sufficient to contract debts to any considerable amount; yet the latter is by this law entitled to his discharge, or at least to his maintenance in prison, while the former is left to starve in gaol, or under perpetual imprisonment, amidst all the horrors of misery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, and used to be so fond of forsworn men, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most fragrant crime can hardly deserve, in a nation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protrayed through a series of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance! Wherefore the legislature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least susceptible of the benefit, because they must at least be able to undertake a fortune, and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprison- ed debtors, those who were confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are incurably hardened, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transaction so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch’s last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility, who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification, the humiliation, the additional misery, his family reduced, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegances of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; dis- vested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched life in the midst of most violent passions, and uproar: these are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have been cultivated, and even of considerable, though unprovided, society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any concession, by which the horrors of his fate might be assuaged. He scorns the mock bounty of the legislature, and his les- sons, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of executing any mechanic art, which might afford a happy, though a scanty, independence. Shrunken within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan disease, he wildly casts his eyes around: he sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in silent woe, be hears his helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself the unfortunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot satisfy; and groans with all the compounded pangs of internal anguish, horror, and despair. These are not the fictions of idle fancy, but realities, which, in a refined community, every prison in England will afford but too many originals.

§ XV. Among other new measures, a successful at- tempt was made in favour of Ireland for the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both Houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interests of certain counties and districts in several parts of Great Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the Commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to saddle the bill with such clauses as might overthrow the scheme, and render it nugatory. It was therefore, in order to give it a fair trial, if it were aware of the design, conducted it in such a manner, as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like suc- cess attended another effort in behalf of our fellow-subjects in Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no sooner ordered to be brought in, than the House proceeded to take into consideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the same kingdom, and several witnesses being examined, the House freely agreed, by a resolution, that these duties should cease and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both Houses without opposition; though in the preceding session a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the Peers; a miscarriage probably owing to their being unacquainted with the sentiments of his majesty, as some of the duties upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil revenue. This omission, however, was remedied by the case of the present bill, by the king’s message to the House of Commons, signifying his majesty’s consent, as far as his interest was concerned in the affair. By this act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

§ XVI. In the month of February the Commons pre- sented an address to his majesty, requesting that he would give directions for laying before the House an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his majesty. These accounts being perused, and the king having, by the chancellor of the ex- chequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and, passing through both Houses, received the royal sanction. Among the amendments made, engineers were added to the commissioners formerly ap-
pointed; and it was ordained that fortifications should be erected at Peter-church-point, Westhynyn-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted, that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for conducting the business. They were also empowered to extend the application of the money should be laid before parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every session.

What next attracted the attention of the House was an affair of great importance and magnitude, relative to the administration of the cloudless, without any law relating to the same, the new system of taxation which equally affected the interest of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February, a complaint was made to the House, that since the commencement of the last session, some officers and employed in the woolen manufactories and factories of Great Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms.

The next object that employed the attention of the Commons, was to explain and amend a law made in the last session for granting to his majesty several rates and duties upon officers and pensions. The directions specified in the former act, leaving this imposition having been found inconvenient to many respects, new regulations were now established, importing, that those duties should be paid into the hands of receivers and treasurers, and at the king for that purpose; that all sums deducted under the act should be paid into the receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by the auditors of the imposts, or of the exchequer; that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally decided in a summary way, determined by the laws of the exchequer of England and Scotland respectively; that the commissioners of the land tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment, and to which the crown or any person or persons, or to whose service they might be attached, to be dedicated under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land tax; and that no assessment or valuation of any kind whatsoever, whereof should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty shillings thereof; that the receivers should transmit to the commissioners the returns of all the duties; and that the duty of employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and assessed accordingly; that in all future assessments of the land tax the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign; that the word perquisite should be understood to mean such profits of offices or employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subject, in consideration of business done in the course of exercising such offices and employments; and that if a commissioner or paid officer or servant employed might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the last four clauses several salaries were exempted from the payment of a duty, as the pay of the officers and servants of the public service, and the doors to this new law were the ascension of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been collected and received by the commissioners of the land tax already appointed; and the inconsistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses; in the former of these, the commissioners of the land tax were vested with the power of assessing the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land tax; and in the latter, they are restrained from assessing any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-first year of the reign of George II.

§ XVIII. In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the House, in the nature of a protest against the occupation of Warrenshire, and Sheffield, in Yorkshire, specifying that the toy trade of those and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in small proportion, insomuch as the sale of them depended upon some ornaments of gold and silver; and that by a clause passed in the last session of parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty shillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages; that not only the first seller, but every person through whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said licence; they, therefore, requested that the House would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indite them with reasonable relief. The committee to whom this affair was referred reported the resolution passed in the former session, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the sixth year of the reign of his late majesty, on silver plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in gold and silver plate, was enacted into a law by the royal assent. By this law duties were laid on such small quantities of gold and silver plate were allowed to be sold without licence. Instead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted, to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver plate, pawnbrokers, and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and edift of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of the resolution of the House of Commons, the same being founded, soon passed into a law without opposition.

§ XIX. In the month of April a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of French luxuries; and for that purpose, the importation of cambrics, and the like, by the merchants of London and other parts of England, were prohibited, and the importation of cambrics and the like, into the ports of the said city and restrictions as prohibited East India merchandise; and, on importation, pay only the half subsidy; that all cambrics or French luxuries in the custody of any person should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's
warehouses, the bonds therewith be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambrics and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in the possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited and liable to be searched for and seized, in the same manner as other prohibited and uncustomed goods are; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds, inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, should be increased, that as many cambrics or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace. The last successful bill of which this session produced, was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges, in his majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply, to consider of the said augmentation, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the House, that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee recommended to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for the augmentation of the judges' salaries, and that the same should be inserted within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any officer or agent of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clause restraining such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of member to serve in parliament; but both these proposals being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being overruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and, having passed through both Houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriate sums thereof, produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in parliament. But on this occasion, no attempt was made in favour of the introduction of a tax by which the mercantile and commerce, were not invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of settlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the commissions of the judges should continue in force quodnamque et bene gestionis; that their salaries should be fixed, and none of them removable but by an address of both Houses of parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legislature that every judge should enjoy his office during life, unless convicted by legal trial of some misbehaviour, or unless both Houses of parliament should concur in his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the king by whom it is granted, and that the commission of the judges must be renewed by a new king at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he should find acting as judges at his accession, or confer their places upon others, as he should judge possible, and to renew or alter the commission of the judges, when he should think it necessary. The condition of new commissions should be quodnamque et bene gestionis. Thus the office of judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a considerable reinforcement.

§ XXI. Of the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing desertion, and encouraging those who second the service; a bill. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms that had been rejected in the last session; and it was supported by a considerable number of members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, can never be reduced into practice, without a concurrence of events at once unexpected and unforeseen. As a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, was to be subjected to the influence of a law, that should cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suspension of the latter; the bill, therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffective for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers relating to trading ships and vessels, as well as to seamen, and other persons protected or pressed into the navy, and to expenses occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole House, and the bill was improved with those amendments: it was, after it was printed and engrossed, several clauses were added by way of rider; yet still the experiment seemed dangerous. The motion for its being passed was violently opposed, and when the bill was journed, and resubmitted against the bill appeared at length in such a striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority declared for the negative. The resolution was carried; and the according the twenty-sixth, the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the present reign for the preservation of the public roads, being attended with some inconveniences in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought in from the inhabitants of Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole House, which resolved, that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts, travelling on the turnpike roads, should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preservation of the public highways; but some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the commissary of a public road in Northumberland, alleging that the bill, if passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provisions from those counties to London, as the supply depended absolutely upon the quickness of the conveyance; it was decided that the operation of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel: so that the attempt miscarried.

§ XXI. Of all the subjects which, in the course of this session, fell under the cognizance of parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity, or challenged the redress, of the legislature, than did the case of the poor insolvent debtors, who languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the Commons in behalf of bankrupts, who represented, that having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by surrendering their all upon oath, for the benefit of their creditors, and by the execution of the judgments against them without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts have been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned and languished, knowing that the bankrupts were excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of insolvent debtors; that the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a presumption that such power was often ill, or rashly exercised, upon amour propre cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate that this power had been too often exercised upon unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the legislature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their
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fellow-sufferers, must inextricably and speedily perish, with their distressed families, unless seasonably relieved by the indigent and distressed member of the House, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was then paid to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors, imprisoned in different goals within the kingdom, were given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee was at once appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

§ XXII. Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of Captain George Walker, a prisoner in the goal of the king's bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been subjected to some flagrant acts of injustice and oppression. The case contained such extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was so remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, resorted to inquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that a committee should sit before the committee; and the speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a lively concern for his case, when no good reason for imprisonment was given. The committee were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the inquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate Captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself in private service and conduct, and who so energetically signaled himself against the enemies of his country, was sent back, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a gaol, where he had already pinned for several years, useless to his country, and of no service to himself, for he must have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session. In the meantime, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the House, that, in their opinion, some amendment might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy, to the advantage of creditors, and relief of insolvent debtors. A bill was introduced, and in the course of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessaries of life.

§ XXIII. It would engage us in a long digressive discourse to name all the remonstrances made on these laws in England, so famed for liberty, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors: and why, among a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the gaols should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent effects of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends on foreign commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished without subjecting individuals to oppression, arising from the enormity and revenue of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies, in a peculiar manner, at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in an action might have the benefit of a decree or judgment against either the body or lands of the defendant; even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward the First, allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor, who possessed an estate in lands, was taken away, with all his movables, effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods, of all debtors. But, if the creditor desired to sell the personal effects of the debtor, these could not be sold for the benefit of his creditors till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his encumbrances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of Edward the Third, which gave rise to the writ of capias ed satisfacendum. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statute-sable, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the laudholder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when the creditor had no means of enforcing his judgments. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of the Second Monarchy. Thus the course of the proceedings was filled with debtors. Then the bankrupts charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, passed an act for the further relief of poor debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or inquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all succeeding acts of the same kind, the liberty of the parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which deserve to be severely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvent, temporal imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. How cruel must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenue of which a tenth part of the revenue of the country is derived, by whose fraud, perhaps, the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in gaol, lest, by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress which is essential to his case! The seventeenth century, who lived in such an age of misgovernment, cannot charge the inhabitants of the seventeenth century, who lived in such an age of misgovernment, cannot
inquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of grievous law

The House of Commons seems to have determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to be read, and read effectual so much of an
act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceptual asming, as reduced to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, referred to a committee of the whole House; but the order was delayed from time to time to the end of the session. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the country. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor of England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging in all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the House, an account of the annual expense of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years; and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of the session, the House was again acquainted with their resolutions, importing, that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no workhouses have been provided for their reception and employment, are, in general, very barren of advantage, often insubstantial, and tend to make miserable themselves, and useless to the community: that the present methods of giving money out of the parochial rates to persons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an establishme for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers, a misapplication of the public money, and a great encouragement to worse intemperance: that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in such works and manufactories as are suited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the public; that settling the poor in workhouses, to be provided in the several counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of governors and trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons as by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour; of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of reducing the whole community of the poor in religion and industry; that the public workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the public, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers; that erecting workhouses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the said houses, would not only be the means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expense of the public; that controversies and law-suits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a vast, and, in general, a useless expense to the public, amounting to many thousands pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements of the poor persons occasioned than would be sufficient to maintain the poor, that should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor, and the passing of poor laws, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being deprived of their customary occupations, by which they can do most usefully to themselves and the public. From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burdens entailed upon the revenues of the nation by the present laws. The House of Commons was at first inclined to the present committee of the House, but they were not brought in with a very high opinion of the conduct of the committee. The committee's resolve being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants, under a certain yearly rent, from gaining settlements in rent, to be prepared on the same principles, as were the present bill of the land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in to prevent any person from gaining a settlement by being rated by virtue of an act of parliament for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the lower House; but among the Lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with economy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low traders, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and who are at the same time the executioners of one another with the most scandalous misappiances. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and of unblemished integrity, are authorised by a spirit of true patriotism, such as that which gives force to the power of the people, to intercede for the poor, and to take the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace officers, it would become the sagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the commonwealth, and which, instead of the wealth, peace, and prosperity, which it is possible to do more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, prodigality, and ruin; and would restrict, within due bounds, the number of public houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indolency, that it will be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great Britain, that such receptacles of vice and iniquity subsist under the constitution of the government, according to which: that the poor are, in proportion to those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quality of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve the contempt of every decent legislature, as a sacrifice, to such a base consideration, the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious than the supposition that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people: for intemperance is the bane of industry, as well as of population; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the excise upon liquors, will always be more than consumed by the loss on other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

§ XXV. Exclusive of the bills that were actually presented to the house, and those that were discussed in the preceding session, the Commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the inquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures, which was laid before them; and the measures agreed on during the preceding session, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the House, was again produced by the clerk, in whose custody it had been deposited. After some time, during which the committee agreed to fourteen resolutions.1 In the means-

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1 As the contents of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved,
time it was ordered, that all the weights, referred to in the report, should be delivered to the clerk of the House to be locked up and brought forth occasionally.

It is necessary to mention, among other articles of domestic economy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and sub- mitted to the committee of supply, they had the satisfaction of finding it, upon going over the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they produced the resolution which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The resolution, which related to the said hospital, was deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their resolutions were reported to the following effect: That the appointment, by the governors and guardians of the said hospital, to the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deserted young children, would be attended, with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital is attended with many evils, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution, but never presented; therefore the inquiry produced no effect. Notwithstanding this, however, it is to be observed, that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infanticide so frequent as it used to be. Nor may, therefore, not improperly stiled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of sleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to depress the birth-rate of the nation, and dissolve those family ties of blood, by which the chariters are connected.

§ XXVII. In the month of March, leave was given to bring in a bill for a more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting of the coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further inquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that such a measure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hath always exercised the power of fixing the standard, and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was deferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of bullion, if gold and silver was necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great Britain. The legislature, however, would do well to consider the matter in his recollection, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must be hastening to a state of insolvency. Over and above these proceedings in this session of parliament, it may not be unnece- ssary to allude to the debate on the subject of the king to the House of Commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the supply. On the twenty-sixth day of April, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the House those two messages signed by his majesty to the representatives of the people in North America, and the other in behalf of the East India company: the former recommending to their consider- ation the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in America have been engaged in the work of distinguishing their just rights and possessions; desiring he might be en- abled to give them a proper compensation for the expenses incurred by the respective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colo- nies should appear to merit: in the latter, he desired the House would empower him to assist the East India company in defraying the expenses of the military force in the following manner: that message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great Britain we shall particularize in its proper place, when we come to record the circumstances and misgovernments of that design. In the meantime, it was observed, that the thanks of the House of Commons were voted and given to Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country. And some compli- ment was paid to Admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruise in the Mediterranean.

§ XXVIII. The session was closed on the second day of June with a speech to both Houses, from the commis- sioners appointed by the crown to regulate the coin of the kingdom, and to introduce a new standard of measure. That branch of the parliament was given to understand, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condensation; that he hoped he had conceived of their surrounding the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of so good a parliament, and that his expectations were fully answered; that they had considered the war in all its parts, and notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstruction of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations, as ought to con- vince the adversaries of Great Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for their honour, to impose, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of ac- commodation, and now in the custody of the clerk of the House, and a model of the pattern of the same, together with a model of the pattern of the said coin, should be transmitted to the secretary of state for commerce, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said coin, now preserved in the House, and also of the multiples of the said coin, mentioned in this report, when the bills are addressed, should be kept in the said office, in order to the said persons to be addressed to the proper weighing and measuring weights and measures, under the seal of the chief banker of his ex- chestor for the time being, to be opened only by order of the said chief banker, in his presence, or the presence of one of the benches of the exchequer, on the application of the said person, for the purpose of surveying and adjusting, as is usual. Such models or patterns used at the said office, for strong measures of length and weight, delivered out in the said office, for their conformity. The next subject was, that model or pattern of the said standard yard and standard pound, mentioned last session, that model or pattern of the said coin, to be kept in the said office, to be substituted for any measure of length or weight, delivered out in the said office, and to be kept for comparison with any such measure or pattern of the said coin, as may be circulated in the country. It was resolved, that the model or pattern of the said standard yard and standard pound, should be lodged in the said office for the purpose of such measure of length or weight, as being parts, multiplied by the mean proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of the said persons, subject to the same regulations which the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with the same marks as above mentioned. This resolution was proposed on the 2nd of May, and was agreed to. The means and weights used at the said office, and to discover any errors that might be committed; and that the said office be directed, on a certain day, and at the beginning of each quarter, to take a return of the current day, and all the measures of length and weight within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and reassembled, as occasion should require, at the said office. That, in order to secure the national weights and measures against all possibility of errors and mistakes, or losses that might be committed on such occasions, be lodged in the said office, and to discover any errors that might be committed; and that the said office be directed to take a general return of the current day, and all the measures of length and weight within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and reassembled, as occasion should require, at the said office.
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[A. D. 1759.—Book III.]

commodation. They were told that, by their assistance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; provided as well as many forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: that, as France kept up the coasts and harbours in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: that all his measures had been directed to the most sensible ends. In the present state of the army, he was at liberty to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the Protestant religion, and public liberty: he, therefore, trusted that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers would produce the desired effect: a consideration which the king had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, so far might be practicable and consistent with his majesty's just right to hound the trade of his enemies from being conclusively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the Commons, but applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, and the prudence in placing the nation in a position of the strongest interests in this momentous question, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy conclusion. He assured them that no attention should be wanting on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shown in their proceedings during the session. These declarations being pronounced, the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXIX. The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animadverted upon the other by the pride of triumph and success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, however great, and expense, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and discussed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the parliament bestowed the nation's money; and the acquiescence of the subjects in general under the additional taxes which had been imposed, and the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the legislature; in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the way in which the public interest had begun to engage the hearts of the Englishmen and ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the ministry carefully cherished and cultivated for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is, the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching; at the same time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial advantages to the subjects of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented, in order to man the different squadrons, to prevent the expedient of pressing, that disgrace to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary vigour and vivacity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and every kindman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the several bodies of naval forces, and to this class of people, the king promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from their respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to them of their own accord, and receive the same terms as if they had deserted with the intention of deserting. It must be declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country so much required their services, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and if convicted of any of the acts of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great Britain, were commanded to make particular search for stragglers fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods, more gentle and effectual, were taken to levy and recruit the land forces. New regiments were raised, on his majesty's promise that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlisting were increased. Over and above these indulgences, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved, that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, as a matter of course, and that those who should choose to make them as persons as should engage in his majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be entitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if desirous of quitting the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of these truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in a condition to be useful, and to be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the king, he was pleased to signify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care and diligence were used in the discipline of the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of these truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in a condition to be useful, and to be brought to a conclusion.

§ XXX. Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestic events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the history of this period. As the reign of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the Princess Dowager of Orange and Nassau, governor of the United Provinces in the minority of her son, the present statholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues; pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised authority with equal respect and authority to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation. In her will she appointed the king her father, and the Prince Dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and Prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor, to her children. In the morning after her decease, the States-general and the states of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been adopted for the minority of the stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as representing the captain-
general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the States-general, who agreed to the resolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young stadholder, and the Princess Caroline his sister, in whose name the princess was represented, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the princess was communicated to the king her father, in a pathetic letter, by the States-general; who conveyed the news, and with the blood of her daughter wept. Though he felt the loss as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interest of the young stadholder and the princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England suffered another disaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the Princess Elizabeth Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederick Prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

§ XXI. Certain privates continuing their excesses at a particular spot in the character of the young person in authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and punished by death. When these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and robbery, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not, with unnecessary partiality, concern themselves in the enemies of Great Britain. A great number of causes were tried relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels with their cargoes were condemned, after a fair hearing, among seven court of admiralty and great people, and the repeated remonstrances of the States-general.

§ XXXI. The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privates, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of her police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period.—One Halsey, who commanded a merchant ship which arrived from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity as to deprive him of all chance of escape. His inhuman tyrant, envying him that death which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape so while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly he executed his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another manner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty. Another case occurred in the honourable city of England, near Birmincham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the halfling had seized, on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, conveyed him to a busy street, where the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. Both were tried, convicted, and executed; the sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected.—The widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own house: Mary Edmonson, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the street with her arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her sister and niece had been murdered, who forced their way into the house, and that the (the niece) had received those wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt, and in consequence of her being a cook, they went from the washhouse to the parlour; that she had stolen a watch and some silver spoons, and concealed them together with the knife and her own apron, which was soaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not persevere without horror, she put on another apron, and woaded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Common, though she deified the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and after having spent some minutes in devotion, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What seemed to corroborate this protestation, was the conduct and character of her, and her man, a very small man, who always stood above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circum- stances and manner of her condemnation excited all the certainty, though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematical events, which elude the force of all evidence, to an effect which the whole world must see, and which gives the most scandalous reason of the multitude of the enemies of Great Britain. A great number of causes were tried relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels with their cargoes were condemned, after a fair hearing, among seven court of admiralty and great people, and the repeated remonstrances of the States-general.
stance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to rest with his fellows of the watch, consisting of the mate and two seamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his associate; then they suddenly attacked the master, and dealt him a blow with a hatchet, which they likewise used in murdering the man that stood at the helm: a third was likewise despatched, and an Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy who lamented his father's death with moist tears and earnest supplications. At the expiration of the time a ship was likewise sacrificed, because the assassins were disturbed by his clamour. This barbarous scene was acted within sixty leagues of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken within the Cape of Good Hope, and Finisterre, by the captain of the French privateer, called La Favourite, who seeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the English consul; but the privateer was burnt by the French, and the body of the Englishman was conveyed to Knaresborough forest and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared amongst many other instances of the great extent of this disagreeable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained by laws and the society; which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

§ XXXIV. The Prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed to desire the hope, and consented to the degree of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and his majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their subject to repent the insults, and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and people. To gratulate the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least indication perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

§ XXXV. So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expense, or remodeled by the operations, of the war, that they found leisure to plan, and funds to execute, magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Blackfriars to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of common-council, it was resolved that the price supposed for building the forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding forty thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have the right of choosing their offices, and a place called the Stone Cave, where they would find it with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York assizes. There, his own corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death; notwithstanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetic terms to the king's mercy: and if ever murder was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might be said that he was not entitled to it. His genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth and station, acquired a part of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in mathematics, and the languages; acquired all the languages, ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European history. Condensed, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered, yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire immediately, but sat for a short time, and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was consigned to Knaresborough forest and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared amongst many other instances of the great extent of this disagreeable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained by laws and the society; which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

§ XXXVI. The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and seven considerable costs could not discourage. In the month of November the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, which, burning with great fury, advanced towards the Bank, and the buildings and engines employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, consumed a great number of houses, and damaged many more. The whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation; some individuals were beggared: one or two houses were consumed, which were preserved in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

§ XXXVII. The ferment of mind so peculiar to the natives of Great Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and expatriation, passion and philosophy, study and con-
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jecture, produced at this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promise fruit of public utility. Several persons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great desideratum in navigation, for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for this prize were: John Robison, from Dunkirk, by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the order of Doctor of Civil Law upon the ship Master of Arran, upon another noblemen of equal honour and integrity, namely, the Earl of Westmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the encircling, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The orations and public speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tullian, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

§ XXXVIII. The people of England, happy in their situation, felt none of the storms of war and desolation which swept over the rest of Europe. From Dunkirk, France succeeded by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the order of Doctor of Civil Law upon the ship Master of Arran, upon another noblemen of equal honour and integrity, namely, the Earl of Westmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the encircling, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The orations and public speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tullian, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

§ XXXIX. We shall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year, that are detached from the prosecution of the war, with the detail of an event equally surprising and desirable to the good and useful, but both of which were the result of the war. A small fleet of Canaries to New York, met with such an unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provisions of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The whole crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board; at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall, might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galagia, a Spanish gentleman and pilot. Him they shot with a musket; and having cut of his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcass, they greatly devoured. This horrid banquet having as it were fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of three priests, who prevailed upon them to; but, excepting a miserable allowance to each per diem, cut from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the griss which grew plentifully upon the shore, they spent their time in a constant hunt to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved

In the spring of the year the liberal arts sustained a lamentable loss in the death of George Frederic Handel, the most celebrated master in music with his last work at the beginning of the year, he left for Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most signal favours. In consequence of his death, the three harps were not played on for his stumpeous genius in the noblest parts of musical composition.

One would be apt to imagine, that there was something in the constitution of these persons, who lived in the age of Charles the Second, in the compass of a few months, the following persons, and not only of their own nation, but of the countries which they visited, who were remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland: William Barrow, who had been above seventy years a servant in the family of Bruce, died at the age of one hundred. He was born in Strathmore, in the parish of one hundred and eighteen. James Blair, who was killed at the battle of Stirling, in the year of the death of Bruce, was the age of one hundred and seventeen. Alexander Stephen, in Edinburgh, at the age of one hundred and fifty eight. James Brewin, who was born in 1617, died in 1714, and was the age of one hundred and thirty seven. Daniel Cameron, in Banock, married when he was twenty one, and survived his marriage thirty years.
 GEORGE II. 

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tains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruise, fell in with the Danae, a French ship of forty cannon and three hundred and thirty men, which was engaged by Captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchrist was obliged to turn his ship, and his men did not distinguish him from the one from the other: but no sooner did the day appear, than he bore down upon the Danae with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender: she did not sustain much damage, and half the men were taken and the gallant Captain Gilchrist received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future service: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a sanguine war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signifying his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was achieved about the same juncture, by Captain Barrington, commander of the ship Achilles, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin, bearing from Cape Francois on the island of Hispaniola to Rochefort, under the command of the Sieur de Montay, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of men killed, and his ship so damaged, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expense of about five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered useless. Two small pristors from this ship were taken by the Marquis de Bareil, by the brilliant, which carried her into Kisale in Ireland; the other called the Carillon, which struck to the Grace cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship commanded by Captain Duff, who sent her into the Downs.

§ XLIII. About the latter end of March, Captain Samuel Falkner, in the ship Windsor, of sixty guns, cruised to the northward, and encountered four large ships to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour; then the other three bearing away with all the sail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for sixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-and-twenty. The command was given to a nobleman, of thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French East India company, was laden with gun-powder and naval stores. Two frigates, called La Chasseur and Le Concordé, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by Captain Hughes, of his majesty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Despacho, from Moraix, was brought into Penance by the Diligence sloop, under the command of Captain Eastward. A fourth, called the Basque, from Bayonne, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and about two hundred men, fell into the hands of Captain Parker, of the brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrimus, of the Surprise, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, a ship from Dunkirk, struck to Captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth. In the month of May, a French frigate called the Arethusa, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the late Marquis de Vanseul, surrendered to two British frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the Captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded on the side of the enemy. In the month of June, an armed schooner belonging to Dunkirk was brought into the Downs, by Captain Angle, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Countess de la Serre, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by Captain Moore, of his majesty's ship the Adventure.

§ XLIV. Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all lately laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which Vice-Admiral Coote commanded on the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with four-and-twenty guns, was brought into the Jamaica, with the Favourite sloop of war, under the command of Captain Edwards, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her into the West Indies. Captain Collingwood, commander of the Favourite sloop, in a French frigates, the Amethyst and Berkeley: the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the Crescent's rigging was so much damaged, that she could not pursue: but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Bassetterre. Notwithstanding the force and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, they took above two hundred sail of British ships, valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadaloupe was in possession of the English, and Commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very waters.
must be owned, however, that his first attempt savoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet then lying off, and not during the actions of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire, of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-Admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the Re- doubtable of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her commander, and the batteries of the Monde, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expense of men; the whole number of the French killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owned, that on board of his own ship, the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought to trinmph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Inigo, whom the English admiral had sent to England with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

§ XLVIII. As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, that they may be comprehended, as it were, in one view, we must now, without regarding the order of time, relate many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea, that in the course of this year distinguished the flag of Great Britain. The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external enterprises, the French war minister, for invading some part of the British dominions: and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the king to both Houses of parliament were delivered by the Earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, signifying that his majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a design to invade Great Britain: that though persuaded, by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended that the allies would not act in concert, without a mutual and paternal care and concern which he had always shown for the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be necessary for their defence: he, therefore, acquainted the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require. These messages were no sooner read, than each House separately resolved to present an address, thanking his majesty for having communicated this intelligence, assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would cheerfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the victory of God, and by the power of his own mission. The Commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within the kingdom, to be more particular in their knowledge and attention in executing the several acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia.
cordingly taken; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed as to block up all the harbours of France which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner Rear-Admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the navy service he commanded: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of Admiral Boscowan over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a design to assist in the projected invasion. Nevertheless, the British ministry, sustained in their design; towards the execution of which they had prepared another considerable fleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. De Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the Duc d'Agoulin, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this expedition were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signalled his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Galilee, which had secured the North seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having received considerable damage. This made him a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German ocean and North sea, as far as the coast of Ireland, and that of Norway, owned, for the honour of human nature, that bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and humanity to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every respect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles were not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government, being apprized of all these proceedings, a small squadron was detached to prevent the proposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who considered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations in the North sea, in Germany, America, and West Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boy (the port of Havre was guarded by Boy) Sir Edward Hawke, of Boscawen, off Toulon, and the coast of Vannes was scourced by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who, during the summer, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distrest by an actual blockade.

§ 2. The French ministry being thus hampered, forebore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea armament: the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the Queen's squadron, and share his command in the western parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with sallies, and other accouterments for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest, with a fleet of twenty-three ships and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast, from Port L'orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Ponton. At last the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-Admiral Gery, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by Captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the meantime the government issued an order, to the effect that the English ships were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shores of Kent and Sussex: all the ships of war in the different harbours of the coast were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

§ 3. While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke ordered an armament on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Euryalus and the dryc. Those he directed to keep a head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chase of Captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having been detached to the eastward. The British admiral, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy, and joined the East and West Indies squadrons, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the weather had been so long tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of shoals, sandbanks, sholds, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion: but Sir Edward Hawke, steeling with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated for the dear preservation of his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country in a great measure depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risks in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal: consequently, M. de Conflans might have had a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. The British squadron, with a view to draw the English squadron amongst the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navi-
GEORGE II.

but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea which defied their hard Tickée ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and doughty success, till about four in the afternoon, when the French, for want of wind, retired to the westward of the Scæa in going to the bottom. The Hero bauld down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time day-light began to leave the scene on the east, leaving the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumett; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous state, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the apprehension of loss of distress without the knowledge whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and the ship ashore to the westward of Croyée. The English admiral immediately made signal to the Essex to ship cable, and pursue her; and, obeying this order, she ran unoffensively on a sand-hill called Lefour, where the Resolution, another of their ships, had already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but all their men and part of their stores were saved, and their crews set free, on the land of the Port-Fontain, the Dutch, the Portsmouth, the Chatham, and Vengeance to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to ashes on the Lefour, which she had been also stranded; and the Juste, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy rigging at anchor between Pointe Frean and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-castant mast to be struck. In the meantime, the French ships, being lightened of their anchors, and her, they took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries, erected on the shore, and by two large frigates posted across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very considerable number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had been menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled and driven into the very depth of the basin; a fatal blow to the French fleet.


during the war the English had already taken and destroyed two-hundred and forty frigates, besides four frigates taken at Malo, and four frigates captured, so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French navy, already reduced to one hundred and sixty ships, and four frigates possessed, so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four, whereas the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French navy, already reduced to one hundred and sixty ships, and four frigates possessed, so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four, whereas the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line and five frigates.
be under the direction and command of so known an
asserter of liberty, such an important and distinguished
 governor, as had been for a long time required and
expected. The king's majesty, therefore, in pursuance
of his majesty's arms might be crowned with such a con-
tinuation of success, as should enable him to defeat the
devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and
honorable peace with his enemies. If the commands of
his majesty were committed to the Earl of Shannon, and
by him presented to the Duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to
the government at such a critical conjuncture.
§ LIV. Althougb no traces of disaffection in his ma-
jestv's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must
nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfac-
tion broke out with extraordinary violence among the
populace of Dublin. The present lord-leutenant was not
remarkably popular in his administration. He had be-
stowed one place of considerable importance upon a gen-
tleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in
that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affinity and con-
descension which a free and ferocious nation expects to
find in the character of him to whose rule they are sub-
jected. Whether the offence taken at his departure had
created enemies to his person, or the nation in general
began to entertain doubt about jealousies of the govern-
ment's designs, certainly it is, great and strange, to gath-
merge a belief among the lower sort of people, that a
union would soon be effected between Great Britain and
Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be de-
prived of a spirit with which it was hitherto favored, and be
subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of
England. This notion inflamed the populace to such a de-
gree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke
into the House of Lords, insulted the peers, seized the
woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which,
had they been found, they would have committed to the
flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the
members of both Houses, whom they met in the streets,
to take an oath that they would never consent to such a
union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of
Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons
were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was
erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly
escaped the ungodly rage of those riotous insurgents.
A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this oc-
casion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night
dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the lord-lieu-
tenant were agreed to by both Houses of parliament, and a
committee of inquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the
 tumult might be discovered, and brought to condign punish-
ment.
§ LIV. When the ministry of England received the first
advice, that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, with
a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body
of land troops, designed for a private expedition on the
coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresss were immediately
despatched to the commanding officers of the forces in
North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast
of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; and to
hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in
who they should attempt a descent. In consequence of
these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate com-
munication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed
for the troops in militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty, on
any pretence whatever. The greatest encomium that can
be given to the character of this partisan, is an account of
the alarm which the sailing of his puny armament spread
through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom,
whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career
would have sooner stopped, had Commodore Boys
been victualled for a longer cruise: but this commander
was obliged to put into Leith for a supply of provisions, at
the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coast
near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was pro-
vided for a prosecution of the cruise, the other had taken
shelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.


CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. State of the island of Martinique. § 2. Expedition against that island. § 3. Establishments made on this coast. § 4. Settlement of Guadeloupe. § 5. Separation with the islanders. § 6. Fort Louis


§ 2. Such was the progress of the French, and the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armed force, whose progress we shall now relate. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, Captain Hughes sailed from St. Helens with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, lying on board six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war; this whole force being under the command of Major-General Hillson, an old experienced officer, assisted by Major-General Barrington, the Colonels Armiger and Halldane, the Lieutenant-Colonels Travers and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of seven weeks and three days, they arrived at Barbadoes, where they remained in port, and detached up the river. § 3. Council of war called. § 4. The troops land at the Heights of Abraham. § 5. Entry into Quebec. § 6. Reoccupation of England. § 7. Having finished the detail of the actions achieved in the European seas, by the naval force of Great Britain, within the compass of the present year, we shall now proceed to record the exploits of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Guadeloupe, which it is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Lawrence, and besieging Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe constituted part of this design, as much as the troops embarked to reinforce the forces sent to Martinique, attempted to reinforce the British army in North America, which was just considered as the chief seat of the war. What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique, may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French king's lieutenants of its several districts, to the general of the French island, concerning two hundred thousand dollars' ransom of negroes, and the augmentation of the forces sent to Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was just considered as the chief seat of the war. What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique, may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French king's lieutenants of its several districts, to the general of the French island, concerning two hundred thousand dollars' ransom of negroes, and the augmentation of the forces sent to Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was just considered as the chief seat of the war.

Chap. XI.—A.D. 1759.

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sailors; who, being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed. Here, however, they met with no resistance; the enemy had abandoned the fort with proper capitulation. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and sentinels of marines posted upon the parapet. The next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriage of the ordnance which they found in the magazine: nevertheless, the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery. This service being successfully performed, three ships were sent to reduce the other batteries on Martinique, which consisted only of four guns, and these were likewise disabled. Four other ships, reinforced with militia which had been detached from the town to oppose the disembarkation, perceiving the whole British squadron, and all the transports, already within in the bay, and Fort Negro occupied, determined to lay siege to Port-Royal, leaving the beach open; so that the English troops were landed without opposition; and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the citadel, shifted their station, and stood further up the bay. By ten next day the English officers had been enabled to form an entrenched camp, and scour the woods; from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the Britishvillages in order to prevent the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port-Royal, and sustained a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see; for the French militia were entirely covered by the woods and bushes. This demonstration, called the Morne Torrence, though the bay was as much as two miles in length, of the whole island, was neglected by the general of Martinique, who had resolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel; but, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been attended with the immediate destruction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Torrence, resolved to defend that post with a body of the militia which was reinforced by the garrisons of Fort Negro and Casenoves, as well as by some soldiers detached from the Florissant: but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely unaccustomed with cannon, extremely defective in point of discipline, dispirited by the pusillanimity of their governor, and in a great measure discouraged by the general con- servation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withstood a spirited and well-conducted attack by regular troops. At about three o'clock General Hopson thought proper to desist from his attempt. He gave the commander to understand, that he could not maintain his ground, unless the squadron would support him by cannon, landing near the town. Port-Royal, at a savannah, where the boats must have been greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy; or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, while he should make his approaches by land. Both these expedients being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced posts, and re-embarked in the evening, without any considerable molestation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Torrence had cost them several men, including two officers, killed in the action; and, in revenge for this loss, they burned the sugar-canes, and desolated the country, in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the testimony of their own senses, when they saw themselves thus delivered from all their fears, at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confusion; when the principal individuals among them had resigned all thought of further resistance, and were assembled in the public hall in Port-Royal, to send deputes to the English general, with proposals of capitulation and surrender.

a The commodore offered to land the nanos on the other side of Point de l'Enfer, but the general of the fleet ordered them to land the road from the English army at Port- Royal, and even caused them to go far on this side, without the order of the commodore, but this order was not accepted. General Hopson afterwards declared, that this course was highly improper, and Mr. Moore's despatch, of the 7th, is a plain but severe reproof on this head.

b The commodore did not attend at this council, it was convened to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they should make another landing on the southward of the carriage. In this case, the latter declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the French to proceed to that point, without the hope of reaching Port-Royal; but this council was not held.

c Only as being the seal of government; for Guadaloupe makes a much more effectual impression, than either of the greater islands, or Martinique. During the civil disturbance, with the assistance of the Dutch of St. Eustatius, situated in its neighbourhood.
it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took their respective stations next morning, which was the twenty-third day of January. At nine, the Lion, commanded by Captain Trewheney, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns; and the rest of the fleet continued to place themselves abreast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general and very severe. In both ships for several hours with great vivacity; while the commodore, who had shifted his pennant into the Woolwich frigate, kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might observe the scene of the battle, and give his orders to the greater deliberation. This expedient of an admiral's removing his flag and retiring from the action while his own ship is engaged, however consonant to reason, we do not remember to have seen practised upon any occasion, except in one instance, at Carthagena, where Sir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ship, when he was ordered to stand in, and cannonade the fort of Bocca-Chira. In this present attack, all the sea commanders beheld with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the Captains Leslie, Burnett, Garton, Jekyll, Trewheney, and Shuldham; who, in the hottest tumult of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel slackened. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to sea; so that Captain Shuldham, in the Panther, was unsustained; and Captain Jekyll, in the Rippon, Captain Jekyll, who by two in the afternoon had silenced the guns of one, called the Morne-rogue; but at the same time could not prevent his ship from running aground. The enemy receiving her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the hill, and spied the terrors, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musketry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effects. The action, in order to make the account as equal as possible, and to preserve that equal courage and perseverance, though his people dropped on every side, until all his grape-shot and wadding were expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces; to crown his misfortune, a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire; which, however, was soon extinguished. In the meantime, the captain threw out a signal of distress; to which no regard was paid, till Captain Leslie, of the Bristol, coming from sea, and observing the burning ship, ran in between the Rippon and the battery; and engaged with such impetuosity, as made an immediate diversion in favour of Captain Jekyll, whose ship remained anchored, and, not being obliged to be given, till midnight, when she floated, and escaped from the very jaws of destruction. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships, having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, joined the rest of the fleet. The four bombs being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the most terrible explosion; and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration. Next day at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basseterre, where they left their ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach: several ships turned out and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five, the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel.

which they found entirely abandoned. They learnt from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding one hundred men; and that they had lain up the powder magazine in the citadel: but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The rails with which they had spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the musketeers; and in the meantime, the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great fury.

GEORGE II. 1295

To their Excellent Wives, Harriot and Emma, General Officers of his Majesty, \*\*

[Note in margin: "To their Excellent Wives, Harriot and Emma, General Officers of his Majesty."

[Note in margin: "I have sent the letter which your excellencies have done me the honour to write of the twentieth March. You make the proposals which could not have been expected from the character and situation of the little town and citadel of Basseterre; for otherwise you ought to do me the justice to believe that I could not be prevailed on. You have strongly sufficed to resist a considerable body of the enemy, and at the same time to exclude the inhabitants of the island from the necessity of giving up the town."

\* In all probability it was not perceived by the commodore.

\*\* To their Excellent Wives, Harriot and Emma, General Officers of his Majesty.
sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a great number taken. Of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his limb. The greatest body of the enemy always appeared at the governor's head-quarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and thrown up intrenchments. From these a considerable detachment advanced on the 6th day of February to the admission of the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but, after a short though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire with some loss. Without all doubt, the misconduct of some officers pursued the most sensible part of the English, and that could possibly have been projected for their own safety. Instead of hazarding a general engagement against regular troops, in which they could have no prospect of success, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but insufficiently supplied with provision and refreshment. Nor were their hopes in this particular disappointed. Both the army and the navy were invaded with fevers, and other diseases, epidemic in those hot countries: and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was judged convenient to send five hundred sick men to the sea, where they might more easily attack the enemy, and form a strong base of supplies for the island, which, as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort-Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grand-morne, in order to reinforce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed with the hightanders, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and forthwith hoisted the English colours. In a few days after this exploit, General Hopson dying at Basseterre, the chief command devolved on General Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour and dispatch. As one step towards this conquest, the commodore ordered two ships of war to cruise off the island of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from aiding the natives of Guadaloupe, whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions, since they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops who were then at anchor, to take their departure, in order that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in that quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Basse- terre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army re-embarked except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel, the command of which was bestowed on Colonel Debray, an accomplish- ed officer of great experience. The enemy no sooner perceived the coast clear than they desentred from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they commanded this fortification both with shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle. In the midst of these hostilities, the gallant Dutch were attacked by one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished, by the explosion of a powder magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion.

The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate incident, encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the fire of the garrison. The general, being much acquainted with the fate of Colonel Debray, conferred the government of the fort upon Major Melville, and sent thither the chief engi- neer to repair and improve the fortifications.

§ VII. In the mean time, Mr. Moore having received certain intelligence that Mons. de Bompard had arrived at Martinique, with a squadron consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole regiment of land troops, and more than a thousand garrisoned in the batteries of the island, he called in his cruisers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to wind-ward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadaloupe, where he could always sail to oppose any design which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments. For what reason Mr. Moore did not sail immediately to the bay of Port Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French squadron lay at anchor, we shall not pretend to determine. He had taken that step, M. Bompard must either have given him battle, or retired into the carenage, behind the citadel; in which case, the English commander might have anchored between the French and the island, and more fortunately answered his expec-tation. By retreating to Dominique, he left the sea open to French privateers, who roved along the coasts of these islands, and in a very little time carried into Guadaloupe and Martinique more than eighty vessels, and the subjects of Great Britain. These continual depredations committed under the nose of the English commodore, irritated the planters of the English islands, some of whom were said to have circulated unfavourable reports of that gentleman's character.

§ VIII. General Barrington being left with no more than one ship of forty guns for the protection of the transports, formed a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadaloupe by determining on the possession of the fort, and instantly answered his expec-tation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grandeterre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men: who, under the command of Colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Ann and St. François: and destroyed some batteries of the enemy, from whom he sustained very little opposition. While he was thus employed, a detachment of three hun- dred men attacked the town of Gros-Islet, who, notwithstanding a severe fire, they took by storm, drove the garrison into the woods, set fire to the place, and demolished the battery and intrenchment raised for its defence. This success was accompanied with two, or three flats-hulled boats, that belonged to the enemy, might have been expected to join in this attack; but proper watch was made, and they were ordered to force their way to Fort-Louis, while the garrison of that castle was directed to make two sallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly gene- rated, with some loss sustained in forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery which the enemy had raised against the English camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort-Louis. The general, having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the scheme of surprising at one time the three towns of Petit-Bourg, Cognost, and St. Mary, situated on the Baseterre side of the little Cule-de-Sac, and commanded the execution of it to the Colonels Crump and Clavering: but the night appointed for the service proved excessively stormy and tempestuous, which made the directors were so frightened, that they ran several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but for the want of a boat, and that he was obliged to take the mud so impossibly deep, that he was obliged to re- embark, though not before the enemy had discovered his design. This project having miscarried, the general de-
tached the same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct cannot be sufficiently applauded, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty vase of artillery, and had proceeded from the town of Aronville, at the bottom of the little Cul-de-Sac, under the protection of his majesty's ship Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong intrenchment they had made two miles from the river. This intrenchment was of great importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay of Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangles, except at two narrow passes, which they had fortified with a redoubt and intrenchments well pallissaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: besides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the English commanders determined to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the intrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to advance; but they were driven back by the fire of the highlanders, drawing their swords, and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, where they had maintained their ground within the intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the assailants both with musketry and cannon. In half an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops passed the river, in a post, which they fortified with precipitation; notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among those some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. The French lost one hundred and fifteen officers and thirteen men killed, and above fifty wounded.

§ IX. The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops advanced towards Pétitbourg, harassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizard, the only ford of which the French had fortified with strong intrenchments, protected by a battery of four cannon, erected on a rising ground in their rear. Colonel Clavering, in the night, with all his force, and determined to clear a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half further down the river, a sufficient number of troops by day-break, to assault the place to clear it. But, though the troops were commanded in front of the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner perceived his intention, than they forsook the post, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having crossed the river, pursued them to Pétitbourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found Captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He forthwith sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights: a circumstance which the enemy no sooner observed, than they deserted the place, and retired with great expedition. On the fifteenth day of April, Captain Steel destroyed a battery at Gouyave, a strong post, which had been long left at his place by the enemy, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a hasty discharge of their artillery. At the same time Colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Malsaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions, which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a body of troops to watch the head of the bay, took possession of the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raised barricades; but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached Colonel Darlow, with a body of troops, to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their intrenchment.

They stood but one cannon-shot, and then fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the troops advancing to the attack, the officers and men charged their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for that night at St. Mary's. Next day they entered the charming country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes belonging to the plantation of the company of the Marigalante, and some of the inhabitants of the island, who had been runaway, met with a reception of the greatest degree of respect and attention. Here Colonel Clavering was met by Messieurs de Clavilliers and Duquenser, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Pétitbourg, where they were presented to General Barrington; who, considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of his forces, daily diminishing, the difficulty of the country, and the impossibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinique, wisely took the advantage of the present panic, and settled terms of capitulation without delay. The sanction of this resolution soon appeared. The inhabitants had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived to announce the arrival of the French fleet, with the arrival of the harmonie, the general of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne's, to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinique, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, about fifteen hundred volunteers, and a considerable number of the militia, drafted from the companies of Martinique, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by M. de Bonpart, who no sooner learned that the capitulation was signed, than he re-embarked the troops and stores with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique. Thus we see the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than the island of Martinique, and that the English had not planted, was as much owing to accident as to the value of the troops and the conduct of the general: for, had the reinforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed, in all probability the English would have found it impracticable to finish the reduction of Guadeloupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deserved great commendation, not only for persevering so gallantly in defence of their country, but also for their fortitude in bearing every species of distress. They now quit the Dos d'An, and all their other posts, and returned to their respective habitations. The town of Bassesterre, being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants became afraid of the return of the English, and went away, where they resumed their several occupations with that good humour so peculiar to the French nation; and General Barrington humbly indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

§ X. The small islands of Deseda, Los Santos, and Pétitbourg, were comprised in the capitulation of Guadeloupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grande-terre, extending twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered and ill-fortified, having refused to submit when summoned by the squadron to surrender, General Barrington resolved to reduce them by force. He embarked a body of troops on board of transports, which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb vessels from Prince Rupert's bay, and at their appearance the islands submitting, received an English garrison. Before this period, Commodore Moore having received intelligence that M. de Bonpart had sailed from Martinique, with design to land a reinforcement on Guadeloupe, and that his squadron was seen seven leagues to windward on the twenty-second day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raised barricades; but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached Colonel Darlow, with a body of troops, to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their intrenchment.
dron sailed on one side of the island, and the French upon the other, that they might be sure of not meeting; but this, without doubt, was an impudent calumny.1

§ XI. General Harrington, having partly completed the conquest of Guadaloupe, gave notice to the commodore, that he intended to send back part of the troops, with the transports, to England, about the beginning of July. In consequence, the commodore accordingly embarked his squadron at Basseterre road, where he was next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him greatly superior in strength to the commander of the French fleet, who had retired with the island of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadaloupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain returned immediately to Basseterre, to make the commodore acquainted with this circumstance: but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate arrived, with information that the part had quit Grenada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The commodore immediately despatched the Ludlow-castle with the intelligence to Admiral Coats, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica. General Harrington having made a tour of the island, in order to visit and repair those fortifications as he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the war of six years already settled, he sent the Jamaica, with a body of drafts, to North America, under convoy: be garrisoned the principal strength of the island, and left the chief command to Colonel Crimp, who had formed the preceding expedition; Colonel Crimp having been sent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had signalized himself to a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the island at Basseterre; and the fleet of Grandetere was stationed on Cape Delgano. Three complete regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Harrington himself was on board the Rainbow in the latter part of June, and took his departure for England. About a month after, the transports, under convoy of Captain Hughes, with a small squadron, sail for Great Britain; while Commodore More, with his fleet, directed his course to Antigua.

§ XII. While this armament had been employed in the conquest of Guadaloupe, North America exhibited still more sanguinary scenes of war and devastation; which, in order properly to introduce, it will be necessary to explain the steps that were taken on this concern, previous to that campaign. In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was established, by a formal treaty, between Great Britain and the Indians dwelling in that country, consisting of several nations inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The T Ignite, however, being divided, and the lakes, did not assist at this conference. The two steps, thus taken, induced the British ministry to confer with those nations, and to enter into an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnston's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of New Jersey, five members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New Jersey, a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly Quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Onondagagers, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Tontiagues, and Comow; the Tuscaroras, Chaguanus, Delawares, and Unamies, the Minnsens, Mohicans, and Wappingers; the whole number, including their women and children, amounting to five hundred. Some of the Six Nations, thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been partly fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Minnsens, in particular, complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hostilities: but their chief, Teedyuscung, had made overtures of peace; and the character of amiableform from all the ten nations had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took umbrage at the importance assumed by one of the Delaware tribes; over whom, as their descendants, they exercise a sort of guardianship, and which they now had made no scruple to disclose their dissatisfaction. The business, therefore, of the English governors at this congress, was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, and reconcile the errors which had occasioned the difficulties. The Delawares, remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians, detach these savages entirely from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Tiguistes to accede to this treaty. Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumscribed in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themselves, nevertheless, in matters of importance, to the community, by the general maxims of reason and justice: and their treaties are always founded upon good sense, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and polysyllabic; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors, and equally crude expressions, which is great credit to their language. Every proposition is offered, every answer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum. The treaty was signed from the 6th to the 26th of October, and delivered on the 29th of November. The whole treaty, with the articles, was made at this treaty, on the 26th of August, and on the 26th of October, 2690, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco, from one to two dollars worth, of corn, beans, comfits, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, clothes, blankets, garterine, serges, wash-cots, and a few suits of leaved clothes for their chiefs. To crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened: they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation.

§ XIII. This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the interest of Great Britain, then only paved the way for those operations, which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms in North America against one object, the ministry resolved to divide it into severalinations, directing several parties to different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada completed in one campaign. That the success might be the more easy, a general plan, that, by joining in the same manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occasionally, so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign appeared nothing but that General Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, to command a squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada, acting with General Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops, and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, join General Wolfe in the siege of Quebec; that Bogalou, General Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced with a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnston, should invest the French fort erected by the fall or castle...
of Niagara, which was certainly the most important post of all French America, as it in a manner commanded all the interior parts of that vast continent. It oversaw the whole course of the St. Lawrence, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opened a passage for invasions into the colonies of Great Britain. On the 14th of March, the British forces, having reduced Niagara, should be embarked on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst’s army. Before the latter decided upon this plan, he commanded a smaller detachment for reducing smaller forts, and securing the banks of the lake Ontario. How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge, may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Lawrence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebec was remarkably strong from situation and fortifications, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebec, with a body of eight or ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, and his name was well known and respected, and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada. The garrison of Quebec was actually much superior to that of Montreal, not so much from the number of men as from the fact that it was tedious and embarrassed; and Monsieur de Vaudreuil secured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to General Amherst’s state of the plan, the town of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, that defended the route to the river St. Lawrence. Even had these objects been removed, it might have been doubted whether he and Mr. Wolfe should move at Quebec in the same instant of time. The first that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebec, would have run the risk of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which case, the other body must have been exposed to the imminent hazard of destruction in the midst of an enemy’s country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had the disasters happened, (and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme,) the troops at Niagara would, in all probability, have fallen an easy prey to the other, with the whole of the United States; and as they receive intelligence time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New York and, joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St. Lawrence to besiege Quebec. Even in that case the whole number of his troops would not have been sufficient, according to the practice of war, to invest the place, and cope with the covering army. Nevertheless, had the enterprise succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired further into the country; that which would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of the river St. Lawrence blocked up, all the defeated forces were surrendered, at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying, at an incredible trouble and expense, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been beset in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in this plan, it was considered as the only practicable one, in some essential points, was attended with surprising success. The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadeloupe, seemed to attend the British arms in their siege of Quebec, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present, we must attend the operations of General Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who pressed forward without command in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

§ XIV. The summer was already far advanced before General Amherst prepared for the siege of Quebec. The French forces, although they met with no opposition, and received the assistance of Governor de Léry, who commanded a small detachment for reducing smaller forts, and securing the banks of the lake Ontario. How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge, may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Lawrence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebec was remarkably strong from situation and fortifications, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebec, with a body of eight or ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, and his name was well known and respected, and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada. The garrison of Quebec was actually much superior to that of Montreal, not so much from the number of men as from the fact that it was tedious and embarrassed; and Monsieur de Vaudreuil secured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to General Amherst’s state of the plan, the town of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, that defended the route to the river St. Lawrence. Even had these objects been removed, it might have been doubted whether he and Mr. Wolfe should move at Quebec in the same instant of time. The first that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebec, would have run the risk of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which case, the other body must have been exposed to the imminent hazard of destruction in the midst of an enemy’s country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had the disasters happened, (and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme,) the troops at Niagara would, in all probability, have fallen an easy prey to the other, with the whole of the United States; and as they receive intelligence time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New York and, joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St. Lawrence to besiege Quebec. Even in that case the whole number of his troops would not have been sufficient, according to the practice of war, to invest the place, and cope with the covering army. Nevertheless, had the enterprise succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired further into the country; that which would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of the river St. Lawrence blocked up, all the defeated forces were surrendered, at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying, at an incredible trouble and expense, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been beset in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in this plan, it was considered as the only practicable one, in some essential points, was attended with surprising success. The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadeloupe, seemed to attend the British arms in their siege of Quebec, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present, we must attend the operations of General Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who pressed forward without command in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

§ XV. While the general superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in preparing batteaux and other vessels, his scouting parties lowered in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. From one of these detachments he received intelligence, on the first day of August, that the enemy had reembarked on the Crown-Point, and detached a body of riflemen before him to take possession of the place: then he embarked with the rest of the army; and on the fourth day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the further security of the British dominions in that part of the country; and particularly for preventing the inroads of scuttling parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested. Here information was received that the enemy had retreated to the Isle aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the right side of the lake, that their garrison at Crown-Point had been reembarked in the fort that was left by the command of M. de Burlemagne, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred effective men, provided with a considerable artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments under the command and direction of M. Le Ber, a captain in the French navy, assisted by M. de Rigal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this information, General Amherst, who had for some time employed Captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being resolved to have the superiority on the lake, directed the captain to build with all possible expedition a sloop of sixteen guns and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon. These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled, and manned by the eleven day of October, the general embarked with the whole of the troops in batteaux, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempestuous, was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were quartered for the night. It was during this time, Captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailing down the lake, gave chase to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and only one escaped. The vessel which escaped: one, however, was repaired and brought away by Captain Loring, so that now the French had but one schooner remaining. General Amherst, after having
been some days wind-bound, re-embarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had also been high, with renewed fury, so agitated the swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he saw the impossibility of accomplishing his design, and resolved to withdraw to the sheltered bay where he had been sheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the twenty-first day of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attempts in supporting the garrison of Crown-Point, together with three small outposts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of Massachusetts's and New Hampshire; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops, so as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy.

§ XVI. During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints in some letters relating to the exchange of prisoners, that came from the French general, Montcalm, who gave him to understand that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighborhood of Quebec, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city; that he had honoured him (the French general) with several notes, sometimes couched in a soothing strain, sometimes filled with threats; that the French army intended to give him battle, and a few days were not to be considered as the last of the campaign. As Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec squadron, his communication continued open with the forces which undertook the siege of Niagara; and he received an account of their success before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux, with his body of troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnston, advanced to the cataract of Niagara, without being stopped by the least opposition on the march; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the twentieth day of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a cannon. Mr. Amherst was no sooner informed of his disaster, than he detached Brigadier-General Gage from Ticonderoga, to assume the command of that army. In the meantime, it devolved on Sir William Johnston, who happily prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the success that could have been desired. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They assembled a body of considerable force, amounting to eight hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Varenno, and Presque Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached under the command of Monstre D'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Niagara. Sir William Johnston; whose personal bravery and intelligence, made him the most proper man to intercept them in their march. In the even- ing he ordered the light infantry and pikets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortress; these were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey; and another regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, was posted at the left of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrid scream called the war whoop, which, by this time, had lost effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with impetuously; but they met with such a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, taken, and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles, with considerable slaughter. This battle, which was fought on the twenty-fourth day of July, was seen in sight of the French garrison at Niagara. Sir William Johnston sent Major Hervyewith a trump- et to the commanding officer, to present him with a list of seventeen officers taken in the engagement, and to ex- hort him to surrender before more blood was shed, while the French commander had not yet made his demand, having certified himself of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garrison, consisting of about two thousand men, surrendered to the order of battle, and the French general, having done honor to the honor of his country, and capacity of the Indians. All the women were con- ducted, at their own request, to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity. This was the second com- plete victory obtained on the continent of North America, in the course of the same war, by Sir William Johnston, who, without the help of a military education, succeeded so signal in the field by dint of innate courage and nat- ural sagacity. What remarkably characterizes these bat- tles, is the circumstance of his having taken in both the commanders of the enemy. Indeed, the war in general may be distinguished by the sagacity of this gent- leman and the celebrated Lord Clive, two self-made generals: who, by a series of shining actions, have de- monstrated that unpurchased genius can, by its own in- ternal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of European generals. It was not more serviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his justice, benevolence, and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, who, not only assembled at Niagara to the number of eleven hun- dred, but also restrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

A few days after the evacuation of the garrison of Niagara, the possession of Crown-Point, was expelled without much more ease than the conquest of Quebec, the great object to which all these operations were subordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with singular adventures and surprising events, in the course of which a noble spirit of enterprise was displayed, and the scenes of war were exhibited to all the variety of desolation. It was about the middle of February, that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had, on several occasions, signa- lized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. The squadron, under the command of Captain Grey, was formed of sixty ships of war, and was in sight of Louisbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence Rear-Admiral Durell was detached, with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. John, and to design, under the protection of the enemy, to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebec; he accordingly took two storeships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail, laden with provision, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Meanwhile, Admiral Saunder- s arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without delay. The operations by land were in- tended to the conduct of Major-General James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the Brigadiers Monckton, Townsend, and Murry; all in the flower of the third age, who had studied the military art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and, though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of Major-General Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity; the other two resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of Brigadier Townsend was singular: he had served several years in the last war with reputa- tion, and was regarded as more capable of distinguishing himself in service than any other officer in the army. There was no disdain at some hard usage he had sustained from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit.
and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and sense of glory, that he was keenly sensitive to a British peerage, postured to the people of a very affable fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurement of domestic felicity, he arrived at these considerations: he burst from all entanglements: proffered his services to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

§ V. He then proceeded for Quebec sailed up the river St. Lawrence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June, the land forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, which lies below Quebec, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe, no sooner landed on the island of Orleans, than he distributed a message, full of dignity with few words, in which he and the inhabitants completely all the Canadien of the locality capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field to redress a very advantageous treatment left to America. He declared it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war; on the contrary, he declared his main aim was to keep these and all their depredations; and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the contrary part, and that he would preserve the English that the English were masters of the river St. Lawrence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe; and had, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of General Amherst. He affirmed that the solution they ought to take was neither difficult nor horrible; and that the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might enjoy in the relations between the two nations. He declared in this manner to the inhabitants of the Indies of Great Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the terms of surrender to Mr. Carleton, with a view of war, and left it to themselves to determine their fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these advantageous terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as upon the generosity, of Great Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor indeed did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promissed fidelity of the English. He had innocently represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the scalping parties of Indians which the most of them had induced or insti-

1 The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, was once aécuadcly common, and sometimes the result of well-merited revenge, is now, happily, in as little practice as a punishment. The scalp is cut off, not the head; the bandage is tied round the upper part of the head, and torn off with the scalp in the act of being cut. The operation is performed with a knife that has been blunted and sharpened by use, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whose banner it has been achieved.
divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined must have arisen among the prepared transports, produced fire-ships; and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well conceived, and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the discipline of the British admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who roundly botched the fire-ships, and tossed them fast aground, where they burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the enemy's operations. On the succeeding day, they burnt the contents. this, and sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaux, which were likewise consumed without producing any effect.

§ XXI The works for the security of the hospital and the stores, on the island of Orleans, being finished, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats; and, landing under cover of two slopes, encamped on the side of the river of Montmorency, which divided them from the left of the enemy. Next morning a company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated; however, the nearest troops advancing, repelled the Indians in their turn, with a considerable loss. In this battle General Wolfe to choose this situation by the falls of Montmorency, in which he was divided from Quebec by this, and another river called St Charles, he explained in a well selected situation of state ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side on which the enemy was posted; that there was a ford below the falls, passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the Marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, his rangers and the river Montmorency, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite banks, which were naturally steep and covered with woods, the enemy had intrenched in such a manner, as to render it almost inaccessible. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but these encounters cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including some officers. Some shrived objectations might be started to the general's choice of ground on this occasion. He could not act at all without passing the river Montmorency at a very great disadvantage, and attacking an enemy superior to himself in number, secured by redoubts and intrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extensive fire, driven them from the strong positions he might have sought, the success must have cost him a great number of officers and men; and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St Charles, which he also must have passed under the same considerations, before the redoubts, where his previous operations against the city of Quebec. Had his good fortune enabled him to surmount all these difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garrison of Quebec might have been reinforced by the shock of their army; and he could not, with any probability of success, have undertaken the siege of an extensive fortified place, which he had not troops sufficient to invest, and whose garrison would have been nearly equal in number to the sum total of the troops he commanded. At the rate, the chance of a fair engagement in the open field was what he had little reason to expect in that situation, from the known experience, and the apparent conduct, of the French general. These objections appeared so obvious and important, that General Wolfe would not determine to risk an attack until he had surveyed the upper part of the river St. Lawrence, in hopes of finding some place more favourable for a descent.

§ XXII. On the eighteenth day of July, the admiral, at his request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec, without having sustained any injury. The general, being aware of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground; and these difficulties were redoubled by the beacon fire which would be sent upon the redoubts, to intimate to the enemy the place to which he was informed a great number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss; and some two hundred and eighty of the French were discovered. The general, thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorency, where the Brigadier Townsend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from creasing a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he resolved to attack them, though posted to gain advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was, first to reduce a detached redoubt, close to the water's edge, seemingly situated without getting shot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement; on the contrary, should they retire from it, he thought this would induce them to afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt next morning. The left of the Charles was driven away; a detachment of the part of Brigadier Montcalon's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the Brigadiers Townsend and Murray, were drawn out, in order to pass the ford when it should be necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was placed in the river Montmorency, to flake the left of the enemy's intrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous measures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this intrenchment without further delay. Orders were issued that the three brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and their passengers, being disembarked, were met by a severe fire of shot and shell; and the general person sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops must disembark with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported by the corps of Brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute to the success of the disembarkation. These instructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before M. Monckton had landed, and while Brigadier Townsend was on his march to a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in a regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. The first fire they received did such execution among them, that they were obliged to shelter themselves behind the redoubt and the battery, which had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who laboured in vain even that they might be in the honourable discharge of their duty.
The third effort was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent at Chambud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, provision, and ammunition. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's decision, the attack was continued with intelligence and determination. The dismay which the fort of Nagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned; and General Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps at the fort was a source of great mortification to the Montmorency.

The disaster of the allies at Montmorency made a deep impression on the mind of General Wolfe, whose spirit was too great to brook the most distressing prospect of censure or disgrace. He kept the consummation of his plans secret, and the English people—rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exaltation by the least gleam of success, objected even to despondency by the most incomprehensible frown of adverse fortune; sangrii, even to childish hyperbole, in applauding those servants of the public who have prospered in their undertakings; clamorous to a degree of persecution, against those who have miscarried in their undertakings, without any investigation of merit, without any consideration of circumstances, judging of others by the sample of their own failures with the shame of disappointment, and the eager desire to retrieve the laurel that he might by some be supposed to have lost at the falls of Montmorency, and the disaster of the allies there; and the whole excitement of an internal agitation, which visibly affected his external frame, and disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among those who shared his confidence, he was supposed to be nearly dead. The final defeat at the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

§ XXIII. Immediately after this mortifying check, in which the arms of the expedition were lost, and an important number of the officers, were lost, the general detached Brigadier Murray; with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to cooperate with Rear-Admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful.
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[ A. D. 1759.—Book III.]

them, if possible, to an engagement. This measure, how-
ever, was not adopted, until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault; and concluded, from their own observations, re-
inforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was present, that the operations of all was disposed of in such a manner that such an attack could not be hazarded with any pros-
spect of success. The ships of war, indeed, might have silenced the batteries of the lower town, but they could not have repulsed the enemy, if they had to maintain a prolonged action; for they must have sustained considerable damage. When we consider the sit-
uation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured; the natural strength of the country; the great number of French officers and men; and the preparedness of the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprise parties and harry detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of diffi-
culties as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

§ XXV. In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were re-
embarked and landed at Point Levi; they afterwards passed up the river in transports; while Admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships, to amuse the enemy posted on the passage. The river was crowded with vessels; and the men being landed, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no pos-

sibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the order was revoked; and this was fortunately so. A plan was con-

ceived for conveying the troops further down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diam-

ond, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which was a steep ascent from the bank and that of the river, that they might take possession of the ground at the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fort-

ified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this plan were so peculiarly alarming, that we might imagine it could not have been embraced, but by a spirit of enterprise that braved on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with sentinels; the landing place so narrow; to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so diffi-
cult as hardly to be summited in the day-time, had no oppo-

sition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme; had the embarkation been discovered in the course of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelving nature of the north shore, near which they were ordered to row; had one sentinel been alarmed, or had a thousand wild and suspicious minds; the heights of Ab-

raham must have been instantly secured by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive; confu-
sion would necessarily have ensued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. These objections could not escape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who nevertheless adopted the plan without hesitation, and even executed it in person; though at that time labouring under a severe dysentery and fever, which had exhausted his constitution, and reduced him almost to an extremity of weakness. The previous steps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, Admiral

Holmes moved with his squadron further up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disem-

barkation, that he might deceive the amance, and amuse M. de Boisginville, whom Montcalm had detached with a body of horsemen to watch the motions of that squadron; but the English admiral had fixed the enemy a little higher up the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces; and these orders be punctually fulfilled. On the twelfth day of September, an hour after midnight, the first embar-

kation of the troops was made, with Major-General Wolfe, who commanded the French forces, the two regiments of grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Howe, a detachment of highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the officers of the English troops. The boats were crowded to such an extent that they must have been difficultly got off. The grenadiers accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed; and they began to fall down with the tide, to the intended place of disembarkation; rowing close to the Horn shore, in order to find it the more easily. Without any disorder the boats glideed gently along; but by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little be-

low the place at which the disembarkation was intended.

As the troops landed, the boats were sent back for the se-

cond embarkation, which was superintended by Brigadier Towendsh. In the meantime, Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the highlanders, ascended the woody pro-
pinquity and attacked the French, and made two attacks on a line of the enemy, one of which was defended by a sergeant's guard, which defended a small entrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted without further resistance the ascent of Abraham, which was defended by a body of about a hundred and a battery; and began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport.

§ XXVI. General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river, and the plan of marching, that he conceived would imagine it could not have been embraced, but by a spirit of enterprise that braved on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with sentinels; the landing place so narrow; to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so diffi-
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§ XXVI. General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river, and the plan of marching, that he conceived
single gun which the English seamen made shift to draw up from the landing place. This was very well served, and
galled their column severely. At length, about nine in the
morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great
orders, consisting of five hundred and fifteen men of
effectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their
shot until the French had approached within forty yards
of their line; then they poured in a terrible discharge; and
cut down in a few minutes as many of the French as
as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect.

General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of
Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where
the enemy appeared in the greatest force. At the
front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's
marksman, and received a shot in the wrist, which however
did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a
handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders
without the least emotion; and advanced at the head of
the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed; when another
ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero,
who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way.

At this very instant, every separate regiment of the British
army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar
caracter. While the right pressed on with their
bayonets, Brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the
troops of the third regiment, and was immediately
in the enemy; then the highlanders, drawing their broad
swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity,
and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the
works they had raised at the bridge, of the river St. Charles.
On the left, the day of action now came to a
violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themselves
into houses; where, being attacked, they defended
themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe
having taken post with two companies behind a small copse,
sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during
this attack, and often drove them into heaps; while
Brigadier Townshend advanced placidly against their
front, with the bayonet, and kept the enemy
prevented from executing their first intention. The
brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this
disposition, and to overawe a body of savages posted op-
posite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the British army. General Wolfe being slain,
and at the same time Mr. Monkton dangerously wounded
at the head of Lascelles' regiment, where he distinguished
himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved
on Mr. Holme, who stood behind Cape Rouge, and
finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them
again with all possible expedition. This necessary task
was scarcity performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a
body of two hundred and fifty men, threw himself
with the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge,
as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops
had gained the heights of Abraham, but did not come up
in time to have any share in the battle. Mr. Townshend
immediately ordered two batallions, with two pieces of ar-
tillery, to advance against this officer; who retired, at their
approach, among woods and swamps, where General
Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious
attack. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken
a great number of French officers, and was possessed of a
very advantageous situation, which it would have been
imprudent to forgo. The French general, M. de Montcalm,
was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed unto
Quebec; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to
General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that
generous humanity by which the British nation is
distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the
field; and next day expeired on board an English ship, to
which he had been conveyed. About one thousand
of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number
of officers; and about five hundred were slain on the field of
battle. The wreck of the French troops, they had reinforced
the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point-a-Trebumble; from
whence they proceeded to Jacques Quettres, where they
remained entrenched until they were compelled by the
severity of the weather to make the best of their way to
Troyes Rivieres and Montreal. This important victory
was obtained at the expense of fifty men killed, including
nine officers; and of one hundred and fifty prisoners.

The death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally
lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervour
of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity,
and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire
every species of military knowledge that study could
comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm.
This noble warmath of disposition seldom fails to call forth
the generous emotions, and unfold the sentiments of the
heart. In his estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, com-
placent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the
darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius
which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had
his faculties been exercised to their full extent by oppor-
tunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by
age and experience, he would without doubt have rivaled in
reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity.

§ XVII. Immediately after the battle of Quebec, Adm-
iral Saunders, who, together with his subordinate
du-
rell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the
land forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all
their fleet and artillery, and with artillery and
forces, was present at the capitulation, which took place on the
seventeenth day of the month sailed up, with all the
ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town,
while the upper part should be assaulted by General
Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from
the left action, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the
artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's
communication with the country. On the seventeenth,
before the first battery could be finished, a flag of truce was
sent from the town with proposals of capitulation; which, being
maturely considered by the general and admiral, were
accepted, and signed at eight next morning. They granted
the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to
humble in the rear of the British army; as the season was
become wet, stormy, and cold, threatening the troops with
sickness, and the fleet with accident, and as a consider-
able advantage would result from taking possession of the
place and the town were in a state of defence. What
rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British
was, the informations he afterwards received from deserters that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced
in force by two other battalions; and that M. de Bourgo-
aville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on the march through the
province, in order to join the town.\footnote{When the
troops took Quebec, the French had as many men as
they ran; they ran.} Who ran? cross the gallant Wolfe, with
great
 history of the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open; the season was so far advanced, that the British forces in a little time must have been forced to desist by the severity of the weather, and even reture with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Lawrence.

§ XXVIII. Immediately after the action at the falls of Montmorenci, General Wolfe had despatched an officer to England, to acquaint the Secretary of War with the disaster of the day, and with the necessity which that disaster rendered of an immediate and energetic effort to relieve the garrison. Lord Sandwich assisted in the campaign, and concerted with the generals of the fleet an attempt to strike all other stroke of importance for the accomplishment of their hope, which had aspired at the absolute conquest of Canada. The first transports of their chagrin were not yet subsided, when Colonel Halkett arrived in the ship Alcide, with an account of the victory and surrender of Quebec; which was immediately communicated to the people in an extraordinary gazette. The joy which this excitement amongst the populace, rose in proportion to the despondence which the former had produced: all was rapture and not; all was triumph and exultation, mingled with the praise of the all-accomplished Wolfe, which they exalted even to a ridiculous degree of splendor and adoration. The King expressed his satisfaction by conferring the honour of knighthood upon Captain Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this success; and gratified him and Colonel Halkett with considerable presents. A day or two after this event was a public procession through all the dominions of Great Britain. The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his majesty. The parliament was called together to the same effect of state, and the House of Commons, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendent merit of the deceased general, the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who assisted in the exploit, and the consequences of this war. This day, the motion and the manner in which it was succeeded, the House unanimously resolved to present an address, deeming his majesty would ordain a monument to be erected in Westminster abbey to the memory of Major-General Wolfe: at the same time they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the House should be given to the surviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition in Quebec. Testimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of the public. The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of the expedition, and the consideration of the great event that had taken place, and the continent of Europe, that, far from expressing the least sense of the enormous burdens which they bore, they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions in purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets for the soldiers, who were exposed to the rigours of an inclement sky in Germany and America. But they displayed a more noble proof of unrestrained benevolence, extended even to foes. The French ministry, strained in their finances, which were found scarcely sufficient to maintain the war, had sacrificed their duty to their king, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and avaricious views of ambition. They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England; and those wretched creatures, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their sovereign had taken such pains to exasperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine; but still they remained hopeless of hope, of substenance, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn cages with sentiments of sympathy and compassion: they considered them as the representatives of the wretched and helpless in human society, and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors. This beneficent exertion was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great Britain cannot consistently have considered, much less have experienced; the city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, Brigadier Townsend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of three thousand five hundred effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of Brigadier Murray; and, enlisting with Admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for Brigadier Halkett, he repaired to New York, where he happily recovered from his wound.
English detachments entrenched around the garrison; and with
in the hour a grand sally was made, under the command of Colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who signalled himself
and contractors, the officers and men of the regiment of Lorrain with great impetuosity; and in all probability
would have beaten them off, had they not been sustained by the arrival of a fresh brigade. After a very
wager, the attempt was repulsed: nineteen pieces of cannon, with one hundred and forty-two men, were
killed on one side, Colonel Draper was ob-
liged to retreat, not altogether satisfied with the conduct of
his grenadiers. As the garrison of Madras was not very
numerous, nothing further was attempted on their side
without a long preparation being made, in which their diligence in erecting batteries against the fort and
town; which being opened on the sixth day of January, they maintained a continual discharge of shot and
shells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time un-
der cover of this fire, until they reached the breast of the
glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of can-
on, and opened it on the last day of the month; but for
five days successively they were obliged to close their embrasures by the superior fire of the fort, and at length to
abandon it entirely: nevertheless, they still maintained a
severe fire from the first grand battery, which was placed
at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards from the
defensive walls, and was composed of twenty-six pieces of
cannon, three mortars, and effect an
inconsiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had
more success, had they battered in breach from the begin-
ing of the attack. After this, Colonel Preston, who was
ordered to attack by the grand battery, had cruel bombardments of
the town; and he dissolved the houses: he was, however, happily disappointed in his ex-
pectation by the wise and resolute precautions of Governor
Pegu; by the vigilance, conduct, and bravery of the
Colonel Laurence and Draper, accompanied by the valour and
activity of Major Bretenot, and the spirit of the inferior
officers. The artillery of the garrison was so well managed, that
from the fifth day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually
became weaker, and a large part of the eastern
defence; nevertheless, they advanced their sap along the sea-
side, so as to embrace entirely the north-east angle of the
covered way, from whence their musketry drove the be-
sieged. They likewise endeavoured to open a passage into
the ditch by a mine; but sprang it so injudiciously, that they could make no advantage of it, as it lay exposed to
the fire of several cannon. While these preparations were
carried on before the town, Major Cahill and Captain
Pascal were employed behind the fort, with some of the English contractors, and a few Europeans drawn from the English garrisons of Trichennapally and Chingalaupur, hasted at the distance of
a few miles, blocking up the roads in such a manner that
they could not be used by the detachments against them, in order to open the communica-
tion: thus the progress of the siege was in a great measure
retarded. On the sixteenth day of February, in the even-
ing, the Queenborough ship of war, commanded by Cap-
tain Kempenfeld, and the company's ship the Revenge,
arrived in the road of Madras, with a reinforcement of six
hundred men belonging to Colonel Draper's regiment, and
part of them was immediately disembarked. From the
beguins of the siege the enemy had discovered a back-
wardness in the service, very unsuitable to their national
character. They were ill supplied by their commissaries
with provisions, even for the garrison and contractors, and
had recourse to the plunder of the country for the defence of the garrison, and all their hope of success va-
ished at the arrival of this reinforcement. After a brisk
fire, they raised the siege that very night, abandoning forty
cannon and 150 pieces of ordnance, and burning several
powder mills at Onopore, retreated to the territory of Arcoot.

§ 11. M. Lally having weakened his forces that were at
Masulipatam, under the conduct of the Marquis de Con-
fians, in order to strengthen the army with which he un-
took the siege of Madras, the Rajah of Vizagapatam drove
the French garrison from Vizagapatam, and hoisted Eng-
lish colours in the place. The marquis having put his
troops in motion to revenge this insult, the rajah solicited
support from Colonel Olville at Calcutta; and, with the
consent of the council, a body of troops was sent under the
command of Colonel Forde to his assistance. They con-
sisted of five hundred Europeans, including a company of
artillery, and sixteen hundred sepoys; with about fifteen
pieces of cannon, one howitzer, and three mortars. The
forces of Conflans were much more considerable. On the
twentieth day of October Colonel Forde arrived at Vizag-
apatam, and made an agreement with the rajah, who,
being obliged to pay for the expense of the march, either
he should be put in possession of Rajamundry, a large
and town and fort possessed by the French. It was stipulated
that he should have all the inland country belonging to the
English powers, and the French armies were to be in
arms; and that the English company should retain all
the conquered sea-coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipa-
tam. On the first of November Colonel Forde proceeded
on his march; and on the third joined the rajah's army,
consisting of between three and four thousand men. On the
third of December they came in sight of the enemy, near
the village of Tallapool; but the French declining battle,
the colonel determined to draw them from their defensive
position, and ordered his men to attack them and
Rajamundry. On the seventh, before day-
break, he began his march, leaving the rajah's forces on
their ground; but the enemy beginning to cannonade the
Indian forces, he, at the request of the rajah, returned, and
took them under his protection. Then they marched to-
gether to the village of Golspool, and halted on a small
plain about three miles from their encampment. About
nine he formed the line of battle. About ten the enemy
were drawn up, with the whole of their division, and
them, on both sides having continued about forty minutes,
the enemy's line advanced to the charge with great resolution;
and were so warmly received, that, after several spirited
attacks, at eleven the French gave way, and marched
with great expedition towards Rajamundry. During this conflict, the rajah's forces stood as idle
spectators, nor could their horse be prevailed upon to pursue the fugitives. The victory cost
the English forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, in-
cluding two captains and three lieutenants. The French
lost above three times the number, together with their
whole camp, baggage, thirty-two pieces of cannon, all
their ammunition. A great number of black forces fell on

"I am taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black-town,
and to blow up the powers mill."—LALLY.

"You will never imagine that fifty French deserters, and one hundred
Swans, are actually stupifying the present of two thousand men of the black
and company's troops which are still here existing, notwithstanding the
enormous punishment already imposed on them. The state of the equipage of
the daughter that has been made of them, and you will be still more
waned if I tell you that the Rajah, as it were, has been taken in his
reign, and for the batires which failed, or, to speak more properly,
which were unskilfully made, we should have lost fifty men, from
the commencement of this large to-day, I have written to M. de Larache,
that if the persons who undertook to do these things, should not
the Pologne for me, I will not do it, and I renounce (as I informed you a
month ago) I would not meddling directly or indirectly with any of
whatsoever that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or
military, on a site, under the circumstances and former recommendations,
that cannot be more than eight miles from the island."—LALLY.

"I have the honour to inform you, Sir.—SAGRI.

"P. S. I think it necessary to apprise you that M. de Scampas
has just received by an English ship that I have sent to
him, and who has been empowered to accept, by having received from
the English a dispatch from the council, to inform you, that the
invite the Rajah to return to the fray, and, on his not doing
so, to order the army to retreat. As regards the Rajah, you are, of
yourself, your order, or come yourself to command it; for I shall trust upon my arm at will..."

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both sides. The Marquis de Conflans did not remain at 
Rajamundry, but proceeded to Masulipatam; while Cap-
tain Knox, with a detachment from the English army,
took possession of the French factory at Narsing-
lore and the key to the country of Vizagapatam. This 
was delivered to the rajah on his paying the expense of the 
expedition; and Captain Knox, being detached with a battalion 
of sepoys, took possession of the French factory at Narsing-
lore, and the right of the sepoys to hunt, which surrendered 
to Captain Macken, after having made an obstinate defence.
In the meantime, however, the 
French army of observation made shift to retake Raj-
amundry, and in the course of two days the French 
forces returned within the place, which on the seventh day 
of March was invested. By the seventh day of April the 
ammunition of the besiegers being almost expended, 
Colonel Forde determined to give the assault, as two breaches 
were already made, and made his dispositions accordingly.

The attack began in the night, and the assailants 
arrived at the ditch before they were discovered. But 
here they encountered a terrible discharge of grape-shot and 
musketry; notwithstanding which they entered the breach and the enemys from being able to hold out a 

defence. At length, the Marquis de Conflans sent an officer to 
demand quarter for the garrison, which was granted as soon 
as he ordered his men to cease firing. Thus, with about three 
thousand five hundred European, and two thousand 
seamen, and seven hundred sepoys, Colonel Forde took 
by assault the strong town of Masulipatam, garnisoned by 
five hundred and twenty Europeans, two thousand 
and thirty-nine Caafires, Topasses, and sepoys; and here 
he found above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, 
with a great quantity of ammunition. Salabatizing, the 
Subash of Deccan, perceiving the success of the English 
here, as well as at Madras, being sick of his French alli-
ance, removed to his own country, and, at the head of 
seven hundred sepoys, Colonel Forde took the town 
without opposition, and made advances to the company, with which he forthwith 
concluded a treaty to the following effect:—The whole of 
the environs of Masulipatam shall be given 

§ III. Colonel Forde advancing to the neighbourhood of 
Masulipatam, the Marquis de Conflans with his forces 
retired within the place, which on the seventh day of 
March was invested. By the seventh day of April the 
ammunition of the besiegers being almost expended, 
Colonel Forde determined to give the assault, as two breaches 
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concluded a treaty to the following effect:—The whole of 
the environs of Masulipatam shall be given 

§ IV. The merchants residing at Surat, finding them-
sectors exposed to numberless dangers, and every species of 
oppression, by the sepoys who commanded the castle on 
the ban, by the governors of the city on the other hand, and 
the Mahattas, who had a claim to a certain share of the 
revenue, made application to the English presidency at 
Bombay, desiring they would equip an expedition for 
taking possession of the castle and Tank, and settle 
the government of the city, under the name of 
the Mahattas, who had a claim to a certain share of the 
revenue, made application to the English presidency at 
Bombay, desiring they would equip an expedition for 
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Bombay, desiring they would equip an expedition for 
taking possession of the castle and Tank, and settle 
the government of the city, under the name of
still declined, and at last they disappeared. He then directed the commodore, on the supposition that they were bound to that place, to send any force that could be brought to send some of his troops for refreshment: a favour that was granted, on condition that they should not advance. Notwithstanding the subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the Dutch, after the former ships arrived, than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces were disembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the meantime, by means of several small vessels on the river belonging to the English company; and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by Captain M'Cullough, homeward bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to understand, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him without further ceremony. The English captain seeing them run out their guns as if really resolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other Indian ships lay at anchor; and reported his adventure to Colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch. The ships being properly manned, and their quarters lined with slatete, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which indeed they seemed well prepared; for during the night they were loaded with thirty-six guns each, three of these with twenty-six, and the latter carried sixteen. The Duke of Dorset, commanded by Colonel Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke advanced her own fire, and a three-decked ship was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships, shipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven ashore. Their commodore, thus weakened, after a few broadsides, took his flag on board, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained without the loss of one man on the side of the English, Captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewn with carcasses; and sent the prisoners to Colonel Clive at Calcutta. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of seven hundred men, was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive no sooner received intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura, than he ordered a Dutch party sent out from Chinchura to join and conduct the expected reinforcement. These being routed and dispersed, after a short action, Colonel Forde in the morning proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle on the twenty-fifth day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great resolution and activity; but found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot, that they soon gave way, and were totally defeated. A considerable number were killed, and the greater part of those who survived the action were taken prisoners. During this contest, the nabobs, at the head of a considerable army, observed a suspicious neutrality; an eventuality the likelihood would have declared for the Dutch had they proved victorious, as he had reason to believe they would, from their great superiority in number. But fortune no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he made a tender of his services to them for his vicissitudes, which he proposed to reduce Chinchura with his own army. In the meantime, proposals of accommodation being sent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negociation ensued, and a treaty was concluded to the entire satisfaction of all parties. Above three hundred of the prisoners entered into the service of Great Britain; the rest embarked on board their ships, which were restored as soon as the peace was ratified, and set out on their re-
turn for Batara. After all, perhaps, the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory of Chunchura on a more respectable footing; and, by acquiring greater weight and consequence among the people of the country than they formerly possessed, the more easily extend their commercial relations to the rest of the world. At any rate it is of no disadvantage to us that they only received a tribute at the admission of a dispute among those who profess the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be justly debarring the privilege of sending a reinforcement to their own garrisons. Be that as it will, the ships were not restored until the factory at Chunchura had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained on this occasion.

§ VIII. The success of the English company was still more advantageously employed in the case of Colonels Coote. The governor and council of Madras having received information that the French general, Lally, had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, taken Surinam, and threatened Trinidad with a siege, it was determined that Colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field, and endeavour to make a diversion to the southward. He accordingly began his march at the head of seventeen hundred Europeans, including cavalry, and seven thousand and fifteen hundred sepoys, including two hundred and one howitzers. On the twenty-seventh day of November, he invested the fort of Wandelwash: having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of nine hundred men, retired in the face of eight hundred English and and one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, with great quantity of ammunition. Then he undertook the siege of Carangoly, a fortress commanded by Coote, under the command of Colonels O'Kenny, at the head of two thousand Europeans, and five hundred sepoys. In a few days he dismounted the greater part of their guns; and they submitted, on condition that the Europeans should be allowed to march out with the honours of war; but the sepoys were disarmed and dismissed.

§ IX. General Lally, alarmed at the progress of this brave, vigilant, and enterprising officer, assembled all his forces at Arcot, to the number of two thousand two hundred Europeans, including horse; three hundred Caffees, and ten thousand black troops, or sepoys: with five hundred and twenty pieces of cannon. Of these, he assumed the command in person; and on the tenth day of January began his march in order to recover Wandelwash. Colonel Coote, having received intelligence on the twelfth, that he had taken possession of Conjeeveram, endeavoured, by a forced march, to save the place; which they accordingly abandoned at his approach, and pursuing their march to Wandelwash, having on the first day of this month, the English division joined, crossed the river Palla, in order to follow the same route; and on the twenty-first day of the month, understanding that a breach was already made, resolved to give the place during the further delay. The cavalry being formed, and supported by the fire of cannon, the sepoys, who advanced against the enemy's horse, which being at the same time galled by two pieces of cannon, retired with precipitation. Then Colonel Coote, having taken possession of a tank which they had occupied, returned to the road, which was, by this time, formed in order of battle, and seeing the men in high spirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance: and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they halted about half an hour. During this interval, the colonel reconnoitred the situation of the French forces, who were very advantageously posted; and made a movement in the right, which obliged them to alter their disposition. The left division, consisting of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. About noon their European cavalry coming up with a resolute air to charge the left of the enemy, the former division brought up their sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, to sustain the horse, which were ordered to oppose them; and these advancing in their flank, disturbed them so much that they broke, and the whole French army had gained the side of the road, left upon the rear of their own army. Meanwhile, both lines continued advancing to each other; and about one o'clock the firing with small arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tamburs being blown up by an accidental shot, the English commander took immediate advantage of their confusion. He ordered Major Bretenot to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank. This service was performed with such resolution and success, that the left wing of the French was completely disordered. The right division was engaged with the left of the English. About two to the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp; which, receiving themselves closely pursued, they precipitately abandoned, together with the two hundred pieces of cannon. In this engagement they lost about eight hundred men killed and wounded, besides about fifty prisoners, including Brigadier-General de Bussy, the Chevalier Godferey quarter-master-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Murphy, a captain, and thirty officers. On the side of the English, two hundred and sixty-two were killed or wounded; and among the former, the gallant and accomplished Major Bretenot, whose death was a real loss to his country.

§ X. General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Poudcherry, the Baron de Vasseron was detached towards the same place, with a thousand horse and three hundred sepoys, to ravage and lay waste the French territories. Coote undertook the siege of Chilliapan, which in two days was surrendered by the Chevalier de Tilly; himself and his garrison remaining prisoners of war. Such also was the skill and vigour with which the French general prosecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, against the fort of which he opened his batteries on the fifth day of February. When he had carried on his approaches within sixty yards of the walls of the fort, the garrison consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and near three hundred sepoys, surrendered as prisoners of war; and here the English commander found two hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition, all which the English officers, while the campaign was gloriously finished with the conquest of Arcot; after the French army had been routed and routed by the diligence of Colonel Coote, whose courage, conduct, and activity, cannot be sufficiently admired. The reader will perceive that, rather than interrupt the thread of such an interesting narration, we have ventured to encroach upon the annals of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

§ XI. Having thus followed the British banners through the glorious tracks they pursued in different parts of Asia and America, we must own our attention to the continent of Europe, where the English armies, in the course of this year, triumphed with equal lustre and advantage. The French, on the contrary, in the year 1759, held the field which the harrassed powers were found at the close of winter. The vicissitudes of fortune with which the preceding campaign had been chequered, were sufficient to convince every present state that a military superiority, that does not extend itself to the point of such a strength in the conduct, as was requisite to impose terms upon the other. Battles had been fought with various success; and surprising efforts of military skill had been exhibited, without producing one event which tended to promote a general peace, or even engender the least design of accommodation: on the contrary, the first and most violent transports of animosity had by this time subsided into a confirmed habit of deliberation and hatred; and every contending power was more than ever determined to protect the dispute; while the neutral states kept aloof, without expressing the least desire of interposing their mediation. Some of them were restrained by considerations of convenience; and others were left to the discretion of the powers of the Spanish monarch, as an event which they imagined would be attended with very important consequences in the southern part of Europe. With respect to the maintenance of the war, whatever differences there were, both crowned the campaign by supporting the expense, and finding men to recruit the different armies, certain it is, all these difficulties were surrounded before the opening of the campaign. The court of Vienna, notwithstanding the noble resolution, made little progress. The French, besides the expenditures made in the finances, still found resources in the fertility of its provinces, in the number and attachment of its subjects, who, more than any other people in Europe, assequence in the dispositions of their sovereign; and when pay cannot be
afforded, willingly contribute free quarters for the subsistence of the army. The czarina, though she complained that the Spaniards were ill paid, nevertheless persisted in pursuing those favourite aims which had for some time influenced her conduct; namely, her personal animosity to the King of Prussia, and his desire of obtaining a permanent interest in the German empire. Sweden still strongly encamped about the village of Berga, between Frankfort and Hanau. Their general, the Duke de Broglie, counted one of the best officers in France with respect to conduct and intrepidity, having received intelligence of the prince's design occurring on October 17th, deterred by the right of his army being at Berga, and his centre and flanks secured in such a manner, that the allies could not make their attack any other way but by the village. Notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, Prince Ferdinand resolved to give them battle, and made his dispositions accordingly. About ten in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attack on the village of Bergen with great vigour; and sustained a most terrible fire from eight German battalions, supported by several brigades of French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though reinforced by several battalions under the command of the Prince of Yeonbourg, far from dissuading the enemy from the village, were, after a very severe battle, repulsed and from the consequences of which the allies ran again behind a body of Hessian cavalry. The allies being opposed in three different attacks, their general made a new disposition; and brought up his artillery, thus clearing the way, and driving back the Hessian cavalry, which was severely cannonaded. They were not slow in retorting an equal fire, which continued till night; when the allies retreated to Wunsbeck, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, and about two thousand men, including the Prince of Yeonbourg, who fell in the action. The French, by the nature of their situation, could not suffer much; but they were so effectually assisted by the artful disposition of Prince Ferdinand, that instead of taking measures to harmonize their operations, they pursued the enemy's line, were severely cannonaded. They did not have reason to be satisfied with the issue of this battle, without risking, in any measure, the advantage which they had gained. It was their business to remain quiet until their reinforcements should arrive; and this plan they invariably pursued. On the other hand, the allies, in consequence of their miscarriage, were reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive, and encountering a great number of difficulties and inconveniences during great part of the campaign, until the misconduct of the enemy turned the scale in their favour. In the meantime the prince thought proper to begin his retreat in the night, and by the 15th of March, preferred considerably from a body of the enemy's light troops under the command of M. de Blisiel, who surprised two squadrons of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The first were taken or dispersed; the last escaped with the loss of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munster; and the prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earnest. 

§ XIV. But the great object was to drive the enemy from Frankfort, before they should receive the expected reinforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, being determined upon this enterprise, assembled all his forces near Fulda, to the amount of forty thousand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth day of April. On the thirteenth he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found strongly encamped about the village of Berga, between

The particulars of the French operations in the campaign are not yet settled. The eighteenth century, from the post of Freystein in Bavaria. 

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be investigated freely, without any apprehension of pain or punishment.

§ XVI. While great part of the allied army remained in cantonments about Munster, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined on the third day of June near Marburg under the command of commanding General Lefevre, who advanced to the northward, and fixed his head-quarters at Corbach: from whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel, which at his approach was abandoned by General Lohr and advanced upon the town of Stadtbreda, the Duke de Broglie, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Cassel into the territories of Hanover, where he occupied Göttingen without opposition; while the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lipstadt, and encamped about Soest and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, was obliged to retire as they advanced, after having left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden. These precautions, however, seemed to produce little effect in his favour. Retberg was surprised by the Duke de Broglie, who likewise took Minden by assault; and made General Zastrow, with his garrison of fifteen hundred men, prisoners of war; a misfortune considered by the loss of an immense magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewise made themselves master of Munster, invested Lipstadt, and all their operations were hitherto crowned with success. The reason of their success at their progress, resolved to provide for the worse, by sending their chancery and most valuable effects to Stade; from whence, in case of necessity, they might be conveyed by sea to England. In the meantime they exerted all their industry in press men for recruiting and reinforcing the army under Prince Ferdinand, who still continued to retire; and on the eleventh day of July removed his head-quarters from Osnabrück to Homberg, near the Weser. Here having received advice that Minden was taken by the French, he sent forwards a detachment to secure the port of Saltznan on that river, where on the eighteenth they were encamped.

§ XVII. The general of the allied army had for some time exhibited marks of animosity towards Lord George Sackville, the second in command, whose extensive understanding, penetrating eye, and inquisitive spirit, could neither be deceived, dazzled, nor soothed into tame acquiescence. He had opposed, with all his influence, a design of retiring towards the frontiers of Brunswick, in order to cover that country. He supported his opposition by alleging the enemy’s ease in cutting their communication with the Weser and the Elbe; in which, should they succeed, it would be found impossible to transport the British troops to their own country, which was at that time threatened with an invasion. He therefore opposed the army’s reconnaissance as to keep the communication open with Stade; where, in case of emergency, the English troops might be embarked. By adhering tenaciously to this opinion, and exhibiting other instances of a prying disposition, he had rendered himself so disagreeable to the commander-in-chief, that, in all appearance, nothing was so eagerly desired as an opportunity of removing him from the station he filled.

§ XVIII. Meanwhile the French general, advancing to Minden, encamped in a strong situation; having that town on his right, a steep hill on his left, a morass in front, and a rivulet in rear. The Duke de Broglie commanded a separate body between Hansebergen and Munster, on the other side of the Weser; and a third under the Duke de Brissac, consisting of eight thousand men, occupied a strong post by the village of Coelebit, to facilitate the route of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand having moved his camp from Sollma to Paderborn, detached the hereditary prince on the twenty-eighth day of July to Lubeke, from whence he drove the enemy, and proceeding to Hinsel, was joined by Major-General Drevois, who had retaken Osnabrück, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy’s parties; then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kichlmüen, to hamper the enemy’s communication. From that point of observation, Prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Paderborn to Hille, where it encamped, having a morass on the right, the village of Komauch as a barrier between the Prussians and Holstenhausen. Fifteen battalions and nineteen squadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, were left under the command of General Wagenheim, on the left, while the king and the whole army marched along with some redoubts, defended by two battalions. Colonel Lucknor, with the Hanoverian husars, and a brigade of hunters, sustained by two battalions of grenadiers, was posted between Bückeburg and Weser, to observe the body of troops commanded by the Duke de Broglie on the other side of the river.

§ XIX. On the last day of July the Maréchal de Con- tades, resolving to attack the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglie to repass the river; and, advancing in eight columns, about midnight, passed the rivulet of Barta, which runs along the morass, and falls into the Weser at Minden. At day-break he formed his army in order of battle; part of it forming the corps of General Wangen- heim at Dodenhausen, and part of it facing Hille; the two wings consisting of infantry, and the cavalry being stationed in the centre. At three in the morning, the enemy began to cannonade the prince’s quarters at Hille, and the Maréchal de Conades sent an order to the right, preceding evening on the duke of Eckhorst. This was probably the first intimation he received of their intention. He forthwith caused two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille; and ordered the officer of the piquet-guard to proceed there to defend himself to the last extremity: at the same time he sent orders to General Giesen, who occupied Lubeke, to attack the enemy’s post at Eckhorst; and this service was successfully performed. The Prussian chief of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took possession with the rest of the piquets of the village of Halen, where Prince Ferdinand resolved to support his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy, but they soon abandoned it with precipitation. The allied army, being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmen, while General Wagenheim’s corps filled up the space between this last village and Dodenhausen. The enemy made their prin- cipal effort on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wagenheim’s corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpose the Duke de Broglie sent a party of his army to cut off the communication with Wesers and the Elbe; in which, should they succeed, it would be found impossible to transport the British troops to their own country, which was at that time threatened with an invasion. He therefore opposed the army’s reconnaissance as to keep the communication open with Stade; where, in case of emergency, the English troops might be embarked. By adhering tenaciously to this opinion, and exhibiting other instances of a prying disposition, he had rendered himself so disagreeable to the commander-in-chief, that, in all appearance, nothing was so eagerly desired as an opportunity of removing him from the station he filled.
service; nor could they have come up in time and condition to perform effectual service, had the orders been exact and consistent, and the commander acted with all prudence. But, on the contrary, they were repeatedly repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss: at length they gave way in every part; and about noon, abandoning the field of battle, were pursued to the ramparts of Minden. In this action they lost a great number of men, who were killed or taken, and many cannon and standards; whereas the loss of the allies was very considerable, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of British infantry, commanded by the Major-Generals Weymouth, O'Neal, and Temple, consisting of some gallant brigades, and the fire of the British artillery, which was admirably served by the Captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great measure described. The same night the enemy passed the Weser, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion; and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

The siege of the Mareschal de Contades seemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittenkendest, to Paderborn; but he was fair to change his resolution, in consequence of his having received advice, that on the very morning of his march, the town of Minden was investment by the hereditary prince in the neighbourhood of Cövelsd, so that the passage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The Duke de Brissac had been advantageously posted to defend the Weser, having been placed between the Weser and his front, and his right extending to the salt-pits. In this advantageous situation he was attacked by the hereditary prince and General von Kilmanseg, with such ardour and activity, as his troops were twice repulsed, with the loss of the left wing, and considerable number of men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. After the battle of Minden, Colonel Freytag, at the head of the light troops, took, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, a large body of Swiss, the Prince de Conde, and the Duke de Brissac, with part of their military chancy and chancery, containing papers of the utmost consequence.

English injury, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to all General Wadegré's troops, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanover regiment de Cor, and Hannoveretc, the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His serjeant highness declares publicly, that next to God he attributes the almighty day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures him shall remain the ingenuity of all those who are able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give them universal delight. He commands you, therefore, to present thanks to his Lieutenants General, the Duke of Waldegrave, Lord Newcastle, and the great Duke of Marlborough, for their extraordinary and constant services; and, besides the forces and troops that shall be obliged to the Count de Bucckeburg, for his extraordinary care and assistance in the present siege, to give him all the merit and advantage, and the effect. Likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of light troops, till that may become known. It is his command to the Duke of Conde, and the Duke of Brissac, that they have been ordered to take the town of Minden, and to march to Hanover. In short, his serjeant highness orders that some of those states whose honor, who have been in the enemy's service, shall be of the army, that upon all occasions, and under all circumstances, they may be obeyed punctually. And we have reason to hope, that this will be the case.

The following extracts of letters from the Duke de Fallaise to the Marquis de Castries, and to the Elector of Hanover, speak some sense of the victory, policy, and importance of the French victory.

George II.

§ XXI. Prince Ferdinand having possessed himself of the town and castle of Marburg, proceeded with the army to Neudorf-Weimar, and there encamped; while Contades remained at Gießen, on the south side of the river Lahn, where he was joined by the Duke de Contades, Prince of Conde, and the Duke de Brissac, with part of their military chancy and chancery, containing papers of the utmost consequence.

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conduct of Broglio, who recriminated on him in his turn, and seemed to gain credit at the court of Versailles. While the two armies lay encamped in the neighborhood of Langres, nothing but skirmishes took place between their respective outposts. The French army was employed in removing their magazines, and fortifying Gien, as if their intention was to retreat to Frankfurt on the Main, after having consumed all the forage, and made a military desert between the Lahn and that river. In the beginning of November, the Marshal Duke de Broglio returned from Paris, and assumed the command of the army. On December 20, he ordered the whole army to retrench, and reviewed the corps. Of the several officers that were senior to the new commander.

§ XXIII. The Duke of Würtemberg, having taken possession of Fulda, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick resolved to beat up those quarters. For this purpose he selected a body of troops, and began his march from Marburg early in the morning on the twenty-eighth day of November. Next night they lay at Augerbach, where they defeated the volunteers of Nassau; and at one o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth they marched directly to Fulda; where the Duke of Würtemberg, far from expecting such a visit, had invited all the fashionable people in Fulda to a supper. The hereditary prince, having reconnoitred the avenues in person, took such measures, that the troops of Würtemberg, who were scattered in small bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not hastily retired into the town, where, however, they found no shelter. The French forced open the gates; and they retreated to the other side of the town, where four battalions of them were defeated and taken; while the duke himself, with the rest of his forces, filed off on the other side of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pairs of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the hereditary prince advanced as far as Rüpingenrode, a place situated on the right flank of the French army. Perhaps this change of position was the Duke de Broglio's means of abandoning Gien, and fall back to Friedberg, where he established his head-quarters. The allied army immediately took possession of his camp at Kleinleins and Heuchelheim, and seemed to make preparations for the siege of Gien.

§ XXIV. While both armies remained in this position, the Duke de Broglio received the staff as Marshals of France, and made an attempt to beat up the quarters of the allies. Having called in all his detachments, he marched up to them on the 25th day of December; but found them so well disposed to give him a warm reception, that he thought proper to lay aside his design, and nothing but a general capitulation ensued; when he returned with his forces to Frankfort. From Kleinleins the allied army retired to Cordos, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marburg, where Prince Ferdinand established his head-quarters. The enemy retired the same time retaining the whole of his superiority, in the order of the hereditary prince's being detached with fifteen thousand men to join the King of Prussia at Freyberg, in Saxony. Thus, by the victory at Minden, the domination of Hanover and Brunswick were preserved, and the enemy obliged to evacuate great part of Westphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven on the other side of the Rhine, had not the general of the allies been obliged to weaken his army for the support of the Prussian monarch, who had met with divers disasters in the course of body of troops. It was not to any relaxation or abatement of his usual vigilance and activity, that this warlike prince owed the several checks he received. Even in the middle of winter his troops under General Manteuffel acted with great spirit against the Swedes in Pomerania. They made themselves masters of Demgarten, and several other places which the Swedes had garrisoned; and the frost setting in, they then proceeded on the ice. Usedom passed over the ice to Wolgast, which they reduced without much difficulty. They undertook the sieges of Demmen and Anclam at the same time; and the garrisons of both surrendering themselves prisoners of war, to the number of two thousand seven hundred men, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a considerable magazine, with six-and-thirty cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under General Knob- loch advanced to Pomerania, to reinforce the forces in those parts of the empire; and, advancing by the passes of Gota, Lensen, and Fulda; from whence also they conveyed all the forage and provisions to Saxo-Nassau.

In the latter end of February, the Prussian Major-General Wolfsen marched with a strong body of troops from Goslin in Silesia to Poland; and, advancing by the way of Liss, attacked the castle of the Prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had been very active against the interest of the Prussian monarch. After some resistance he was overpowered, and fifty-three hundred men surrendered to his new garrison. After which Wolfsen proceeded to Posna, where he made himself master of a considerable magazine, guarded by two thousand Cosscas, who retired at his approach; and having destroyed several others returned to Silesia. In April the fort of Penamunde, in Pomerania, was surrendered to Mantueller; and about the same time a detachment of Prussian troops bombarded Schwentin, the capital of Mecklenburg. Meanwhile, reinforcements were sent to the Russian army in Poland, which in April began to assemble upon the Vistula. The court of Petersburg had likewise begun to equip a large fleet, by means of which the army of the Moscovy was to be supported by the transports and provisions; but this permanent was retarded by an accidental fire at Revel, which destroyed all the magazines and materials for ship-building to an immense value.
of Kulmbach under contribution, destroyed all the magazines provided for the imperial army, and sent fifteen hundred prisoners to Leipzig. A party of imperialists, under Count Pulte, ending all resistance, were defeated near Hoff, with considerable slaughter: nevertheless, the imperial army, though now reduced to ten thousand men, returned to Bamberg: and as the Prussians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Austrian generals, hearing, that in their rear stood large bodies of troops, and that these transactions, the Mareschal Count Damm remained with the grand Austrian army at Schurta, in the circle of Königsgratz; while the Prussians, commanded by the king himself, advanced towards the Rhine between Landschut and Schweinitz. General Fouquet commanded a large body of troops in the southern part of Silesia: but these being mostly withdrawn, in order to oppose the Russians, the Austrian general, De Fée, also marched on the frontiers of Moravia, with a considerable detachment, took advantage of this circumstance; and advancing into Silesia, encompassed within sight of Nesa.

§ XXVII. As mutual calumny and recrimination of all kinds were not spared on either side, during the progress of this war, the enemies of the Prussian monarch did not fail to charge him with cruelties committed at Schwein, the capital of Mcklenburg, which his troops had burned, plundered, and killed all the youth fit to carry arms, who were pressed into his service: he besides taxed the duchy at seven thousand men, and nine million of crowns, by way of contribution. He was also accused of having encamped all the prisoners from Berlin to Spandau; but this step he justified, in a letter to his ministers at foreign courts, declaring that he had provided for all the officers that were his prisoners the best accommodation, and permitted them to reside in his capital; that some of them had grossly abused the liberty they enjoyed, by maintaining illicit correspondence, and other practices equally offensive, which had obliged him to remove them to the town of Schweinitz; where he had thought proper to confound them with the fortress of that name, from which it was entirely separated, and in which they would enjoy the same ease they had found at Berlin, though under more vigilant inspection. His conduct on this occasion, he said, was sufficiently authorized, not only by the laws of nations, but also by the example of his enemies; insomuch as the empress-queen had never suffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reside at Vienna; and the commanders of the different provinces of the empire, as Count Hohenlohe. He concluded with saying, that, as his enemies had let slip no opportunity of blackening his most innocent proceedings, he had thought proper to acquaint his ministers with the whole transaction: and he had also sent letters to his prisoners, whether French, Austrians, or Russians.

§ XXVIII. In the beginning of June, the King of Prussia, understanding that the Russian army had begun their march from the Vistula, gave the alarm to the magazine of his troops, under Hilsen and Wobensow, reinforced by detachments from his other armies, to join the force under Count Dohna, as general in chief, and march into Poland. Accordingly, they advanced to Meritz, where the count having published a declaration, he continued his march towards Poona, where he found the Russian army under the command of Count Sour, encamped in their rear, and in their front a formidable intrenchment mounted with a great number of cannon. Count Dolhua judging it impracticable to attack them in this situation with any prospect of success, endeavored to cut off their retreat to the eastward; but, for want of provision, was in a little time obliged to return towards the Oder; then the Russians advanced to Zullichow, in Silesia. The King of Prussia thinking Count Dolhua had large forces, and considering the emergency of his affairs, gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health; and conferred his command upon General Wedel, who resolved to give the Russian battle without delay. Thus determined, he marched against them in two columns; and, on the twenty-third day of July, attacked them at Kay, near Zullichow, where, after a very obstinate engagement, he was repulsed with great loss, Wobensow being killed and Manteufel wounded in the action; and in a few days the Russians made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Oder.

§ XXIX. By this time, the armies of Count Dohna and the King of Prussia had made several motions. The Austrians having quitted their camp at Schurta, advanced towards Zittau in Losatia; where having halted a few days, they resumed their march, and encamped at Gotzheim, between Sudent and the Oder, in front of the enemy. The Austrians, in order to observe their motions, marched by the way of Herzberg to Labn; and his vanguard skirmished with that of the Austrians commanded by Landolin, who entered Silesia by the way of Griffenberg. The Austrian general was obliged to retreat with loss; while the King penetrated into Silesia, that he might be at hand to act against the Russians, whose progress was now become the chief object of his apprehension. He no sooner received information that the Russians were near him, than he raised with a select body of ten thousand men from his camp in Silesia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped, under the direction of his brother Prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Dohna being apprized of the king's intention, and knowing the Russians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse to join them, under the command of Count Lutzenburg, who was ordered to march through Silesia and Losatia, with some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at a very critical juncture. Meanwhile the King of Prussia joined General Wedel on the fourteenth of July, at Muhrose, where he was in the command of the army: but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled General Emk, whom he had detained some time before with a body of nine thousand men, to oppose the progress of the imperialists in Saxony; for when Prince Henry joined his brother in Silesia, the army of the empire had entered that electorate. Thus reinforced, the number of the king's army at Muhrose

seems to have been from their aloofness and for us to enter into the service of a power with whom he is at war, his majesty, therefore, makes known by these proclamations, that all of his subjects serving in the monarch's army, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to the laws, be sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to his king and country. Of all whom who suffer for any concert are to be taken notice of, etc.

On the 3rd of June.

We invite and desire that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbots, provosts, magistrates, and all the other inhabitants of our duchies, principalities, or provinces, shall not leave their lands, or go away, unless for the necessary service in the field; nor shall they, on the road to Poona, and beyond it, repair in person, or by his deputies, to the place of meeting; nor shall any person, whether in the imperial head quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commander in arms, for the delivery of forces and provisions, of the sustenance of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the imperial troops to desert, that an assurance will be given to the subjects of the imperial army, that no man, whatever his rank or profession, shall be permitted to desert, or to be induced to turn deserters, unless for the payment of ready money or for the delivery of arms; and we promise further, that any person, who shall induce any man to turn deserters, or to assist in seducing the same shall be put to death, and a reasonable indemnity assigned.

We promise and assure ourselves, that every person, who shall, against the law and our assurances, attempt to seduce the imperial troops to desert, or to be induced to turn deserters, or to assist in seducing the same shall be put to death, and a reasonable indemnity assigned.

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did not exceed fifty thousand; whereas the Russians were more numerous by thirty thousand. They had chosen a strong camp at the village of Cunersdorff, almost opposite to Frankfort upon the Oder, and increased the natural strength of their situation by intrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery. In other circumstances it might have been rash to risk such an attack, but, thinking such an army under such complicated disadvantages; but here was no room for hesitation. The king's affairs seemed to require a desperate effort; and perhaps he was partly impelled by self-confidence and animosity. § XXX. Having determined to hazard such an attack, he made his disposition, and on the twelfth day of August, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the enemy; and about eleven the action was begun with a severe cannonade. This having produced the desired effect, he charged the left wing of the Russian army with his best troops formed in columns. After a very obstinate dispute, the enemy's intrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. A narrow defile was afterwards passed, and several redoubts that covered the village of Cunersdorff were taken by assault, one after another: one had resisted until two o'clock in the morning; the Russian made a firm stand at the village; but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post up to the last redoubt they had to defend. As he advanced with all the gaiety of victory, they were held down in their ranks; this success was not acquired without infinite labour, and a considerable expense of blood. After a furious contest of six hours, fortune seemed to declare so much in favour of the Prussians, that the king despatched the following letter to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Russians from their intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." This intimation was premature, and subjected the writer to the ridicule of all enemies. The Russians were staggered, not routed. General Soltikoff rallied his troops, and reinforced his left wing under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence called the Jews' Burning-ground; and here they stood in order of battle, with the most resolute contenance; favoured by the situation, which was naturally difficult of access, and now rendered almost impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery still greatly superior to that of the Prussians. Had the king continued himself with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought against terrible odds with astonishing prowess; and that he judiciously desisted, when he could have continued his work without merit, if not of being actuated by frenzy or despair. His troops had not only suffered severely from the enemy's fire, which was close, deliberate, and well directed; but they were totally dispirited by their success, and had a general repugnance to the battle, which was excessive. His general officers are said to have reminded him of all these circumstances; and to have dissuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with such difficulty as even an army of fresh troops could hardly hope to surmount. He rejected this salutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attack; which, being an enterprise beyond their strength, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Being afterwards rallied, they returned to the charge; they miscarried again, and their loss was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further service, the cavalry succeeded to the attack, and repeated their unsuccessful efforts until they were almost broke, and entirely exhausted. At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Austrian and Russian cavalry, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore fresh, and in spirit, fell in among the Prussian horse with great fury, broke the line at the first charge; and forcing the enemy in confusion, it was impossible for him to reform his disorder as could not be repaired. The Prussian army being thus involved in confusion, was seized with a panic, and, in a few minutes, totally defeated and dispersed, notwith standing the spirit and energy of the king, and the disorder in the inferior ranks, and was dissolved, to the utter destruction of his life in the hottest parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, had two horses killed under him, and his clothes in several parts penetrated with musket-balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his generals either killed or disabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have saved his court from ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he despatched another letter to the queen, couched in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the army remain there; they are a powerful enterprize, which the enemy can not resist, can not play off, can not treat with; they placed in strong conditions with the enemy." The horror and confusion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be easily conceived; horror the more aggravated, as it seemed they had been the only reserves or succour occasioned by the first despatch; and this was still more disastrously accelerated by a subsequent indistinct relation, importing that the army was totally routed, the king missing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunersdorff was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities. The carnage was truly horrible: above twenty thousand Prussians lay dead on the field: and among these General Putkammer. The Gene- rals Stenitz, Itzenplitz, Hulsen, Fink, and Weidel, the Prince of Wittenberg, and five major-generals were wounded. The loss of the enemy amounted to ten thousand. It must be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own person, he was likewise very free with the lives of his subjects; and from his own letter to the queen, it appeared, barbarity, were the lives of men squandered away with such profusion as in the course of this German war. They were not only unnecessarily sacrificed in various expostulations of no consequence, but they were spent in the harshest and most dismizingly of winter campaigns, which were introduced on the continent, in despite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of war without feeling! such the refinements of German discipline! On the day that succeeded the defeat at Cunersdorff, the King of Prussia, having lost the best part of his army, together with his whole train of artillery, re-passed the Oder, and encamped at Retnow; from whence he advanced to Pustendorf, and now, with astonishment, the forbearance of the enemy. Instead of taking possession of Berlin, and overwhelming the wreck of the king's troops, destitute of cannon, and cut off from all communica- tion with Prince Henry, they took no step to improve the victory they had gained. Laudohn retired with his horse immediately after the battle; and Count Soltikoff marched with part of the Russians into Lusatia, where he joined Daun, and held consultations with that general. Perhaps the safety of the Prussian monarch was owing to the jealousy subsisting among his enemies. In all probability, the court of Vienna would have been charmed to see the Russians in possession of Brandenburgh, and therefore there were more motive than there, for the imprudence of Prussia had now reason to be convinced, that his situa- tion could not justify such a desperate attack as that in which he had miscarried at Cunersdorff; for if the Russians did not give in the winter, they might triumph the next year. The king was totally defeated, and the flower of his army cut off, they certainly would not have aspired at that conquest while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood with fifty thousand veterans, inured to war, accustomed to conquer, confident of success, and well supplied with provisions, am- munition, and artillery. As the victors allowed him time to breathe, he improved this interval with equal spirit and capacity. He re-assembled and refreshed his broken troops; he furnished his camp with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin, which likewise supplied him with a consi- derable number of recruts: he recalled General Kleist, with five thousand men, from Pomerania; and, in a little time, retrieved his former importance. § XXXI. The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leispitz, Torgau, and even took possession of Dresden itself, the king detached six thou- sand men under General Wumeh, to check the progress of the emperor. In the meantime, the Elector of Saxony intended to besiege Great Glogau, he, with the rest of his army, took post between them and that city, so as to frustrate their design. While the four great armies, enquantod to an hundred and odd miles from each other, the Prince Henry, and Count Daun, lay encamped in Lusatia, and on the borders of Silesia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried on by detachments with great
vivacity. General Wurich, having taken Leipsic, and joined Finck at Eulenburg, the united body began their march towards Dresden; and a detachment of the army of the empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. But on the night of the eleventh, General Haddick abandoned the advantageous post he occupied near Roth-Scemberg; and, being joined by the whole army of the empire, resolved to attack the Prussian general, who now encamped at Cötzta, near Massen; accordingly on the twenty-first day of October, he advanced against them, and endeavored to dislodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, being pressed so long with considerable loss; leaving the field of battle, with about five hundred prisoners, in the hands of the Prussians.

§ XXXIII. This advantage was succeeded by another exploit of Prince Henry, who, on the twenty-third day of the month, quitted his camp at Hornsodorf, near Cötzta; and, on an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenberg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerswerda, where he surprised a body of four thousand men, commanded by General Veita, killed six hundred, and made twice that number prisoners, including the commander himself. After this achievement, he joined the detachment under General Haddick at Massen, and likewise abandoned his camp to Lusatia, and made a forced march to Dresden, in order to frustrate the prince's supposed design on that capital. The Russians, disappointed in their scheme upon Glogau, had re-passed the Oder at Naug初步, encamped at Baross, divided General Laudohn, with a body of Austrians, lay at Scheltingkraig, and the King of Prussia at Kőben; all three on or near the banks of that river. Prince Henry, perceiving his army almost surrounded by Austrian detachments, ordered General Knick to drive them from Vogelsang, which they attacked accordingly; and sent Wunich, with six battalions and some cavalry, across the Elbe, to join the corps of General Littenhaut, who, it is said, was retired from Duben at the approach of the Austrians. On the twenty-ninth day of October the Duke d'Arblamberg, with sixteen thousand Austrians, decamped from Dammitsch, in order to occupy the heights near Pretsch, and was encountered by General Wunich; who, being posted on two rising grounds, coaxed the Austrians on their march with considerable effect; and the prince took twelve hundred prisoners, including Lieutenant-General Gemmington, and twenty-three field-guns, with their carriages, and a large quantity of baggage. The Duke was obliged to change his route, while Wunich marched from Duben to Eulenburg; and General Wassersleben occupied the spirit of the mine, and detached about fifteen pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five standards, fell into the hands of the Austrian generals. The musforse was the more mortifying to the King of Prussia, as it implied a censure on his conduct, for having detached such a numerous body of troops to a situation where they could not be sustained by the rest of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory, as an insupportable proof of Daun's superior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much more than an equivalent for the loss of the Saxony army, which, though less numerous, capitulated in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, after having held out six weeks against the whole power of the Prussian monarchy. General Count Uebentish detached, about nine battalions and thirty squadrons, to the assistance of Finck; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any service; and, being recalled, was next day sent to occupy the important post of Rugen. A. § XXXIII. The defeat of General Finck was not the only disaster which befell the Prussians at the close of this campaign. General Diercke, who was posted with seven battalions of infantry, and a thousand horse, on the right bank of the Elbe, opposite to Memmin, finding it impractical to lay a bridge of pontoons across the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to transport his troops in boats; and when all were passed except himself, with the rest-guards of the detachment, he retired that night, on the third day of December, in the morning, attacked by a strong body of Austrians, and taken with all his men, after an obstinate dispute. The King of Prussia, weakened by these two successive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had he not been at this juncture reinforced by the body of troops under the command of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the usual maxims of his cautious discretion. Instead of attacking the King of Prussia, respectable and formidable even in adversity, he quietly occupied the strong fortress of Reichenbach, and forbade the band to scour Duben, in case it should be attacked, and maintain his communication with Bohemia.

§ XXXIV. By this time the Russians had retired to winter-quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a frontless and governor in the absence of Maneufel, retreated to Stralsund and the isle of Rügen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more decisive than the last. Absence of lives was lost, and great part of Germany was exposed to rapine, murder, famine, desolation, and every species of misery that war could engender. In vain the conterminous powers of Austria, Russia, and Sweden, united their efforts to crush the Prussian monarch. Though his army had been surprised, and the Emperor of Russia thrown, with great slaughter, in the heart of his own dominions; though he appeared in a desperate situation, enviroved by hostile armies, and two considerable detachments of his troops were taken, and destroyed; yet he kept all his adversities at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his best auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which seemed to be the prize contested between him and his monarch. Yet, long before the approach of winter, one would imagine he must have been crushed between the shock of so many adverse hosts, had they been intent upon closing him in, and heartily concurred for his destruction; but, instead of urging the war, with accumulations of forces, he acted in separate bodies, and with jealous eye seemed to regard the progress of each other. It was not, therefore,
to any compunction, or kind of forbearance, in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The remission of the house of Austria seemed, on the contrary, to grow with the redoubled indications; and the majority of the Germanic body seemed to enter with warmth into her quarrel.\footnote{The obduracy of the powers as apposition to Great Britain and Prus- sia in their contest, was the probable cause of their enmity, which Duke Louis of Brunswick delivere to their ministers at the Hague, in a letter dated November 9; and which was totally rejected by the envoys of France, totally defeated.} § XXXV. When the Protestant states in arms against the court of Vienna were put under the dominion of the empire, the evangelical body, though without the concurrence of the Swedish and Danish ministers, issued an arrest at Ratisbon, in the month of November of the last year, and to this breach of the capitulation signed by the emperor at his election, in order for the loans, the Protestants claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the constitution. They declared that their association was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themselves to adhere to the laws, without suffering, under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the empire should reside wholly in the emperor. They affirmed that this power was renounced, in express terms, by the capitulation; they, therefore, refused to admit, as legal, any sentence of the ban deficient in the requisite conditions; and inferred that, according to the law of Brabant, nor the Elector of Hanover, nor the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, nor the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, nor the County of Nassau, nor the Duke of Brunswick, the Duke of Saxe-Gotha and Brunswick, the Duchies of Saxe-Weimar, and Wolfenbuttel, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were the persons who disturbed the empire; these, therefore, being an affair in which they themselves were parties, they could not possibly be qualified to concur in a resolution of this nature; besides, the number of the other states which had acceded to the act was very considerable: for these reasons, the emperor could not but consider the resolution in question as an act whereby the general peace of the empire was disturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the states which had joined them, in order to support and favour their furious pretensions. He, therefore, repelled this abuse of his subject, and considered that the other electors, princes, and states of the empire, would vote the said resolution to be null, and of no force, and never suffer so small a number of states, who were adherents of, and aletors to, the disturbers of the empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the whole German body; to abuse the name of the associated states of the Augsburg confession, in order forcibly to impose a faction, entirely repugnant to the constitution of the empire, to deprive them of co-states of the empire; and thereby endeavouring totally to subvert the system of the Germanic body. These remarks will speak for themselves to the reflection of the unjudged reader.

The imperial court of Vienna was equalized by nothing but the perseverance of the French ministry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Westphalia, the campaign on that side having ended exactly where it had begun; though the chief source of their commerce in the West Indies had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loss of Quebec:

\footnote{The method called (breveschoppen) in that of making French troops to lead Dutch vessels to the presence of Franche.} though their coffers rung with emptiness, and their creditors were clamorous for subsidies; they still resolved to maintain the war in Germany: this was doubtless the most politic measure; for they could not renounce the augmentation of their ordinary expense. Some of the springs of their national wealth were indeed exhausted, or diverted into other channels; but the subjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the necessities of the state were supplied by the loyal and patriotic contrivances of the people. They not only acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt, but they likewise sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into specie for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn on the government by the colonies were protested to an immense amount, and a stop was put on all the annuities grants, in consideration on sums borrowed for the use of the marine. Besides the considerable savings occasioned by these acts of state bankruptcy, they had resources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the success of Great Britain with envy against them with the most rancorous resentment, on account of the curates which had been made of their West India ships by the English cruisers.

§ XXXVI. The merchants of Amsterdam, having received advice that the cargoes of the West India ships, detained by the English, would, by the British courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, sent a deputation, with a petition to the States-general, entreating them to use their intercession with the court of London, representing the impossibility of furnishing the proofs required in so short a time as that prescribed by the British admiralty; and that, as far as the Dutch commerce was concerned, there was no other way of taking in cargoes but that of Overschippen, to which the English had objected, a condemnation of these ships, as legal prizes, would give the finishing stroke to the trade of the colony. Whatever representations the States-general might have made on this subject to the ministry of Great Britain, they had no effect upon the proceedings of the court of admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ships as often as they were proved to be French property, and the commodi- ty in a little time intimated the subjects of Holland from persevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republic, however, had so far prevailed as to have intimated that the English had in Holland passed a formal resolution to equip five-and- twenty ships of war; and orders were immediately despatched to the officers of the admiralty to complete the armament with all possible expedition. In the month of April, the States-general sent over to London three ministers extraordinary, to make representations, and remove, if possible, the causes of misunderstanding that had arisen between Great Britain and the United Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the king, with a formal bar- rage; they said his majesty would see, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to present, how ardently their high mightinesses desired to cultivate the sincere friendship which had so long continued to exist between the two nations, so necessary for their common welfare and preservation: they expressed an earnest wish that they might be happy enough to remove those difficulties which had at one time struck at this friendship, and caused so much suffering to the principal sea-borne commerce of the kingdom; who, by the commerce they carried on, constituted its greatest strength, and chief support. They declared their views of reconciliation, and to contribute to the re-establishment of public tranquillity. In due course of time, they communicated the following observation, in order to the termination of any misunderstanding, that respect, their said majesties have determined to make the following declaration:—

They that are ready to send plaintiffs to the place which shall be thought sufficient, 1. that they have already expressed a desire to establish a general peace with them, whose beneficial parties shall think fit to enter into it; 2. that they are desirous, as far as the powers they have been capable of it, of the establishment of general concord, and of pursuing the objects of concord, in particular and in their tender concord for the maintenance of their independence and the defence of their states. If they neglected the proper means to put a stop to the progress of so severe
whole confidence was placed in his majesty's equity, for
which the republic had the highest regard; and in the
good-will he had always expressed towards a state which
on all occasions had interested itself in promoting his glory;
so, as he had in the artillery and pretensions to the
queen by a princess so dear to his affection. "Full
of this confidence (said they) we promise to flatter ourselves
that your majesty will be graciously pleased to listen to
our just demands; and we shall endeavour, during the
course of the ensuing summer, to strengthen the bonds
by which the two nations ought to be for ever united." In answer to this oration, the king assured them that he had always regarded their high
importance in various collisions, existing between his
subjects and his neighbours; it was hence, arising trade;
ought to be considered as the consequences of a burthensome war which he was
obliged to wage with France. He desired they would
assure their high mightinesses, that he should endeavour,
on his part, to remove the obstacles in question; and
expressed his satisfaction that they (the deputies) were come
over with the same disposition. What representations
these deputies made, further than complaints of some irrul
gularities in the conduct of the British sea-officers, we
cannot pretend to specify; but as the subject in dispute
related entirely to the practices of the courts of judicature,
it did not fail properly under cognizance of the govern
ment, and was adjourned for the information of the
ministers, and for the advantage of justice. In all probability, the subjects of Holland
were by no means pleased with the success of this negoti
ation, for they murmured against the English nation with
ferocious asperity. In the course of two or three
months; and eagerly seized all opportunities of display
their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great
Britain.
§ XXXVIII. In the month of September Major-General
Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, presented a
memorial to the States-general, remonstrating, that the
merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in
favour of France, by transporting cannon and warlike
stores from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under
the borrowed names of private persons; and then,
conveying them by the inland rivers and canals, or through
the Dutch fortresses, to Dunkirk, and other places of
France. He desired that the king, his master, might be
made easy on that head, by their putting an immediate
stop to such practices, so repugnant to the connections
subsisting by treaty between Great Britain and the United
Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality. He ob
served, that they had been detained at Amsterdam, and had
been given to their representations against the excesses of the
English privateers, by procuring an act of parliament which
laid them under proper restrictions, gave him a good title in
to the recovery of such stores as he should be forward to
them. He reminded them that their trading towns felt the
good effects of these restrictions; and that the freedom of nava
vation which their subjects enjoyed amidst the troubles
and distractions of Europe, had considerably augmented
their commerce. He observed that some return ought
to be made to such solid proofs of the king's friendship and
protection; at least, the merchants, who were so ready to
complain of England, ought not to be contemnaced in excesses
which would have justified the most rigorous
examination of their conduct. He recalled to their memo
ries that, during the course of the present war, the king
had several times applied to their high mightinesses, and
to their ministers, on the liberty they had given, to carry
stores through the fortresses of the republic for the use of
France, to invade the British dominions; and though his
majesty had passed over in silence many of these instances
of complaisance to his enemy, he was less sensible of
the injury; but he chose rather to be a sufferer himself,
than to increase the embarrassment of his neighbours, or
extend the flames of war. He took notice that even the
court of Vienna had, upon more than one occasion, em
ployed its influence with his sovereign to induce his
name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions
for the French troops, under colour of the barrier treaty,
which it no longer observed; nay, after having put France
in possession of Dunkirk, had continued to violate
that treaty, and without any regard to the rights which
their king the master had acquired in that treaty, at
the expense of so much blood and treasure.
§ XXXIX. The memorial seems to have made some
impression on the States-general, as they scrupled to allow
the British to carry on the trade in the Dutch
provinces; but their scruples vanished entirely on the receipt of a counter-memorial presented by
the Count D'Affy, the French ambassador, who mingled some equal treatment with his animosity. He desired
them to remember, that, during the whole course of
war, the French king had required nothing from their
friendship that was inconsistent with the strictest impartial
ity; and, if he had deviated from the engagements sub
scribed the regimen, it was on the score of removing
the most essential and lucrative favours to the subjects
of their high mightinesses. He observed that the English,
notwithstanding the insolence of their behaviour to the
republic, had derived, on many occasions, assistance from
the protection their effects had found in the territories of
the United Provinces; that the artillery, stores, and am
munition belonging to Wessel were deposited in their
territories, where the Hessian army in passing the
Ilimne had very little respected, that when they returned
that river, they had no other way of saving their sick and
wounded from the hands of the French, than by embarking
them in boats, and conveying them to places where the
French left them, after the most barbarous butchery. He
also added, that the neutrality of the republic: that part of their magazines
was still deposited in the towns of the United Provinces;
where also the enemies of France had purchased and con
sumed quantities of provisions in his presence and told them, that though these and several other circumstances
might have been made the subject of the justest complaints, the King of France did not think it proper
to require that the freedom and independency of the subjects
of the republic should be restrained in branches of"com
merce that were not inconsistent with its neutrality, per
suaded that the faith of an engagement ought to be in
violately preserved, though attended with some accidental
and trivial inconvenience. He then told them, that the
king his master had ordered the generals of his
army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the
republic, and transferring thither the theatre of the war,
when his enemies retreated that way before they were
forced to pass the Ilimne. After such unquestionable
marks of regard, he said, his king would have the justest
ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectation, he should
hear that the artillery and stores belonging to him were
now exposed to the view of an enemy. Thirdly, he declared
that all such detentions would be construed as a violation of the
neutrality; and demanded, in the name of the king his
master, that the artillery and stores should, without delay,
be restored to him; and if the same were not done, he
would claim the satisfaction of putting an end to the
inland navigation. This last argument was so conclusive,
that they immediately granted the necessary pass
ports; in consequence of which the cannon were convey
ed to the Austrian Netherlands.
§ XL The powers in the southern parts of Europe were
too much engrossed with their own concerns to interest
themselves deeply in the quarrels that distracted
the German empire. The King of Spain, naturally of a
melancholy complex and delicate constitution, was so
deeply affected with the loss of his queen, who died in the
course of the preceding year, that he renounced all com
pany, neglected all business, and immured himself in a
chamber at Villa-Vicosa, where he gave a loose to the
most extravagant sorrow. He abstained from food and
rest until his strength was quite exhausted. He would
neither shift himself nor allow his beard to be shaved; he
rejected all attempts of consolation; and remained dea
to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances of those
who had a right to render their advice. In this case, the
affliction of the mind must have been reinforced by some
peculiarity in the constitution. He inherited a melancholy
disposition from his father, who had been much affected
as a family disease; for the Infant Don Louis, who like
wise resided in the palace of Villa-Vicosa, was fam to
amuse himself with hunting, and other diversions, to
prevent his being affected with the king's disorder, which
continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of
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[A. D. 1759.—Book II.]

medicine. The Spanish nation, naturally superstitious, had recourse to saints and relics: but they seemed insensible to all their devotion. The king, however, in the midst of all these disorders, presented a very calm and tranquil appearance to the world, which was patronised by the Count de Valparaiso and signed by the Duke de Bejar, high-chancellor of the kingdom. The exorbitancy of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, soon produced an incurable malady, under which he languished from the month of September in the preceding year till the tenth of August in the present, when he expired. In his will, which was bequeathed to his brother Don Carlos, King of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain, he designated the queen dowager as regent of the kingdom until that prince should arrive. Accordingly, she assumed the reins of government, and gave directions for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred with great pomp in the church belonging to the convent of the Visitacion at Madrid.

§ XLI. As the death of this prince had been long expected, so the politicians of Europe had universally prognosticated that his demise would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the subscribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case Don Carlos should be advanced in the course of succession to the throne of Spain, his brother Don Philip should be admitted on the throne of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which now constituted his establishment, should revert to the house of Austria. The King of Naples had never acceded to this article; therefore he paid no regard to it on the death of his brother: but retained his mind on the claims of the emperor to the throne of Parma, which he knew was at that time in no condition to support her pretensions. Thus the German war proved a circumstance very favourable to his interest and ambition. Before his brother embarked for Spain, however, he took some extraordinary steps, which evinced him a sound politician and sagacious legislator. His eldest son Don Philip, who had now attained the thirteenth year of his age, being found in a state of incurable idiocy, was wholly and resolutely removed from him by the succession, without any regard to the pretended right of primogeniture, by a solemn act of abdication, and the settlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he observes, That, according to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the sovereignty of Spain should be separated from that of Italy, where such a separation could be effected by either prince rejecting the rules of justice: that the unfortunate prince-royal having been destitute of reason and reflection ever since his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the use of these faculties, he could not think of raising any claim to the succession, as it was not an agreeable scene for such a disposition to be made to nature and his paternal affection: he was therefore constrained, by the Divine will, to set him aside, in favour of his third son Don Ferdinand, whose minority obliged him to vest the management of these realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previously declared his son Ferdinand from that time emancipated and freed from not only all obedience to his paternal power, but even from all submission to his supreme and sovereign authority. He then declared that the minority of the prince succeeding to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should expire with the fifteenth year of his age, when he should act as sovereign, and have the entire power of the administration. He next established and explained the order of succession in the male and female line; on condition that the monarchy of Spain should never be united with the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies: he transferred and assigned the crown to his said Don Ferdinand, these kingdoms with all that he possessed in Italy: and this ordinance, signed and sealed by himself and the infant Don Ferdinand, and countersigned by the councillors and secretaries of state, in several manufactures of the most usual forms of authenticity. Don Carlos having taken these precautions for the benefit of his third son, whom he left King of Naples, embarked with the rest of his family on board a Spanish vessel, and arrived at Cadiz, where a fleet, under the command of Don Pedro de Torres Nova, and Conde de Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-steward of the king's household, and president of the palace-cour, or last tribunal of appeal in the kingdom, in which he possessed the first office at the palace. In the same year, Francisca de Asur, Marquis of Tavora, Conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horse, and head of the third noble house of the Tavoras, the most illustrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient Kings of Leon; he married his cousin, who was Marchioness of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquisate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldest son, who, by virtue of a dispensation from the Pope, had espoused without his consent, his own aunt, Donna Theresa de Tavora. Joseph Maria de Tavora, his youngest brother, was also involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronimo de Ataurde, Conde of Ataurque, a nobleman, in whose marriage the Marquis of Tavora was present. The characters of all these personages were unblemished and respectable, until this machination was detected. In the course of investigating this dark affair, it appeared that the Duke de Aaverro had conceived a personal hatred to the king, who had disappointed him in a projected match between his son and a sister of the Duke de Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining some commandery which the late Duke de Aaverro had possessed; that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge against the person of his sovereign, had exerted all his art and address in securing the participation of the malcontents; that with this view he reconciled himself to the Jusvits, with whom he had been formerly

6 Abstract of the report made to his catholic majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the prince royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his royal highness was declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, Sept. 27.
7 Though his royal highness Don Philip is thirtynine years old, he is of low stature, and has neither the figure nor the form of a prince-royal. He has a countenance like that of his father, and is both of a very poor health.
8 His mother is so delicate in his joints; that he can scarcely rise, and make use of them upon all occasions.
9 His head is apt to swim and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.
10 He is remarkably slow in his actions; and his eyes frequently water and are gouty, particularly in his left eye, though we cannot say in his body, but in all the other members, as his half bloodsman can without those distinguishing objects, both as to the colour and sensation.
11 As he has some indigestion, he is sometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impatient. In general, his passions are not restrained by reason.
12 His prince has an obstinate aversion to some kind of common food, such as fruits, sauces, etc.
13 He is subject to sudden swells and to dictionary, and it has the same effect whether it be soft or harshness, or harshness and diabetes.
14 He is subject to the same malady, some times not long after weak and lasting, and he is utterly unacquainted with all the sensations of weak and sudden breathing.
15 As in beds and places, he sometimes remembers them, and some occasions, and is still subject to his own dreams, or the least suggestion of the holy religion.
16 On account of its delight in childish amusements; and those which are the most boisterous please him best. He is continually changing them, and altering them according to his pleasurable fancy.
17 Signed by Don Francisco Bensena, chief physician to the ill and hose-house of the king, and the physicians César Cribler, Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francisco Sarria, and Don Domingo San Severino.
at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably

assailed against the king, who had dismissed them

from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them

with other marks of disgrace, on account of their illegal

and rebellious practices in South America: the duke,

implied that any such nature of results, were it brought

Marchioness of Tavorn, notwithstanding an inveterate

rivality of pride and ambition, which had long subsisted

between the two families. Her resentment against the

king was increased by her apprehensions; she feared the

repeated repulses, when she solicited the title of duke for

her husband. Her passions were artfully fomented and

managed by the Jesuits, to whom she had resigned the

government of her conscience; and they are said to have

persuaded her that she would be a monarch by inheritance

to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the

church and a tyrant to his people. She, being reconciled

to the scheme of assassination, exerted her influence in

such a manner as to inveigle her husband, her sons, and

son-in-law, into the same infamous design; and yet this

lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability,

and sweetness of disposition. Many consultations were

held between the college and the Marchioness, St.

Anton, and St. Roque, as well as at the houses of the duke

and the marquis. At last they resolved that the king

should be assassinated; and employed two ruffians, called

Antonio Alvarez and Joseph Policarpo, for the execution

of the design, for their meeting was fixed for the month of

February, among the transactions of the preceding year.

In the beginning of January, before the circumstances of

the conspiracy were known, the Comts de Oebers and de

Hilera Grande were imprisoned in the castle of St.

Julian, on a suspicion arising from their freedom of

speech. The Duchess de Aveiro, the Countess of Atou-

guia, and the Marchioness of Alorna, with their children,

were sent off to the convents of São Domingos, where they

were taken into custody. A council being appointed for

the trial of the prisoners, the particulars we have related

were brought to light by the torture; and sentence of death

was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals.

Eight wheels were fixed upon a scaffold raised in the

square opposite to the house where the prisoners had been

confined; and the thirteenth of January was fixed for the

day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Forreiga, one of the

assassins who had fired into the king's equigage, was

fixed to a stake at one corner of the scaffold; and at the

other was placed the effigies of his accomplice, Joseph

Policarpo de Avezedo, who had made his escape. The

Marchioness of Tavorn, being brought upon the scaffold

between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, was

beheaded with one stroke, and then covered with a linen cloth.

Her two sons, and her son-in-law, the Count of Atouguia,

with three servants of the Duke de Aveiro, were first strangled

at the seat of the Parochial College, where their bodies remained

covered; but the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conspiracy, were

broke alive, and underwent the most executing tormentors. The last

that suffered was the assassin Alvarez, who being con-

demned to be burnt alive, the combustibles which had been

placed under the scaffold were set on fire, the whole

machine, with the bodies, consumed to ashes, and these

ashes thrown into the sea. The estates of the three un-

fortunate noblemen were confined into the hands of the

houses rated to the ground. The name of Tavorn was

suppressed for ever by a public decree: but that of

Mascarenhas spared, because the Duke de Aveiro was a

younger branch of the family. A reward of ten thousand

crowns was offered to any person who should apprehend

the assassin who had escaped; then the embargo was

taken off the shipping. The king and royal family assist-

ed at a public Te Deum sung in the chapel of Nova

Senhora de Livramento; and that, for the satisfaction of his people, waved his

handkerchief with both hands, to show he was not maimed by the

wounds he had received. If such an attempt upon the

life of a prince, as the subject of this narrative, would be

thought sufficient to be considered as an attempt to

bequeath to his people, the great and able conduct of his majesty's general, Prince

Ferdinand of Brunswick, who was considered, that action

must have been motivated by that most horrid design.

However, if any thing could fill the breasts of his majesty's good

subjects with still further degrees of exultation, it would be

the distinguished and unbroken value of the British

troops, owned and applauded by those whom they over-
came. He said the glory they had gained was not merely their own; but, in a national view, was one of the most important circumstances of our success, as it must be a strong addition to our credit to our engagements whom they have to contend. He told them that his majesty's good brother and ally, the King of Prussia, attacked and surrounded by so many considerable powers, had, by his magnanimity and ability, saved his troops, been able, in a surprising manner, to prevent the mischiefs concerted with such united force against him. He declared, by the command of his sovereign, that as his majesty entered into this war not from views of ambition, so he did not wish to retire from motives of resentment; that the desire of his majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood; that whenever such terms of peace could be established as should be just and honourable for his majesty and his allies; and by procuring such advantages as, from the successes of his majesty's arms might in reason and equity be expected, should bring along with them full security for the future; his majesty would rejoice to see the repose of Europe restored on such solid and durable foundations; and his faithful subjects, to whose liberal support and unshaken firmness his majesty owed so much, happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and tranquillity; but, in order to this great and desirable end, his majesty was confident was perfectly prepared to agree with him, that it was necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour. He assured the Commons, that the great supplies that had been in the last session, the parliament had been so happily employed for the purposes for which they were granted; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various services necessary to be provided for, in order to secure success to his majesty's measures, had unavoidably occasioned extraordinary expenses. Finally, he repeated the assurances from the throne of the high satisfaction his majesty took in that union and good harmony which was so conspicuous among his good subjects; he said, all great powers, and himself especially, had entertained the hope, that it continued now confirmed; he observed that experience had shown how much the nation owed to this union, which alone could secure the true happiness of his people.

§ XLIV. We shall not anticipate the reader's own reflection, by pretending to comment upon either the matter or the form of this harangue, which however produced all the effect which the sovereign could desire. The Houses, in their respective addresses, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of attachment and concinnity. The Peers professed their utmost readiness to concur in the effectual support of such further measures as his majesty, in his great wisdom, should judge necessary or expedient for carrying on the war, with vigour, without imposing and repelling any desperate attempts which might be made upon these kingdoms. The Commons expressed their admiration of that true greatness of mind which disposed his majesty's heart, in the midst of prospects, to wish a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood, and to see tranquillity restored. They declared their entire reliance on his majesty's known wisdom and firmness, that the desirable object, whenever it should be obtained, would be upon terms just and honourable for his majesty and his allies; and, in order to effect that great end, they assured him they would cheerfully grant such supplies as should be found necessary to sustain, and press with all the utmost vigour, against the enemies of the state.

They did not fail to re-echo the speech, as usual: enumerating the triumphs of the year, and extolling the King of Prussia for his consummate genius, magnanimity, unwearied activity, and unwakened constancy of mind. Very great reason, indeed, had his majesty to be satisfied with an address of such a nature from a House of Commons, in which opposition lay strangled at the foot of the minister; in which those demagogues, who had raised themselves to reputation by declaiming against continental wars, measures, were become so perfectly reconciled to the object of their former reprobation, as to cultivate it even with a degree of enthusiasm unknown to any former administration. They ought, perhaps, to be permitted under some counts in our behalf, as no other ministry durst ever meditate. Thus disposed, it was no wonder they admired the moderation of their sovereign, in offering to treat of peace, after above a million of men had perished by the war, and twice that number been reduced to misery: after whole provinces had been depopulated, and countries subdued, and the victors themselves almost crushed by the trophies they had gained.

§ XLV. Immediately after the addresses were presented, the Commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House; and having unanimously voted a supply to his majesty, began to take the particulars into consideration. This committee was continued till the twelfth of May, when there were ordered such bills, the service of the ensuing year, they voted seventy thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds. The number of land forces, including the British troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four men, and granted for their subsistence one million three hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds, sixty-six shillings, and sixpence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxo-Gotha, and Buckeburg, returned in the service of Great Britain, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, ten thousand pounds, ten shillings, and one penny. For pay to the general and general staff-officers, and officers of the houses of parliament, they fixed fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds, ten shillings, and nine pence. For pay to the officers of the militia in South and North Britain the sum of one hundred two thousand and six pounds, four shillings, and eight pence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty one hundred and sixty-eight pounds, twelve shillings, and seven pence, for defraying the additional expense of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hessia, and the British army serving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers; for carrying on the building of two hospitals, one near Gosport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the support of the hospitals at Greenwich, Woolwich, at the Navy-ships, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expense incurred by that office in the commission for the pounds, ten shillings, and five pence half-penny; and for nineteen thousand four hundred and twenty-seven pounds, ten shillings, and sixpence. Towards paying off the debt, buildings, rebuilding, and repairs of the king's ships, together with the charges of transport service, they granted one million one hundred and one thousand seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence. For defraying the extraordinary expenses of the land forces and other services not provided for by the foregoing bills, they voted thirty thousand pounds, ten shillings, and sixpence. For the maintenance of eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-four pounds, ten shillings, and sixpence. For the pay of the army, for defraying the additional expense of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hessia, and the British army serving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers; for defraying the extraordinary expenses of the land forces and other services not provided for by the foregoing bills, they voted thirty thousand pounds, ten shillings, and sixpence. For the support of the hospitals at Greenwich, Woolwich, and the Navy-ships, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expense incurred by that office in the commission for the pounds, ten shillings, and five pence half-penny. They voted one million to empower his majesty to discharge the like sums as would be requisite in successive years. For the service of the ensuing year, they voted seventy thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds. The number of land forces, including the British troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four men, and granted for their subsistence one million three hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds, sixty-six shillings, and sixpence. They afterwards bestowed the sum of one hundred and eight thousand and twelve pounds, twelve shillings, and seven pence, for defraying the additional expense of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hessia, and the British army serving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers; for carrying on the building of two hospitals, one near Gosport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the support of the hospitals at Greenwich, Woolwich, and the Navy-ships, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expense incurred by that office in the commission for the pounds, ten shillings, and five pence half-penny; and for nineteen thousand four hundred and twenty-seven pounds, ten shillings, and sixpence. Towards paying off the debt, buildings, rebuilding, and repairs of the king's ships, together with the charges of transport service, they granted one million one hundred and one thousand seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence.
present magazine for gunpowder, situated in the neighbour- 
hood of Greenwich, and of erecting in it some less 
dangerous situation. Sixty thousand pounds they gave, 
to defray the expenses of twenty-one procs. of the 
Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate ar-
ticle of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in 
the month of November, the sum to be paid at his most serene 
highness's convenience, in order to fa-
cilitate the means by which the landgrave might again fix 
his residence in his own dominions, and, by his presence, 
give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Five hundred 
thousand pounds, from the said thousand pounds to be 
supplied towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, 
bread-waggons, train of artillery, wood, straw, provisions, 
and contingencies of his majesty's combined army under 
the command of Prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling 
hospital they granted five thousand pounds; and fifteen 
thousand for improving, widening, and enlarging the pas-
 sage over and through London bridge. To replace divers 
sums taken from the sinking fund, they granting two hun-
dred twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one 
pounds, nineteen shillings, and four pence. For the sub-
 sistence of reduced officers, including the allowances to 
the several officers and private men of the troops of horse-
guards, they granted seven shillings, and two pence, 
and, the subsequent gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guard, 
they voted thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-
seven pounds, nine shillings. Upon account for the support 
of the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they granted 
twenty thousand pounds, for defraying the charges of prov-
ings, and forty pounds, for the support of an additional company 
to the corps commanded by Lieu-
tenant-Colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million, 
upon account, to enable the king to defray any extra-
ordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred, 
for the service of the year: one thousand seven hundred 
and sixty; and to take all such measures as might be 
necessary to defeat any enterprise or design of his enemies, 
they thought it expedient to make the sum total granted in 
this session of parliament amounted to fifteen millions five thousand three hundred 
and sixty-three pounds, fifteen shillings, and nine pence 
halfpenny; a sum so enormous, whether we consider the 
motion that raised it, or the purposes for which it was 
raised, that every Briton of a sedate mind, attached to 
the interest and welfare of his country, must reflect upon it 
with equal astonishment and concern: a sum considerably 
more than double the largest subsidy that was granted in 
the reign of Queen Anne, when the nation was in the 
zenith of her glory, and retained half the powers of Europe 
in her pay; a sum almost double of what any former ad-
ministration did expend and raise. And yet, when we view 
the most sanguine calculators, who lived in the beginning 
of this century, thought the nation could give without the 
most imminent hazard of immediate bankruptcy. Of 
the immense supply which we have particularized, the 
further three millions four hundred and sixty-four thousand 
four hundred and eighty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and 
seven pence three farthings, were paid to foreigners for supporting 
the war in Germany, exclusive 
of the money expended by the British troops in that 
country, the number of which amounted, in the course of the 
ensuing year, to twenty thousand men: a number the more 
extraordinary, if we consider they were all transported to 
that continent during the administration of those who de-
clared in parliament (the words still sounding in our ears) 
that not a man, nor even half a man, should be sent from 
Great Britain to Germany, to fight the battles of any foreign 
elector. Into the expense of the German war Sustained 
by Great Britain, we must also throw the charge of trans-
porting the English troops; the article of forage, which 
alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one 
million two hundred thousand pounds, besides postage, 
and other considerable sums. To the German war we may also impute the extraordinary ex-
 pense incurred by the actual service of the militia, which 
the absence of the regular troops rendered in a great 
measure necessary. Of one thing, we may safely 
draw from industry, from husbandry and manufacture. 
The loss sustained by this connexion was equally grievous 
and apparent; the advantage accruing from it, either to
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§ XLVI. The committee of ways and means, having been duly deliberated on the articles of supply, continued sitting from the twenty-second day of November to the fourteenth of May, during which period they established the necessary funds to produce which they had been granted. The land tax at four shillings in the pound, and the malt tax, were continued, as the standing revenue of Great Britain. The whole provision made by the committee of ways and means amounted to sixteen millions one hundred thirty thousand pounds, besides about six hundred thousand pounds, and eight peace, exceeding the grants for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, in the sum of six hundred twenty-six thousand nine hundred ninety-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny. This excess, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we consider that it was destined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the subscribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a considerable article in the supply of every session. That these gigantic strides towards the ruin of public credit were such as might alarm every well-wisher to his country, will perhaps more plainly appear in the sum total of the national debt, which, including the encumbrance of one million charged upon the civil list revenue, and provided for by a tax upon salaries and pensions payable out of that revenue, amounted to this period, to the sum of one hundred eight millions four hundred ninety-three thousand one hundred fifty-four pounds, four shillings, and eleven pence; a comfortable reflection that the national debt, which had been in the more expensive war that ever was waged, and already burdened with such taxes as no other nation ever bore!

§ XLVII. It is not at all necessary to particularize the act, that was founded upon the resolutions touching the supply. We shall only observe, that, in the act for the land tax, and in the act for the malt tax, there was a clause of credit empowering the commissioners of the treasury to raise the additional duties upon them for the supply, on exchequer-bills, bearing an interest of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the interest usually granted in time of peace. While the House of Commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising a certain sum of money to be charged on the said duties, a petition was presented by the malsters of Ipswich and parts adjacent against an additional duty on the stock of malt in hand; but no resolution was then taken in that respect, and the act passed, with several new amendments, passed through both Houses, under the title of "An act for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising the sum of eight millions four hundred thousand pounds to be charged on the said duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gaugings of corn making into malt; and for making fictitious duplicates of exchequer-bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuities, and other orders lost, burned, or otherwise destroyed." The other three bills that turned wholly on the supply, were passed in common course, without the least opposition in either House; and received the royal assent by commission at the end of the session. The first of these, entitled, "A bill for enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money for the uses and purposes therein mentioned," contained a clause of approbation, added to it by instruction; and the bank was enabled to lend the million which the commissioners of the treasury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the interest of four pounds per cent. The second, granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund, for the payment of the one thousand seven hundred and sixty, comprehended a clause of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clause, empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of interest, enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards discharging the debt of the navy, and for naval services during the ensuing year, enacted, that the exchequer-bills thereby to be issued should not be received, or pass to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the exchequer, before the twenty-sixth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

§ XLVIII. As the preceding session, prohibiting the malt distillery, was to expire at Christmas, the Commons, thinking it necessary to consider of proper methods for laying the malt distillery under such regulations as should be for the advantage of the health and morals of the people, began, as early as the month of November to deliberate on this affair; which being under agitation, petitions were presented to the House of Commons, in behalf of the principal inhabitants of Spital-fields, the mayor and corporation of Newcastle, the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of Colchester; the mayor, aldermen, and common council of King's Lynn in Norfolk; the mayor and bailiffs of Berwick-upon-Tweed; representing the advantages accruing from the prohibition of the malt distillery, and praying the continuance of the act by which it was prohibited. On the other hand, coutret-petitions were offered by the mayor, magistrates, merchants, manufactur- ers, and other gentlemen of the city of Norwich; by the landholders and owners of the south-west part of Essex; and by the freeholders of the shires of Ross and Cromartyt, in North Britain: alleging, that the scarcity of corn, which had made it necessary to prohibit the malt distillery, had ceased; and that the continuing the prohibition beyond the necessity which had required it, would be a great loss and discouragement to the landed interest; because they thought the distillery which had again opened, under such regulations and restrictions as the House should think proper. These remonstrances being taken into consideration, and divers accounts perused, the House of Commons agreed that the prohibition should be continued for a limited time; and a bill being brought in, pursuant to this resolution, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent; by which it was provided, that the prohibition should be continued till the twenty-fourth day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, unless such continuance should be abrogated by any other act to be passed in the present session.
detrimental to the commercial interests of the nation; and they conceived the advantages proposed to be allowed upon the exportation of such spirits, being so much above the value of their commodity, would lay such a temptation for corruption amongst the retailers, and would enable them freely to express their fears, that, should such a bill pass into a law, the excessive use of spirituous liquors would not only deplete and enervate the labourers, manufacturers, sailors, soldiers, and all the lower class of people, and thereby extirpate the moral and religious economy we may have had lately so eminently appeared in the British nation, which must always depend on the vigour and industry of its people; but also its liberty and happiness, which cannot be respected when, for the purpose of惟ting the run the utmost risk of being destroyed. They declared themselves also apprehensive, that the extraordinary consumption of bread corn by the still would not only raise the prices, so as to oppress the lower class of people, but would raise such a bar to the exportation thereof, as to deprive the nation of a great influx of money, at that time essential towards the maintaining of an expensive war, and therefore highly favourable to the landed and commercial interest; they therefore prayed that the present prohibition of distilling spirits from corn might be continued, or that the use of wheat might not be allowed in distillation. This remonstrance was corroborated by another to the same effect from some merchants, and traders residing in and near the city of London; and seemed to have some weight with the Commons, who made several amendments in the bill, which they now enacted; one of which was, that spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for shortening the prohibition for making low wines and spirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of British-made spirits, and preventing the importation thereof. Thus altered and amended, it passed on a division; and, making its way through the House of Lords, acquired the royal sanction. Whether the law be adequate to the purposes for which it was enacted, time will determine. The best way of preventing the excess of spirituous liquors would be to lower the excise on beer and ale, so as to enable the poorer class of labourers to refresh themselves with a comfortable liquor for nearly the same expense that will procure a quantity of geneva sufficient for intoxication; for it cannot be supposed that a poor wretch will expend his last penny upon a draft of small beer, without strength or the least satisfaction. When the word is heard that he can purchase a cordial, that will both instantaneously allay the sense of hunger and cold, and regale his imagination with the most agreeable illusions. Malt was at this time sold for the first year of King James I., when the parliament enacted, that the malt-monger, brewer, or ale-housekeeper, should sell less than a full quart of the best ale or beer, or two quarts of the small, for one penny, under the penalty of twenty shillings. It appears, then, that in the reign of King James the subject paid but four pence for a gallon of strong beer, which now costs one shilling; and, as the malt is not increased in value, the difference in the prices in the bills must entirely owing to the taxes on beer, malt, and hops, which are indeed very grievous, though perhaps necessary. The duty on small beer is certainly one of the heaviest taxes imposed upon any sort of consumption that cannot be considered as an article of offence, and with half a crown of shilling and hop duty, are required to make a barrel of good small beer, which was formerly sold for six shillings; and the taxes payable upon such a barrel amounted to three shillings and sixpence; so that the sum total of the imposition on this commodity was equal to a land tax of eleven shillings and eight pence in the pound.

§. L. Immediately after the resolution relating to the prohibition of spirits from wheat, a motion was made, and least stringent, that on an amendment for that purpose; at the time, the act of the last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland. This permission was accordingly extended to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the annual hundred of Freelance. We could mention but little probability this short and temporary connexion was proposed by the favourers of the bill, in order to avoid the clamour and opposition of prejudice and ignorance, which would have been dangerously alarmed had it been rendered perpetual. Yet as undoubted evidence had proved before the committee, while the bill was being, that the importation had been injurious to the producers of beef in this country in reducing the price of salted beef for the use of the navy, perhaps no consideration ought to have prevented from the legislature from perpetuating the law; a measure that would encourage the graziers of Ireland to breed and fattening horses, and give new life to that industry which the exportation of salted beef from that kingdom to France, which undoubtedly furnishes the traders of that kingdom with opportunities of exporting wool to the same country. But, as several reasons, suspended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times, which suspensions were deemed inconsistent with the intent of the legislature, a bill was now brought in, to enable his majesty's lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithstanding any adjournments. It was enacted, that, as the speedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was most essentially necessary at this juncture to the peace and security of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where such suspension had happened should, within one month after the passing this act, proceed if it is necessary, with the谘生素 of the militia for the better security of the place. The regiment of a regular militia in South Britain could not fail to make an impression upon the patriots of Scotland. They were conceived, from reason and experience, that nothing the field could do to their country by such an establishment in North Britain, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly exposed to insurrections, which a well-regulated militia might have prevented, or stifled in the birth; and their coast had been lately alarmed by a threatened invasion, which nothing but the want of such an establishment had rendered formidable to the natives. They thought themselves entitled to the same security which the legislature had provided for their fellow-subjects in South Britain, and could not help being uneasy at the prospect of seeing themselves left unarmed, and exposed to injuries both foreign and domestic, while the sword was put in the hands of their southern neighbours. Some of the members who represented North Britain in parliament, moved by these considerations, as well as by the earnest injunctions of their constituents, resolved to make a vigorous effort, in order to obtain the establishment of a regular militia in that country. In the House of Commons, Mr. Tweed moved and resolved, that the House would, on the twelfth day of the month, resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the laws in being which relate to the militia in that part of Great Britain called Scotland. The result of that inquiry was, that these laws were ineffectual. Then a motion was made for leave to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in North Britain, and, though it met with great opposition, was carried by a large majority. The principal Scottish members of the House were appointed, in conjunction with others, to prepare the bill, which was soon printed, and reinforced by petitions presented by the several counties of Scotland and other parts. They requested the commissioners of the supply for the shire of Ayr; and by the freeholders of the shires of Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and Forfar. They expressed their approbation of the established militia in England, and their ardent wish to see the benefit of that wise and salutary measure conferred on North Britain. This was an indulgence they had the greater reason to hope for, as by the articles of the Union they were undoubtedly entitled to be on the same footing as those of England; and as the legislature must now be convinced of the necessity of some such measures, by the consternation lately produced in their defenceless country, from the threatened invasion of a great body of French soldiers, to no weight with the majority in the House of Commons, who, either unable or unwilling to make proper distinc-
tions between the ill and well affected subjects of North Britain, rejected the bill, as a very dangerous experiment in favour of a people among whom so many rebellions had been implanted and produced. When the motion was made for the bill's being committed, a warm debate ensued, in the course of which many Scottish members spoke in behalf of their country with great force and argument, and a very laudable spirit of patriotism. Mr. Eildon, in particular, one of the commissioners of the board of admiralty, distinguished himself by a noble flow of eloquence, adorned with all the graces of oratory, and warned with the true spirit of patriotism. Mr. Oswald, of the treasury, acquitted himself with great honour on the occasion; ever nervous, steady, and sagacious, independent though in office, and invariable in pursuing the interest of his country. It must be owned, for the honour of North Britain that all her representatives, except two, warmly contended for this national measure, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and six, though the bill was exactly modelled by the late act of parliament for the establishment of the militia in England.

§ LII. Even this institution, though certainly laudable and necessary, was attended with so many unforeseen difficulties that the militia of Parliament, even when it was first established, has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April,leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the militia's wages, which was made by the act of parliament, for the maintenance of families unable to support themselves during the absence of militia men embodied, and ordered out into actual service; as well as for amending and improving the establishment of the militia, and lessening the number of commissioned officers entitled to serve that part of Great Britain called England. While this bill was under consideration, the House received a petition from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, sheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, representing, That by an act passed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia man should be ordered out into actual service, leaving families unable to support themselves during their absence, the overseers of the parish where such families reside, should allow them such weekly support as should be prescribed by any one justice of the peace, which allowance should be reimbursed out of the county stock. They alleged, that a considerable number of men, inhabitants of the said city, had entered themselves to serve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for several parishes and persons; yet their families were, nevertheless, supported only by the county stock of the city and county of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed that if it should pass into a law, they might have such relief in the premises, as to the House should seem meet. Regard was had to this petition in the amendments to the bill,² which passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent by commission. During the dependence of this bill another was brought in, to explain so much of the militia passed in the thirty-first year of his majesty's reign, as related to the money to be given to private militia men, upon their being ordered out into actual service. By this law it was enacted, that the guineas, which by the former act was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual service, should be paid to every man that shall afterwards be enrolled into such regiment or company whilst in actual service; that no money should be entitled to his clothes for his own use, until he should have served three years, if unembodied, or one year, if embodied, after the delivery of the clothes; and that the full pay of the militia should commence from his majesty's warrant for drawing them out. The difficulties which attend the raising and maintaining a militia, whatever it may be, will be amply recompensed by the good effects of a national militia, provided it be employed in a national way; and for national purposes: but if the militia be embodied, and the wages given as mentioned in the above paragraph, the payment is made to the respective counties to which they belong; if the men are detailed for any length of time in actual service, at a distance from their families, when they might be employed at home in works of industry, for the support of their families, dependent upon the nation; it will be more than an addition to, or augmentation of, a standing army, enlisted for the term of three years. The labour of the men is lost to the community; they contract the sitt habits and dissolve manners of the other troops; their families are left as encumbrances on the community; and the charge of their subsistence is at least as heavy as that of maintaining an equal number of regular forces. It would not, we apprehend, be very easy to account for the government's ordering the regiments of militia to march from their respective counties, and to do duty for a considerable length of time at a great distance from their own homes, unless we suppose this measure was taken to create to the people a spirit of discipline and order, and to enforce that it was an establishment extorted from the secretary by the voice of the nation. We may add, that some of the inconveniences attending a militia will never be totally removed, and will move even at liberty to hire substitutes; for it cannot be supposed that men of substance will incur the danger, fatigue, and damage of service in person, while they can hire among the lowest classes of people mercenaries of desperate fortune and abandoned morals, who will greedily seize the opportunity of being paid for reconnecting that labour by which they were before obliged to maintain themselves and their family connexion; it would, therefore, deserve the censure of the legislature, whether the number of substitutes should not be limited to certain classes of men, who are either raised by their rank in life above the necessity of serving in person, or engaged in such occupations as cannot be interrupted without prejudice to the commonwealth. It must be allowed, that the regulation in this new act, by which the families of substitutes are deprived of any relief from the parish, will not only diminish the burden of the poor's rates; but also, by raising the price of mercenaries, oblige a greater number of the better sort to serve in person. Without all doubt the fewer substitutes that are employed, the more dependence may be placed upon the militia in the preservation of our rights; and the number of men whose trade is that of discipline may be increased: because at the expiration of every three years the lot men must be changed, and new militia men chosen; but the substitutes will, in all probability, continue for life in the service, provided they can find lot men to hire them at every rotation. The reader will forgive our being so circumstantial upon the regulations of an institution, which we cannot help regarding with a kind of enthusiastic affection.

² By this law it was enacted, that if any militia man who shall have been accepted as substitute, be disabled by the passing of the act, or who shall have been chosen by lot, whether before or after the act shall have been made, or called out in actual service, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to support themselves, or to be enrolled in the company, the pay out of the poor's rates of such parish a weekly allowance to such family, according to the usual and ordinary price of labour and maintenance, but not to exceed there, viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour, for two children under the age of ten years, the price of two days' labour, for thee or four children under the age of ten years, the price of three days' labour, for five or more children, the price of four days' labour; and for the wife of such militia man, the price of one day's labour; but that the families of such men only as shall be accepted and enrolled, shall, after the passing of this act, receive any such allowance as shall be made under this act, as a substitute for the price of the above petition, it is enacted, that where treasurers shall reimburse to over-
to treachery and every other accident. They alleged, that if, through treachery, lighting, or any other accident, this magazine should take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hospital, the king's yards and stables, and the houses of Woolwich, together with the navigation of the Thames, with the ships sailing and at anchor in that river, would be inevitably destroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Westminster. Therefore, in order to obviate the mischief that might ensue, they were then in a dangerous condition, supported on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation; that in case it should fall, the powder would, in all probability, take the dreadful calamities above recited: they therefore prayed that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences.

The subject of this remonstrance was so pressing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into consideration, and procure an estimate for purchasing lands, and erecting a powder-magazine, at Purfleet, in Essex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-house, barracks, and all other necessary conveniences. While the report of the committee lay upon the table for the perusal of the members, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his majesty's command, acquainted the House, that the king, having been informed of the state of the magazine, immediately directed that the necessary measures should be taken to remove the party-walls, and that the magazine might be rebuilt, or otherwise remedied, in order to render this possible explosion still less dangerous, it would be necessary to form the magazine of small distinct apartments, totally independent of each other; that in case one should be accidentally blown up, the explosion might be less injurious. The same plan ought to be adopted in the construction of all combustible stores subject to confiscation. The marine bill, and mutiny bill, as annual regulations, were prepared in the usual form, passed both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent.

§ LIV. The next affair that engrossed the deliberation of the Commons, was a measure relating to the internal economy of the metropolis. The sheriffs of London declared the land mayors and aldermen, in common-council assembled, representing that several streets, lanes, and passages within the city of London, and liberties thereof, were too narrow and incommodious, particularly by the sale, letting, or hire of houses as of coach-house, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce. They alleged that these defects might be remedied, and several new streets opened within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and convenience of passengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow streets, lanes, and passages, to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which might be necessary for these purposes. They took notice that there were several houses within the city and liberties, partly erected over the ground of other proprietors; and others, of which the several floors or apartments belonged to different persons; so that difficulties and disputes frequently arose amongst the said several owners and proprietors, about pulling down or rebuilding the party-walls and premises; that such rebuilding was often prevented or delayed, to the great injury and inconvenience of those owners who were desirous to rebuild; that it would therefore be of public benefit, and frequently prevent the increase of fire, theft, or damage, that might be made by law, as well for determining such disputes in a summary way, as for explaining and amending the laws then in being relating to the building of party-walls. They leave might be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioners to widen and enlarge the several streets, lanes, and passages, and to open new streets and ways to be therein limited and prescribed; as well as for determining, in a summary way, all disputes concerning about the party-walls, not relating to the said city and liberties, wherein several persons have an interdicted property; and for explaining and amending the laws in being relating to these particulars. A committee being appointed to examine the matter of this petition, agreed to a report, upon which leave was given to bring in a bill, and this was brought to accordingly. Next day a great number of citizens represented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was often damaged, by being broken up for the purposes of amending or new laying water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of water-works; and praying that provision might be made in the bill then depending, to compel those proprietors to make good any damage done to the said water-pipes, or opening the pavement for alterations. In consequence of this representation, some amendments were made in the bill, which passed both Houses, and was passed into a law, under the title of an Act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages, within the city of London and liberties thereof; and for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

§ L.V. The inhabitants of Westminster had long laboured under the want of a fish-market, and complained that the price of this species of provision was kept up at an exorbitant rate by the fraudulent combination of a few dealers, who engrossed the whole market at Billingsgate, and destroyed great quantities of fish, in order to enhance the value of those that remained. An act of parliament had passed in the twenty-second year of his present majesty's reign, for establishing a free market for the sale of fish in Westminster; and, seven years after that period, it was found necessary to procure a second, for explaining and amending the first; but neither-effectively answered the purpose of the legislature. In the month of January, 1798, in the present session, the House took into consideration a petition of the several fishermen trading to Billingsgate-market, representing the hardships to which they were exposed, particularly by the sale, letting, or hiring of the said streets and passages, and the fees, and cargoes, incurred by the negligence of servants who had omitted to make the particular entries which the two acts prescribed. This petition being examined by a committee, and the report being made, leave was given to bring in a new bill, which should contain effectual provision for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish, and for preventing the abuses of the fishmongers. It was entitled, An Act to repeal so much of an act passed in the twenty-sixth of George II. concerning a free market for fish at Westminster, as requires fishermen to enter their fishing vessels at the office of the searcher of the customs at Gravesend, and to regulate the sale of fish at the first hand in the market of London and Westminster; and to prevent salesmen of fish buying fish to sell again on their own account; and to allow brest and turbot, brill and pearl, although under the respective dimensions mentioned in a former act, to be imported and sold; and to punish persons who shall take or sell any spawn, brood,
or fry of fish, unseasonable fish, or fish out of season, or smelts under the size of five inches, and for other purposes." Though this, and the former bill relating to the streets and houses of London, are instances that evince the care and attention of the legislature, even to matters of such remote and trifling importance as the regulation of the keeping of cats, we can hardly consider them as objects of such dignity and importance as to demand the deliberations of the parliament, but think they naturally fall within the cognizance of the municipal magistracy. After all, perhaps the most effectual method for regulating Westminster with plenty of fish, at reasonable rates, would be to execute with rigour the laws already enacted against forestalling and regrating, an expedient that would soon dissolve all such combinations, and raise the price of fish; to increase the number of markets in London and Westminster; and to establish two general markets at the Nore, one on each side of the river, where the fishing vessels might unload their cargoes, and return to sea without delay. A number of light boats might be employed to convey fresh fish from these markets to London and Westminster, where all the different fish markets might be plentifully supplied at a reasonable expense; for it cannot be supposed that, while the fresh fish are brought up the river to the fishing-smacks themselves, which can hardly save the tides to Billingsgate, they will ever dream of carrying their cargoes above bridge; or that the price of fish can be conduced by the fishmongers to lose the same time in running up to Gravesend or Billingsgate.

§ LVI. The annual committee being appointed to inquire into what laws were expired, or nearly expiring, agreed to certain bills, in which a bill was prepared, and obtained the royal assent, importing a continuation of several laws, namely, the several clauses mentioned of the acts in the fifth and eighth of George I. against the clandestine running of uncustomed goods, except the clauses relating to quarantine; the act passed in the third of George II. relating to the carrying race from Carolina; the act of the seventh of the same reign, relating to cochineal and indigo; and that of the twelfth George II. so far as it relates to the importation of frustra frui, there was also a law enacted, to continue to the twenty-ninth day of September in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, an act passed in the twelfth year of Queen Anne, for encouraging the making of sailcloth, by a duty of one penny per ell laid upon all foreign-made sail, and sailcloth imported, and a bounty in the same proportion granted upon all home-made sail-cloth, and canvass fit for or made into sails, and exported; another act was passed, for continuing certain laws of the last reign to the end of the year, such as the six-year-old hackney coaches and chairs, which law was rendered perpetual. The next law we shall mention was intended to be one of the most important that ever fell under the cognizance of the act, it being a law that provided for the freedom of the dignity, and independency of parliaments. By an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne, it was provided that no person should be chosen a member of parliament who did not possess in England or Wales an estate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a shire six hundred pounds per annum; and above what will satisfy all encumbrances; and three hundred pounds per annum, for every citizen, burgess, and baron of the cinque ports. It was also declared, that the return of any person not thus qualified should be void; and that every candidate should, at the reasonable request of any other candidate at the time of election, or of two or more persons who had a right to vote, take an oath prescribed to establish his qualification. This restraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had been prescribed since the revolution, that they began to lose the effect they were intended to have on the minds of men: and in particular, political perjury grew so common, that it was no longer considered as a crime. Subterfuges were discovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualifications of candidates was effectually cheated. Those who were actually possessed of such estates as were intended to procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being restored and cancelled after the election. By this scoundrel fraud the intention of the framers of the bill, the dignity of parliament, prostituted, the example of perjury and corruption extended, and the vengeance of Heaven set at defiance. Through this infamous channel the ministry had it in their power to thrust into parliament a set of venal beggars, who, as they depended upon their bounty, would always be obsequious and artful; according to the direction, without the least regard to the dictates of conscience, or to the advantage of their country. The mischiefs attending such a vile collusion, and in particular the undue influence of such gratuities, which usually crowned the practice, were either felt or apprehended by some honest patriots, who, after divers unsuccessful efforts, at length presented to the House a bill, importing that every person who shall be elected a member of the House of Commons, should be capable of being aforesaid to the clerk of the House at the table, while the Commons are sitting, and the speaker in the chair, a paper or schedule, signed by himself, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, specifying the nature of his estate, whether messuage, land, rent, tithe, or what else; and if such estate consists of messuages, lands, or tithes, then specifying in whose whose occupation they are, and if in rent, then specifying the names of the owners or possessors of the lands and tenements out of which such rent is issuing, and also specifying the parish, township, or precinct and county, in which the said estate lies, and the value thereof; and every such person shall be required to subscribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or schedule: "I, A. B. do swear that the above is a true rental; and that I truly and solemnly, have such an estate, in the above or aforesaid, for the above described benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, above described, over and above what will satisfy and clear all encumbrances that may affect the same; and that such estate has not been granted or made over me fraudulently, or on purpose to qualify me to be a member of this house. So help me God!" It was provided that the said paper or schedule, with the oath aforesaid, should be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inspected by the members of the House of Commons, and directed, that if any person, elected to serve in any future parliament should presume to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons before he had delivered in such a paper or schedule, and taken the oath aforesaid, should not be qualified according to the true intent and meaning of this act, his election should be void; and every person so sitting and voting should forfeit a certain sum to be recovered by such persons as should sue for the same by action of debt, bill, or information, on the false pretences of having been a member of the House of Commons, or for any new act, or information should be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the House of Commons, the clerk of the House shall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and attested copy of the paper or schedule so delivered in to him as aforesaid by such members to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain sum for the same; which, being proved a true copy, shall be admitted to his or their trial, and used in evidence in any such action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to the eldest son or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any person so qualified as aforesaid, for such estate as shall be for either of the universities in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great Britain called Scotland. Such was the substance of the bill; as originally presented to the House of Commons; but it was altered in such a manner as we are afraid will
fail in answering the salutary purposes for which it was intended by those who brought it into the House. Notwithstanding the provisions made in the act as it now stands, any minister or patron may still introduce his pensum seven hundred and ninety thousand pounds, and in the old method of temporary conveyance, though the force must now be kept up until the member shall have delivered in his schedule, taken his oath, and his seat is parliamento a re-conveyance, without running any risk of losing his seat, or of being punished for his fraud and perjury. The extensive influence of the crown, the general corruptibility of individuals, and the obstacles so indusquently thrown in the way of doing justice in that case, in cases of dependency of parliaments, must have produced very mortifying reflections in the breast of every Briton warmed with the genuine love of his country. He must have perceived that all the bulwarks of the constitution were little better than butresses of ice, which would solarily stand before the heat of ministerial influence, when artfully concentrated; that either a minister's professions of patriotism were meaner, or his credit insufficient to effect any material alteration in the unpopular measures of government; and that, after all, the liberties of the nation could never be so firmly established, as by the power, generosity, and virtue of a patriot king. This inference could not fail to awaken the attention of those that had been long unthinkingly snatched from the eager hopes and warm affections of a whole nation, before he had in his power to manifest and establish his favourite maxim, 'that a monarch's glory is inseparably connected with the happiness of his people.'

A. D. 1700.

§ LVII. On the first day of February, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill for erecting him into the large sum of his majesty's offices, lands, and hereditary possessions, parcel of his duchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same; accordingly it passed both Houses without opposition; and enacted that all leases and grants made, or to be made, by his majesty, within seven years next ensuing, in or annexed to the said duchy, under the limitations therein mentioned, should be good and effectual in law against his majesty, his heirs, and successors, and against all other persons that should hereafter inherit the said duchy, either by an act of parliament, or any limitation whatsoever. This act appears the more extraordinary, as the Prince of Wales, who has a sort of right by prescription to the duchy of Cornwall, was then but a boy of age, and might have been put in possession of it by the present possession of his majesty, under a settlement of an account of the produce of the fund established for paying annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, with a charge on that fund on the fifth day of July next, as one of the ancestors of the present sovereign there had been a considerable deficiency in the said fund on the fifth day of July preceding, and this had been made good out of the sinking fund, by a resolution of the seventh of February, already particularized. They therefore instructed the committee of ways and means to consider so much of the annuity and lottery act passed in the preceding session as related to the three per cent annuities, amounting to the sum of seven millions five hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and to receive all such of the said fund as act related to the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandise to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate. The committee having taken the matter into deliberation, agreed to the two resolutions we have already mentioned with respect to the consolidation; and a bill was brought in for adding those annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine to the joint stock of the revenue and projected income arising by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second years of his majesty's reign, and for several duties therein mentioned, to the sinking-fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to receive a clause for cancelling such lottery tickets as were made forth in pursuance of an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, and were not then disposed of: a clause for this purpose was accordingly added to the bill, which passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the end of the session.

§ LVIII. On the twenty-ninth day of April, Lord North presented to the House a bill for encouraging the exportation of rum, by the establishment of a factory, for the manufactory of the British sugar plantations, from Great Britain, and of British spirits made from molasses; a bill which in a little time acquired the sanction of the royal assent. Towards the end of April, Act VII. had presented a bill for the more effectual securing the payment of such prize and bounty monies as were appropriated to the use of Greenwich hospital by an act passed in the year twenty-nine, by the twenty-ninth, and thirty-second years of his majesty's reign, that law no time was limited, or particular method prescribed for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the shares of the prizes and bounty money; and many agents had neglected to specify, in the notification given in the London Gazette for payment due to the several shares condemned in the courts of admiralty in Great Britain, the particular day or time when such payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the time when the hospital at Greenwich became entitled to the unclaimed shares, of consequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act; the bill now prepared imported, that from and after the first day of September in the present year, all notifications of the day appointed for the payment of such prize and bounty monies, as were granted in the majesty's ships of war, and condemned in Great Britain, and from and after the first day of February in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of such shares condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the British plantations in America; and from and after the twenty-fifth day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken divers, and these conditions only, his Royal Highness thinks he has a right not to doubt of having a most cordial support from all those good men who mean their country and this constitution well, and that they will become his and his family's friends, and unite with him to promote the good government of this country, and that they will believe him, upon these principles, both in court and out of court: and if he should live to be an admiral, it should be improper, without distinction, of men of knowledge, and prudence. His Royal Highness further promises to ascend on no more declarative, nor is it offered to him, than ISADNAM, for his cruel hand, by way of retribution.

Answer to the Jersery proposal.

The Lords and Privy Council, on the 3d of May, communicated, even in his Royal Highness the prince's gracious intention upon several important and public points, as the state and interest of his government, and absolutely necessary for the serving and perpetuation of the true and design of parliament, acknowledged the uprightness and generosity of his Royal Highness's noble and generous sentiments and resolution, and the present condition of the kingdom, his goodness, and goodness of the purest and excellence of his parliament restored, and the happiness and welfare of our constitution preserved.
and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions, shall be respectively given and published in the following manner: if the prize be condemned in any court of admiralty in Great Britain, such notification, under the agent's hand, shall be published in the London Gazette; and if condemned in any court of admiralty in any other of his majesty's dominions, such notification shall be published in like manner in the Gazette, or other newspaper of public authority, or if published elsewhere, or if the prize be condemned, and if there shall be no Gazette, or such newspaper, published there, then in some or one of the public newspapers of the place: and such agents shall deliver to the collector, customer, or searcher, or his lawful deputy, and the public officers, or his lawful deputy, or the public officers or officers of the place, where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of such principal officers; two of the gazettes or other newspapers in which such notifications are inserted, and if there shall not be any public newspapers in any such island or place, the agent shall give two such notifications in writing, under his hand: and every such collector, or other officer as aforesaid, shall subscribe his name on both the said gazettes, newspapers, or written notifications; and, by the first ship which shall sail from thence to any port of Great Britain, shall transmit to the treasurer or deputy-treasurers of the said royal household, and to the principal officers of his majesty's customs, with his name subscribed, to be there registered; and shall faithfully preserve and keep the other, with his name theron subscribed, in his own custody; and in every notification as aforesaid the agent shall specify his place of abode, and the nature and amount of the goods and passengers and the payment of the respective shares to the captors; and all notifications with respect to prizes condemned in Great Britain shall be published in the London Gazette three days at least before any share of such prize shall be paid; and with respect to prizes condemned in any other part of his majesty's dominions, such notifications shall be delivered to the said collector, or other officers as aforesaid, three days at least before any share of such prize shall be paid; it was likewise enacted, that the agents for the distribution of bounty bills should insert, and publish under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at least before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed for such payment, and also insert therein their respective places of abode. The bill, even as it now stands, is liable to several objections. It may be dangerous to leave the money of the unclaimed shares so long as three years in the hands of the agent, who, holding it securely, may prove insolvent before the expiration of that term: then the time prescribed to the sailors, within which their claim is limited, appears to be too short, when weighed against the risk they may be exposed to from one ship over to another ship, and conveyed to a distant part of the globe, that they shall have no opportunity to claim payment: and should three years elapse before they could make application to the agent, they would find their bounty or prize money appropriated to the use of Greenwich hospital; nay, should they die in the course of the voyage, it would be lost to their heirs and executors, who, being ignorant of their title, could not possibly claim within the time limited.

§ LIX. A committee having been appointed to inquire into the original standards of weights and measures in the kingdom of England, to consider the laws relating thereto, and to report their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform and certain standards of weights and measures, they prepared copies, models, patterns, and marked them with their seal, and account to the treasurer and collector; then there were locked up by the clerk of the House; and Lord Caversfield presented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures to the standards by law to be established; but this measure, which had been so long a subject of discussion, was not yet fully discussed, and the standards and weights were reserved to another occasion. A law was made for reviving and continuing so much of an act passed in the twenty-first year of his majesty's reign, as related to the measurement and punishment of high treason in the highlands of Scotland; and also for continuing two other acts passed in the nine-
commanded both to Houses the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had observed with so much pleasure, and from which he had derived such important effects. He desired they would study to promote these desirable objects, to support the king's government, and the good order of the arts and sciences, and to consult their own real happiness and prosperity.

CHAP. XIII.

1. Remarkable detection of a murder by William Andrew Homes.
2. Popular character of George, Lord George Seymour, his address to the public.
3. He demands a court-martial. IV. Sentence of the characteristic. V. His defence. VI. Sentence on the 17th. Sentence of the court-martial. VII. Faris proceeds unhesitatingly for murder. IX. Trial by the House of Peers. X. Convened. XI. And executed at 11 bome. XII. Assassination of Mr. Mathews by one Strick, a Heretic. XII. Nove. Several steps of Blackcrown. Conflagration at Portmone yard. XIII. Number of steps taken by the court. XIV. Execution of Capr dagen. XV. The trials of the Capi. XVI. Trial of Mr. Carri-Senpen. XVII. Is a stain, and his stain taken. XVIII. Exploits of Captain Kennedy. XIX. Remarkable adventure of three Irish seamen. XX. The Bastille man of war wrecked upon the English coast on the 17th. Hostilities recommenced. XXI. Their terrace destroyed by Colonel Montgomery. XXII. His expedition to the mouth of the Leman. XXIII. A difference. XXIV. Genllemans and women. Fort London. XXV. The British interest established on the tiles. XXVI. Britain activates the siege of Ghent. XXVII. Brigadier Murray, and order him to retire into the town. XXVIII. Desolation at Calais. XXIX. Execution of his plan. XXX. The French burn the town of Quiberon. XXXI. The British Redady destroy seven vessels on the coast of France. XXXII. Preparations for the invasion. XXXIII. Expedition to Italy. XXXIV. Earthquakes in Syria. XXXV. War conduct of the Turkish line. XXXVI. A republic at Portugal. XXXVII. Fortresses of the line carried into Malin. XXXVIII. Patent schemes at the King of Prussia's court. XXXIX. Amazing intrusion. The British ambassador at the States-general. XL. XVIII. Death of the Prince of the Peace. XIX. Death of the landgrave of Hesse. XX. Death of a pretender in a place for holding a congress. XXI. Smithsonian in Wood poults during the winter. XXII. Wire against the advantage of the allies at Vival. XXIII. Strangers of the Prince of the Peace. XXIV. Putback. XXV. The French advance to Neustadt. XXVI. Hereditary Prince of Brunswick rejected at Corobch. XXVII. But retrieved by a letter at Abery. XXVIII. Victory obtained for the allies at War- bourgh. XXIX. The hereditary prince beats the quarters at the Varen of Refronto. XXX. Pily advances in both sides. XXXI. The hereditary prince marches to the Lower Thames. XXXII. It is said at some place. XXXIII. And represented the Prince. XXXIV. Attempts to drive the enemy amongst him. XXXV. Advantages gained by M. de Stasz. XXXVI. The allies and French go into winter-quarters.

A. D. 1760†

§ I. The successes of the last campaign had flushed the whole nation with the most elevated hope of future conquest, and the government was enabled to take every step which appeared necessary to realize that sanguine expectation; but the war began on the land very differently from what had been expected; and the immense sums that were raised for the expenses of the current year; notwithstanding the great number of land forces maintained in the service, and the numerous fleets that filled the harbours of Great Britain; we do not find that one fresh effort was made to improve the advantages she had gained upon her own element, or for pushing the war on national principles; for the reduction of Canada was no more than the consequence of the measures which had been taken in the preceding campaign. But before we record the progress of the war, it may be necessary to specify some domestic occurrences that for a little while engrossed the public attention.

In the month of May, 1760, the King of Prussia sent a gentleman of some fortune in Derbyshire, was executed at Nottingham, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, for the murder of an infant born of his own sister, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty. On the third day after the birth, this brutal ruffian thrust the child into a linen bag, and accompanied by his own brother on horseback, conveyed it to Amesty, in Nottinghamshire, where it was next day found dead under a hay stack. Though this cruel rustic knew how much he lay at the mercy of his brother, whom he had made privy to this affair, far from endeavouring to engage his secrecy by offices of kindness and respect, he treated him as an alien to his blood; not barely with indifference, but even with the most barbarous rigour. He not only de-
Sackville. Some writers, either animated by the hope of advantage, or lured to betray the cause which they undertook to defend, entered the lists as professed champions of the accused, assumed the pen in his behalf, devoid of sense, unfurnished with truth, and animated by a false sense of honor, which could not fail to injure his character among all those who believed that he counterenanced their endeavours, and supplied them with the facts and arguments of his defence. Such precisely was the state of the dispute when Lord George arrived in London. While Ferdinand was crowned with laurel; while the King of Great Britain approved his conduct, and, as the most glorious mark of that approbation, invested him with the order of a knight; while his name was inscribed throughout all England, and entailed, in the warmest expressions of hyperbole, above all the heroes of antiquity; every month was opened in execution of the late commander of the British troops in Germany. He was now made acquainted with the particulars of his imputed guilt, which he had before indistinctly learned. He was accused of having disobeyed three successive orders he had received from the general, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and sustain the infantry that were engaged; and after the cavalry were put in motion, of having halted them unnecessarily, and marched so slow, that they could not reach the place of the action in time; by which conduct the opportunity was lost of attacking the enemy when they gave way, and rendering the victory more glorious and decisive. The first step which Lord George took, in his resolution was, writing a short address, entreaty them to suspend their belief with respect to his character, until the charge brought against him should be legally discussed by a court-martial; a trial which he had already solicited, and was in hopes of obtaining.

§ III. Finding himself unable to stem the tide of popular prejudice, which flowed against him with irresistible impetuosity, he might have retired in quiet and safety, and left it to ebb at leisure. This would have been generally deemed a prudent step, by all those who consider the unfavourable medium through which every particular of his conduct must have been viewed at that juncture, even by men who cherished the most candid intentions; when they reflected upon the power, influence, and popularity of his accuser; the danger of aggravating the resentment of the sovereign, already too conspicuous; and the risk of hazarding his life on the honour and integrity of war, should he think their fate depended upon the nature of the evidence they should give. Notwithstanding those suggestions, Lord George, seemingly impotent of the imputation under which his character laboured, avenge the privations of his trial, and his evidence, was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commission in the service. A court of general officers being appointed and assembled to inquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate gave him to understand, that he was charged with having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand, relative to the battle of Minden. That the reader may have the more distinct idea of the charge, it is necessary to remind him that Lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, consisting of Hanoverian and British horse, disposed to two lines, the British being at the extremity of the right, extending to the village of Hartzun; the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left that reached almost to an open wood or grove, which divided the horse from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry consisting of two brigades of British foot, the Hanoverian guards, and Hardenberg’s regiment. This was the body of troops which sustained the brunt of the battle with the most incredible courage and perseverance. They of their own accord advanced to attack the left of the enemy, in cavalry, and though a most formidable body of horse and small arms, to which they were exposed in front and flank; they withstand the repeated attacks of the whole French gendarmerie, whom at length they totally routed, together with the body of Saxony which had made a most formidable stand, and whose valor the victory was chiefly owing. The ground from which these troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain, which opened a considerable way to the left, where the rest of the army was formed in order of battle, but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other side of which he desired the cavalry to turn, by marching straight forward, to front the village of Hartzun, from whence the French had been driven by the pikets in the army there posted, and in front of them a windmill, situated in the middle space between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy.

§ IV. While Prince Ferdinand, posted the cavalry of the right wing in the situation we have just described; the village of Hartzun with enclosures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Hintenrode, about two-thirds of a mile in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this position Lord George Sackville was directed to remain, until he should receive further orders; and here it was those orders were given which he was said to have disobeyed. Indeed he was previously charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which import that the horses should be saddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be struck, nor the troops under arms, until they should receive further orders. He was accused of having disobeyed these orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed. Captain Winchingrode, aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand, ordered the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the second time, he was sent with orders to Lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing towards the place of the public, and engage, by forming the horse under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments; that he delivered these orders to Lord George Sackville, giving him to understand that he should march the cavalry through the wood, or trees on his left to the heath, where they were to be formed; that, on his return to the heath, he met Colonel Fitzrov riding at full gallop towards Lord George; and that he (Winchingrode) followed him back, in order to hasten the march of the cavalry. Colonel Ligonier, another of the prince’s aides-de-camp, deposed that he carried orders from the general to Lord George to advance with the cavalry, in order to profit from the disorder which appeared in the enemy’s cavalry; that Lord George made no answer to these orders, but turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their swords, and march; that the colonel seeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his lordship he must march to the left, and he accordingly did; and that he (Winchingrode) with orders for the British cavalry only to advance, Lord George said the orders were contradictory; and Colonel Ligonier replied they differed only in numbers, but the former were the orders of Prince Ferdinand, the latter of Colonel Furuy; the third aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told Lord George it was the prince’s order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left, his lordship observed that it was different from a former order brought by Colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the prince intended to break the line; that he asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide; that when he (the aide-de-camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his lordship seemed still dissatisfied with the order, saying, it did not agree with the order brought by Colonel Ligonier, and desired to be conducted in person to the prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a resolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, an officer of rank in the army, made oath, that in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to Lord George, his lordship was alarmed to a very great extent, and appeared to be in the utmost confusion. A certain nobleman, of high rank and unblemished reputation, declared, that Captain Winchingrode hearing told him it was absolutely necessary that the cavalry should march, and form a line to support the left of the army, and he of princes, should march to the left; that as soon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by Colonel Fitzrov, with an order for the cavalry to advance as fast as possible; that the same was repeated to him; and that they could be joined by the first line of cavalry; that
afterwards, in advancing, they were again halted by Lord George Sackville; that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come up time enough to act against the enemy: some other officers who were in motion, according to this subject, agreed with the marquis in these sentiments.

§ V. Lord George, in his defence, proved, by undeniable evidence, that he never received the orders issued on the eve of the battle, nor any sort of intimation or place of advance, and consequently entitled to none such communication, as commander-in-chief of the British forces; that, nevertheless, the orders concerning the cavalry, who were obeyed by those who received them; that Lord George, instead, instructed the officers who were marching the troops to form, prepared to put himself at the head of the cavalry on the first notice that they were in motion; that he was so eager to perform his duty, as to set out from his quarters without even waiting for an aide-de-camp to attend him, and was in the field before any general officer of his division. He declared that, when Captain Winchingrode delivered the order to form the cavalry in line, making a third, to advance and sustain the infantry, he neither heard nor saw him, so that he was to march by the left, nor saw him point with his sword to the wood through which he was to pass. Neither of these directions were observed by any of the aides-de-camp or officers then present, and therefore, and behaved more consistently to the confusion in the looks and deportment of his lordship. It was proved that the nearest and most practicable way of advancing against the enemy was by the way by which Lord George wished to attack the enemy, that is, by the right.

It appeared that Lord George imagined this was the only way by which he should be ordered to advance; that in this persuasion, he had sent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen, as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards; that when he received the order from Winchingrode to form the line, and advance, he still imagined this was his route, and on this supposition immediately detached an aide-de-camp to remove a regiment of Saxo-Gotha, which was in the front; that he sent a second to observe the place where the infantry were, and a third to reconnoitre the enemy; that in a few minutes Colonel Lugomer came up with an order from Prince Ferdinand to advance the cavalry, his lordship immediately drew his sword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill. The colonel declared that when he delivered the order, he added "by the left;" but Lord George affirmed that he never used the word, seeing, as both Captain Smith and any other person then present except of that officer who witnessed to the same direction given by Winchingrode. It was proved that immediately after the troops were put in motion, the body might be extricating itself, by the orders given by Prince Ferdinand, importing that the British cavalry only should advance by the left; that Lord George declared their orders were contradictory, and seemed the more puzzled, as he understood that both these gentlemen came off nearly at the same time from the prince, and were probably directed to communicate the same order. It was therefore natural to suppose there was a mistake, as there might be danger in breaking the line, as the route by the windmill appeared more difficult and tedious than by that of the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy; and as he could not think that if a body of horse was immediately wanted the general would send for the British, that were at the furthest extremity of the same, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry who formed the left of the line, and consequently were much nearer the scene of action. It was proved that Lord George, in this uncertainty, resolved to apply for an explanation to the prince in person, who he understood was at a small distance; that with this view he set out with all possible expedition; that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country beyond it opened sooner to the left than he had expected, and what was also more surprising, advising that the British cavalry should be put in motion, he sent back that gentleman, with orders for them to advance by the left with all possible despatch; that he rode through error of judgment, rode with him without the marks of displeasure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath; an order, as the reader will perceive, quite different from that which was so warmly espoused by the aide-de-camp; that as the Marquis of Granby had already put the second regiment in motion, according to his orders which he had received, and the head of his column was already in view, coming out of the wood, Lord George thought it necessary to halt the troops on the left until the right should come in the line; and the cavalry sent there to form march slower, that two regiments, which had been the front rank of the line, might have an opportunity to replace themselves in their proper stations.

§ VI. With respect to the confusion which one officer affirmed was perceived in the countenance and deportment of this commander, a considerable number of other officers then present being interrogated by his lordship, unanimously declared that they saw no such marks of confusion, but that he delivered his orders with all the marks of coolness and deliberation. The candid reader will of himself determine, whether a man's heart is to be judged by any change of his complexion, granting such a change to have happened; whether the evidence of one witness, in such a case, will weigh against the concurrence of testimony of all the officers whose immediate business it was to attend and observe the commander; whether it was likely that an officer, who had been more than once in actual presence, and beheld an eminence in the army, should exhibit symptoms of fear and confusion, when there was in reality no appearance of danger; for none of the orders imported that he had an enemy; and only advanced the British cavalry to the infantry. The time which elapsed from the first order he received by Captain Winchingrode, to the arrival of Colonel Lugomer, did not exceed eight minutes, during which his aide-de-camp, Captain Hugo, was employed in removing the Saxo-Gotha regiment from the front, by which he proposed to advance. From that period till the cavalry actually marched in consequence of an order from Lord George, the length of time was differently estimated in the opinion of different witnesses, but at a medium furnished by the judge-advocate at fifteen minutes, during which the following circumstances were transacted: the troops were first ordered to advance forwards, then halted; the contradictory orders arrived and were disputed; the commander desired the two aides-de-camp to agree about which was the precise order, and he would obey it immediately; each insisting upon that which he had delivered, Lord George hastened to the general for an explanation; and, as he returned back Captain Smith informed him, that the cavalry, which was at a considerable distance, to put the British horse in motion. We shall not pretend to determine whether the commander of such an important station, in the midst of the battle, was necessary, or contradictory orders at the same time, especially when both orders run counter to his own judgment, whether in that case it is allowable for him to suspend the operation for a few minutes, in order to consult in person the commander-in-chief about a step of such consequence to the preservation of the whole army. Neither will we venture to decide dogmatically on the merits of the march, after the cavalry were put in motion; whether they marched too slow, or were unnecessarily halted in their way to the heath. It was proved, indeed, that Lord George was always remarkably slow in his movements of cavalry; on the supposition that if horses are blown they must be unfit for service, and that the least hurry is apt to disorder the line of horse to such a degree, as would rob them of their proper effect, and render all their efforts abortive. This being the system of Lord George Sackville, it may deserve consideration, whether he could deviate from this method, when such an occasion, without renouncing the dictates of his own judgment and discretion; and whether he was at liberty to use his own judgment, after having received the order to advance. After all, whether he was intentionally right or wrong, in his conduct, is a matter of great importance. The immediate acts, or questions which his own conscience alone can solve. Even granting him to have lacked from perseverance, to have lagged from vexation, to have failed by imprudence, he will not be without praise, with the candid and humane part of his fellow-subjects,
when they reflect upon the nature of his situation, placed at the head of such a body of cavalry, uninstructed and uninformed of plan or circumstance, divided from the rest of the army, and through the negligence of the generals, charged with doubt and disappointment, and perplexed by contradictory orders, neither of which he could execute without offering violence to his own judgment; when they consider the endeavours he used to manifest his obedience; the last distinct order which he in person received and executed: that mankind are liable to mistakes; that the cavalry were not originally intended to act, as appears in the account of the battle published at the Hague, by the authority of Prince Ferdinand; the cavalry on the right did not act, because it was destined to sustain the infantry in a third line; that if it had really been designed for action, it ought either to have been posted in another place, or permitted to advance straight forwards by the windmill, according to the idea of its commander; finally, when they recall to view the general confusion that seems to have prevailed through the manoeuvres of that morning, and remember some particulars of the action; that the brigades of British artillery had no orders until they applied to Lord George Sackville, who directed them to the spot where they acquitted themselves with so much honour and effect, in contributing to the victory of the day; that they alone and ardently acquired by the few brigades of infantry, who may be said to have defeated the whole French army, was in no respect owing to any general or particular orders or instructions, but springing from the natural valour of the troops and the spirited conduct of their immediate commanders; and that a great number of officers in the allied army, even of those who remained on the open heath, never saw the face of the enemy, or saw them at such a distance that they could not distinguish more than the hats and the arms of the British regiments with which they were engaged. With respect to the imputation of cowardice levelled at Lord George by the unthinking multitude, and even, in part, by his own mind and his private opinion, we ought to consider it as a mob-accusation, which the bravest of men, even the great Duke of Marlborough, could not escape; we ought to receive it as a dangerous suspicion, which strikes at the root of character, and may blast that honour in a moment which the soldier has acquired in a long course of painful service, at the continual hazard of his life; we ought to distrust it as a malignant charge, altogether inconsistent with the former conduct of the person accused, as well as with his subsequent impatience of perseverence in demanding a trial, to which he never would have been called; a trial which, though his life was at stake, and his cause out of countenance, he sustained with such graces of behaviour, and pretences of mind, as even his enemies themselves could not help admiring. Thus have we given a succinct detail of this remarkable affair, with that spirit of impartiality, that sacred regard to truth, which the importance of history demands. To the best of our recollection, we have forgot no essential article of the accusation, nor suppressed any material circumstance urged in defence of Lord George Sackville. Unknown to his person, unconnected with his friends, unmoved by fear, unbeset by interest, we have candidly obeyed the dictates of justice, and the calls of humanity, in our endeavours to dissipate the clouds of prejudice and misconception; warned, perhaps, with an honest disdain at the unmeaning, and in our opinion, unjust persecution, which, previous to his trial, an officer of rank, service, and character, the descendant of an illustrious family, the son of a nobleman universally respected, a Beeton, a fellow-subject, had undergone:

§ VII. The court-martial having examined the evidence and heard the defence, gave judgment in these words: "The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion that Lord George Sackville is guilty of neglect of duty, and the disobedience of the orders of Brunswick, whom he was, by his commission and instructions, directed to obey as commander-in-chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the further opinion of the court, that the said Lord George Sackville he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatsoever." His sentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover signified his pleasure that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where his majesty's interest was concerned. We are being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from a dispensation of orders. To complete the disgrace of this unfortunate general, his majesty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of Lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of officers. No; but Mr. Johnson, who had, during the best part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the estates, at the earl's own request. The conduct of Mr. Johnson was such as might have been expected, to be, that he had disappointed him in regard to a certain contract about coal-mines; in a word, that there was a collusion between Johnson and the Earl's adversaries. Fired with these suspicions, he first expressed his resentment, by giving Johnson notice to quit the farm which he possessed on the estate; but finding the trustees had confirmed the lease, he determined to graft the estate into the hands of two of his relations, and his young daughter. On Sunday the thirteenth of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his house on the Friday following, in order to peruse papers, or settle accounts; and Johnson went thither without the least suspicion of what was prepared for his reception; for although he was no stranger to his lordship's dangerous disposition, and knew he had some time before incurred his displeasure, yet he imagined his resentment had entirely subsided, as the earl had laid no body of troops commanded by Lord George Sackville. He therefore, at the time appointed, repaired to his lordship's house at Stanton, in Leicestershire, at the distance of a short mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a man of mind, and in the house, upon various pretences, except three women who were left in the kitchen. Johnson, advancing to the door of his apartment, was received by his lordship, who desired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inside. After a great deal of warm expostulation, the earl insisted upon his subscribing a paper, acknowledging himself a villain; and on his refusing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonstrated against this cruel injustice, and deprecated the indulgence of this furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his entreaties, drew forth a pistol which he had loaded for the purpose, and commending him to implore Heaven's mercy on his knees, shot him through the body, while he remained in that suppliant attitude. The consequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his lordship, seeing the wretched victim still alive and sensible, thought it unseemly, felt a momentary motion of pity. He ordered his servants to convey Mr. Johnson up stairs to a bed, to send for a surgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the Earl of Sackville. The daughter of Prince Ferdinand, who was the heir to the dukedom of Colloway, came to the house, the earl having sent for her daughter to come to the house; she was met by the earl, who told her he had shot his father upon purpose, and with deliberation. The same declaration he made to the surgeon, on whose arrival at the Earl of Sackville's request. He was described the manner in which the ball had been treated, and seemed surprised that it should be lodged
within the body. When he demanded the surgeon's opinion of the wound, the operator thought proper to temporize for his own safety, as well as for the sake of the public, lest the ear should take some other desperate step, to endeavour to escape. He therefore amused him with his usual story, and, after such a time as he supposed to be extremely anxious. He supported his spirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the surgeon, whom he desired to take all possible care of him. A surgeon was sent for, but he did not repeat of what he had done; that Johnson was a villain, who deserved to die; that, in case of his death, he (the earl) would surrender himself to the House of Peers and the sheriffs, and that Johnson would be done to his own conscience, and owned his intention was to have killed Johnson outright; but as he still survived, and was in pain, he desired that all possible means might be used for his recovery. Nor did he seem altogether neglectful of his own safety: he endeavoured to tamper with the surgeon, and suggest what evidence he should give when called before a court of justice. He continued to drack himself into a state of intoxication, and all the cruelty of his conduct to return. He about which he now novamente and feared to resist, and to save himself, to withdraw, to keep him under his own roof, that he might the same in extremity. He returned to the chamber where Johnson lay, instead of contenting himself with cut off, or even with being cut through by the head, and could hardly be restrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to the bed, the surgeon, accompanied by the physi- cians of the court, and the surgeon's assistants, who conveyed Mr. Johnson in an easy chair to his own house, where he expired that same morning in great agonies. The same surgeon assembed a number of armed men to seize the murderer, who at once threatened resistance, but was soon apprehended, endeavouring to make his escape, and committed to the county prison. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leicester, and conducted by the black rod to his deputy into the House of Lords, where the coroner's inquest, and the affidavits touching the murder, being read, the gaoler delivered up his prisoner to the care of black rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, composed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended; conversed coolly on the subject of his imprisonment; made some pertinent marks on the nature of the insane corpus act of parliament that he was rvwemc. The next morning, when they withdrew from the House of Peers, desired he might not be visited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His understanding, which was naturally good, had been well preserved, and his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantic.

§ IX. The circumstances of this assassination appeared so cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for vengeance. The government gave up the conduct to the justice of his country. The Lord Keeper Hervey was appointed lord high steward for the trial of Earl Ferrers, and sat in state with all the peers and judges in Westminster-hall, which was for this purpose converted into a very august tribunal. On the sixteenth day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the major of the Tower, the gentleman gaoler, the warders, and a detachment of the foot guards. He was brought into court alone, and was unaccompanied by the peers taking their places, he was arranged alone in the midst of an infinite concourse of people, including many foreigners, who seemed wonderfully struck with the manner of his conduct. It was plain that the responsibility was fully proved by unquestionable evidence: but the earl pleaded insanity of mind; and, in order to establish this plea, called many witnesses to attest his lunacy in a very evident way. The Earl Henry was then examined and cross-examined, without the assistance of counsel. He was examined with great care, and was found to be in a state of great incandescence; unreserved jealousy of plots and conspiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of insanity, incoherence, puerilities, sudden starts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantic gesticulations, and a strange mixture of tender, were proved to have distinguished his conduct and deportment. It appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected divers of his lordship's relations; that a solicitor of reputation had denounced his business on the full persuasion of his being disordered in his brain; that long before this unhappy event, his nearest relations had declared upon the expediency of taking out a commission of lunacy against him, and were prevented by no other reason than the apprehension of his convicted of scandalous malignant, should the jury find his lordship composit mentia, a circumstance which, in all probability, would have happened, as much as the earl's madness did not prevent his being guilty of delinquent conduct. A physician of eminence, whose practice was confined to persons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particular of the earl's deportment and personal behaviour seemed indisputable, and that to his house had long considered him as a madman; and a certain noble lord declared in the House of Peers, when the bill of separation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that if some effectual step was not taken to divest him of the power of doing mischief, he did not doubt but that one day they should have occasion to try him for murder.

The lawyers, who managed the prosecution in behalf of the crown, endeavoured to invalidate the proofs of his lunacy, by observing, that his lordship was never so much deprived of his reason as that he could distinguish between good and evil; that the murder he had committed was the effect of a fit of lunacy, and was not an act of standing; that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully constructed; that immediately after the deed was perpetrated, the earl's conversation and reasonings were cool and consistent, and made him frank his handwriting; and insanity, the opinion of the greatest lawyers, no criminal can avil himself of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a fixed interval; but his lordship, far from exhibiting any marks of insanity, had, in the course of this trial, displayed uncommon understanding and sagacity in examining the witnesses, and making many shrewd and pertinent observations on the evidence which was given. These observations were in no way contrary to the opinion of the peers, who unanimously declared him guilty. After all, in examining the various actions of a man who has betrayed manifest and manifold symptoms of insanity, it is not easy to distinguish those which are committed during the lucid interval. The suspicions of madness are often momentary and transient: the determinations of a lunatic, though generally rash and instantaneous, are sometimes the result of artful contrivance; but there is no way of proving or disproving the species of the disease, either in the premises or conclusion. The earl, it is true, had formed a deliberate plan for the perpetration of the murder; but he had taken no precautions for his own escape: the more plainly appear to have been the criterion of insanity, if we reflect that he justified what he had done as a meritorious action; and he declared he would, upon Mr. Johnson's death, surrender himself to the House of Lords. Had he been impelled to this violence by a sudden gust of passion, it could not be expected that he should have taken any measure for his own preservation; but as it was the execution of a deliberate scheme, and his lordship was by no means defective in point of ingenuity, he might have easily contrived means for concealing the murder, until he should have accomplished his escape: and in our opinion, any other than a madman would either have taken some such precautions, or have been prevented from the concealment of his own guilt. The design itself seems to have been rather an intended sacrifice to justice than a gratification of revenge. Neither do we think that the sanity of his mind was assuured by the exigence of the delirium and deliberation with which he made his remarks, and examined the evidence at his trial. The influence of his phreny might be past: though it was no sign of sound reason to supply the proofs of guilt, which such an answer to him as justice. Had his judgment been really unimpaired, he might have assumed the mask of lunacy for his own preservation.

§ X. The trial was continued for two days; and on the second day the lord steward, after having made a short speech touching the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the same sentence of death upon the earl which malefa-
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[A. D. 1766.—Book II.]

lores of the lowest class undergo; that from the Tower, in which he was imprisoned, he should, on the Monday following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be apprehended by the constables, and his body afterwards dissected and anatomized. This last part of the sentence seemed to shock the criminal extremely: he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with the greatest calmness. Before he had received sentence, the lords his judges, by virtue of a power vested in them, resorted his execution for one month, that he might have time to settle his temporal concerns. Before he left the earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their lordships for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, against his own inclination, pleaded luracy at the request of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and entreated their lordships to recommend him to the king for mercy. He afterwards sent a letter to his majesty, remonstrating, that he was the representative of a wise and indomitable family, which had been allied to the crown; and requesting that, if he could not be favoured with the species of death which, in cases of treason, distinguishes the nobleman from the plebeian, he might, at least, out of considerations of humanity, be allowed to suffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution; but this indulgence was refused. From his return to the Tower to the day of his execution, he betrayed no mark of apprehension; but regulated the affairs with precision, and conversed without concern or restraint.

§ XI. On the fifth day of May, his body being demanded by the sheriffs at the Tower gate, in consequence of a writ under the Great Seal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, his lordship desired permission to go in his own landau; and appeared only dressed in a light coloured suit of clothes, embroidered with silver. He was attended in the landau by one of the sheriffs, and the chaplain of the earl, for the purpose of divining, a mourning coach and six, filled with his friends, and a bearers for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a posse of constables, a party of horse grenadiers, and a detachment of infantry; and in this manner the procession moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourse of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and the scaffold erected under it, appeared covered with black baze. The earl behaved with great composure to Mr. Sheriff Vaillant, who attended him in the landau; he observed that the gaity of his apparel might seem odd on such an occasion, but that he had particular reasons for wearing that suit of clothes: he took notice of the vast multitude which crowded the landau, brought this circumstance to his notice, and expressed his anxiety to see a nobleman hanged; he told the sheriff he had applied to the king by letter, that he might he permitted to die in the Tower, where the Earl of Essex, one of his ancestors, had been beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; an application which, he said, he had made with the more confidence, as he had the honour to quarter part of his majesty's arms. He expressed some displeasure at being executed as a common felon, exposed to the eyes of such a multitude. The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, hinting that some account of his lordship's sentiments on religion would be expected by the public, he made answer, that he did not think himself sufficiently acquainted to the public for his private sentiments; and that, as he had always adored one God, the Creator of the universe; and, with respect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proselytes, because he thought it was criminal to disturb the established religion of his country, as Lord Bolingbroke had done by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of sects, and the multiplication of religious disputes, had almost banished morality. With respect to the ceremony, for which he might have supposed he had no malice against Mr. Johnson, and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occasioned by a variety of crosses and vexations. When he approached the scaffold, he observed, that expressed an earnest desire to see and take leave of a certain person who waited in a coach, a person for whom he entertained the most sincere regard and affection: but the sheriff prudently observed, that such an interview might shock him at a time when he had occasion for all his fortitude and recollection: he acquiesced in the proposal, and suffered a pocket-book, a ring, and a purse, desiring that they might be given to that person, whom he now declined seeing. On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the landau, and ascended to the scaffold, where he was preceded, with a firm and undaunted countenance. He refused to join the chaplain in the usual prayer, but, kneeling with him on black cushions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he said he had always adored; and added, with great energy, 'O Lord, forgive me all my sins. For Thine own sake, out of kindness to Thy creature, and for the advancement of Thy glory, accept this offering of my soul; and, by giving me strength to bear the stroke of death, may I be a witness to others of the happiness I feel in giving up my life in Thy service.' Mr. Johnson presented his watch to Mr. Sheriff Vaillant; thanked him and the other gentlemen for all their civilities; and signified his desire of being buried at Brentford, or Stanton, in Worcestershire. Finally, he granted the executioner with a purse of money; then, the halter being adjusted to his neck, he stepped upon a little stage, erected upon springs, on the middle of the scaffold; and, the cap being pulled over his eyes, the sheriff made a signal, which the stage fell from under his feet, and he was left suspended. His body, having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the bearers, and conveyed to the public theatre for dissection; where, being opened, and lying for some days, in the yard of Tyburn, the executioner carried it off, and privately interred. Without all doubt, this unhappy nobleman's disposition was so dangerously mischievous, that it became necessary, for the good of society, to prevent all such persons from coming to the common penalties of the law; for, though, in the eye of casuistry, consciousness must enter into the constitution of guilt, the consequences of murder committed by a maniac may be as pernicious to society as those of the most criminal and desperate crimes; and the number of death can be hardly deemed unjust or rigorous, when inflicted upon a mischievous being, divested of all the perceptions of reason and humanity. At any rate, as the nobility of England are raised by many illustrious distinctions above the level of plebeians, and as they are eminently distinguished from them in suffering punishment for high treason, which the law considers as the most atrocious crime that can be committed, it might not be unworthy of the notice of the legislature to deliberate whether some such pre-eminence ought not to be extended to noblemen convicted of other crimes; in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the disgrace of noble families which have deserved to be alienated, and that may tend to diminish the lustre of the English nobility in the eyes of foreign nations; or to bring it into contempt with the common people of our own, already too licentious, and prone to abuse those distinctions which should serve as the basis of decorum, order, and subordination.

§ XII. Homicide is the reproach of England: one would imagine there is something in the climate of this country, that not only divides the natives to this unhumble state, but even infects foreigners who reside among them. Certain it is, high passions will break out into the most enormous violence in that country where they are least controlled by the restraint of regulation and discipline; and it is easy to conceive, that in no family, which may tend to diminish the lustre of the English nobility in the eyes of foreign nations; or to bring it into contempt with the common people of our own, already too licentious, and prone to abuse those distinctions which should serve as the basis of decorum, order, and subordination.

[113]
part of his conduct, taxed him roughly with fraud and
in gratitude, and insisted upon his removing to another lodg-
ing. Whether he rejected this intimation, or found diffi-
culty in procuring a passage, or was in otherwise
-expelled by violence, called in the assistance of a peace
officer, and turned him out into the street in the night,
after having loaded him with the most provoking reproaches.

These injuries and disadvantages operating upon a mind jealous
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Derry; but before this design could be executed, the weather grew tempestuous, and the wind blowing off southwest set the ships on fire, and in the night cast sight of the Manatee, which never joined them in the sequel. After having been tempest-bitten for some time, and exposed to a very scanty allowance of provision, the officers requested of Thurst that he would return to France; lest there should all perish by famine; but he sent a clear par to this proposal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having struck some stroke for the service of his country. Nevertheless, in hopes of meeting with some success, he solicited Thurst to pursue his design, than he sailed from 1s a to the bay of Carrickfergus, in Ireland, and made all the necessary preparations for a descent; which was accordingly effected with six hundred men, under the first-day of May, Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners there confined to be removed to Belfast. Meanwhile, the enemy landing without opposition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was deserted; and the circumstances of the English commander, would allow. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made until the ammunition of the English failed: then Colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle, which, however, was in all respects untenable; for, besides a breach in the wall near fifty feet wide, they found themselves destitute of provision and ammunition. Nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in the first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be nasoned themselves. This was the method of procuring French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation of the town furnish the French with necessary provisions. The enemy, after this exploit, did not presume to advance further into the country; a step which indeed they could not have taken with any regard to their own safety: for by this time a considerable body of regular troops was assembled; and the people of the country manifested a laudable spirit of loyalty and resolution, crowding in great numbers to Belfast, to offer their service against the invaders. These circumstances, to which the enemy were no strangers, and the defeat of Conflans, which they had also learned, obliged them to quit their conquest, and re-establish with some precipitation, after having lost Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

§ XV. The fate they escaped on shore they soon met with. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and had in the course of this war more than once already distinguished himself even in his early youth, by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a despatch from the Duke of Bedford, that of England, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus; and thither he immediately shaped his course in the ship Azolia, accompanied by the Pallis and Brilliant of the Captain, Clemen, and Log. On the twenty-eighth day of February they descried the enemy and gave chase in sight of the isle of Man; and, about nine in the morning, Captain Elliot, in his own ship, engaged the Bellesse, commanded by Thurst, although coming by superior force, a number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his consorts were also engaged with the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great spirit of both, Captain Elliot boarded the lieutenant boarded the Bellesse; and, striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains, and the English commodore, taking possession of the prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsey, in the isle of Man, that their damage might be repaired. Though the Bellesse was very leaky, and had lost her bolt- spout, mizen-mast, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been so easily obtained, had not the gallant Thurst fallen during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea by his own crew, who, in consequence of the capture of a great part of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded, whereas above three hundred of the enemy were slain and disabled. The service performed on this occasion was described in the last chapter. lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, that the thanks of the House of Commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurst, as well as to Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, for his spirited behaviour at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork was presented in silver boxes to the Captain Elliot, Clemen, and Logie. The name of Thurst became terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated. Captain Skinner of the Bedelford, and Captain Kennedy of the Flamborough, both frigates, sailed on a cruise from Lisbon; and on the fourth day of April fell in with two large French frigates, convey a fleet of merchant ships, which the English captains immediately resolved to engage. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the Belliss had been lamed by small shot and broadside; she had also lost fifteen men and fifty-five wounded, including the lieutenant of marines, and considerable damage both in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Bedelford, who had also compelled her antagonist to give way, and pursued her till she was out of sight. In about an hour after the action began, Captain Skinner was killed by a cannon ball; and the command devolved to Lieutenant Knollis, son to the Earl of Banbury, who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded, until he received a second shot in his body, which proved mortal. Then the master assuming the direction, continued the engagement with equal resolution until the enemy made his escape; which he more easily accomplished, as the Bedelford was disabled in her masts and rigging.

§ XVII. The bravery of five Irishmen and a boy belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, deserves commendation. The vessel, in her return from Bilboa, was laden with copper, lead, and silver, and a large quantity of Irish goods: the master, name of the vessel off Ushant, about the middle of April, the captors

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[1] One circumstance that attended this dispute deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an example to future commanders: it consists in the true character of the French and English courts. While the French and English were belligerently engaged, a light child happened to come between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed; a common soldier of the adverse side, out of the kindness of his heart, gave it some protection and advice, being advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his place, resulted his musket and remained at his post. The first was shot in the forehead, and the second was lost in the reduction of Grandesalde; Lord Wallingford, the eldest was shot and the shot of Carrickfergus, and the third was slain in this engagement.

[2] Five sons of this nobleman were remarkably distinguished in this war. The first was killed by a cannon-ball, and his eldest brother was mortally wounded; the second was but the reduction of Grandesalde; Lord Wallingford, the eldest was shot and the shot of Carrickfergus, and the third was slain in this engagement.
removals, the master, and all the bands but these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel to France. These stout Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, and executed it with success. Four of the French marines being below deck, and the rest of the crew, excepting those above, ran another walking the deck, Bran, who headed the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but the Frenchman, turning in the instant, was killed. One of the hands of the French, the crew, twenty in number, being left on the poop deck, those who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish having thus obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and secured the prisoners, another difficulty occurred; neither Bran nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principle of navigation; but supposing his course to be north, he steered at a venture, end the first land he made was the neighbourhood ofough, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

§ XIX. The only considerable damage sustained by the navy of Great Britain, since the commencement of this year, was the loss of the Wrecks, a man-of-war, of 22 guns, and twenty-three men, to Adm. Boscowen commanded on the coast of France, in order to watch the motions and distress the commerce of that restless, enterprising enemy. In the beginning of February a series of stormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the Ramilies overshot the entrance to the Sound; and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after all her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to seven hundred, perished on this occasion, except one midshipman and twenty-five privates, who, having the good fortune to save themselves by leaping on the rocks as the hull was thrown forwards, and raised up by the succeeding billows. Such were the most material transactions of the year relating to the British empire in the seas of Europe.

§ XX. We shall now transport the reader to the continent of North America, which, as the theatre of war, still maintained its former importance. The French empressire was the enemy were now the object of much of our attention, and arts of imitation with such success among the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of Indians settled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, that they had infringed the peace of the latter province, during the last year, and began hostilities by plundering, massacring, and scalping several British subjects of the more southern provinces. Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, having received information of these outrages, obtained the necessary aid from the assembly of his province, for maintaining a considerable body of forces, which was raised with great expedition. He marched in the beginning of October, at the head of eight hundred provincials, reinforced with three hundred regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country possessed by the Cherokees, and, as most intimiated by his vigour and despatch, that they sent a deputation of their chiefs to sue for peace, which was re-established by a new treaty dictated by the English governor. They obliged themselves to renounce the French interest, to deliver up all the spies and emissaries of that nation then resident among them; to conduct the goods seized in the Delaware province, which had been concerned in murdering and scalping the British subjects; and for the performance of these articles two-and-twenty of their head men were put as hostages into the hands of the governor. So little regard was paid by these savages to this solemn accommodation, that Mr. Lyttleton had been returned but a few days from their country, when they attempted to surprise the English fort at Prince (now, of York), which was commanded by Mr. Bell, and lying diller in a body, on pretence of delivering up some murderers; but the commanding officer, perceiving some suspicious circumstances in their behaviour, acted with such vigilance and circumspection, as entirely frustrated their design. Thus disappeared, they wreaked their vengeance upon the English subjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. Not contented with this barbarous sacrifice, they made incursions to the British settlements at the Long Lanes, and the mouth of the Broad river, and massacred about forty defenceless colonists, who repose themselves in full security on the peace so lately ratified. As views of interest could not have induced this act as a matter of war, they might not have been inflamed by any fresh provocation; these violations must be imputed to the instigation of French incendiaries; and too plainly evinced the necessity of crowning our American conquests with the reduction of Louisiana, from whence these emissaries were undoubtedly despatched.

§ XXI. The cruelty and mischief with which the Cherokees prosecuted their renewed hostilities, alarmed all the southern colonies of the English; and application was made for assistance to Mr. Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the king's forces in America. He forthwith dispatched twelve hundred chosen men to South Carolina, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Eglinton, an officer of approved conduct and distinguished gallantry. Immediately after his arrival at Charles-town, he advanced to Ninety-six, and proceeded to Twelve-mile river, which he passed in the beginning of the month, without opposition. He continued his march until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Little Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous situation. Having reason to believe the enemy were now the object of his pursuit, he thought fit to rush upon them in the night by surprise. With this view, leaving his tents standing with a sufficient guard for the camp and wagons, he marched through the woods Eastward, and was met by the Indians five-and-twenty miles: and in his route detached a company of light infantry to destroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a smart fire; but they rushed in with their haymotes, and all the men were put to the sword. The main body proceeded straight to Estatoe, which they reached in the morning; but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians, who had not time to escape, were slain; and the town, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with provison, ammunition, and all the necessaries of life, was first plundered, and then reduced necessary to put the hostages to death without further ceremony. In the evening a party of Indians approached the fort, and brought two signals, which were answered with a volley of shot and mus-
to ashes; some of the wretched inhabitants who concealed themselves perishing in the flames. It was necessary to strike a terror into those savages by some examples of severity; and the soldiers became deaf to all the suggestions of humanity when they heard of the Indian town being taken, the body of an Englishman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning. Colonel Montgomery followed up his blow with surprising rapidity. In the space of one day, he took Fort Saggafon, which was a large na Estacoa, and every village and house in the Lower Nation. The Indian villages in this part of the world were agreeably situated, generally consisting of about one hundred houses, neatly and commodiously built, and well surrounded by a rampart or parapet. The houses were large magazines of corn, which were consumed in the flames. All the men that were taken suffered immediate death; but the greater part of the nation had escaped with the utmost precipitation. In many houses the beds were yet warm, and the tables spread with victuals. Many loaded guns went off while the houses were burning. The savages had lost time to save their most valuable effects. The soldiers found some money, three or four watches, a great quantity of wampum, clothes, and peltry. Colonel Montgomery having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, at the expense of five or six men killed or wounded, returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children, whom he had made prisoners. Two of their warriors were set at liberty, and desired to inform their nation, that though they were now in the power of the English, they might still, on their surrender, receive provender, and be allowed to return. Montgomery, in the name of the English, called Attakalikalla, alias the little Carpenter, who had signed the last treaty, disapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had made many good offices to the English since the remonstration of the war, he was now given to understand that he might come down with some other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that the nations that had begun the war, and were about the seventh days, otherwise all the towns in the Upper Nation would be ravaged, and reduced to ashes.

§ XXII. These intimations having produced little or no effect, Colonel Montgomery resolved to make a second irruption into the middle settlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the twenty-seventh Captain Morrison, of the advanced party, was killed by a shot from a thicket, and the firm being broken, so troublesome that his men gave way. Having engaged the grenadiers and light infantry being detached to sustain them, continued to advance, notwithstanding the fire from the woods; until, from a rising ground, they discovered a large body of enemy. There they engaged, and obliged to retire into a swamp; which, when the rest of the troops came up, they were, after a short resistance, compelled to abandon: but as the country was difficult and narrow, and, in particular narrow, the forces suffered on their march from the fire of scattered parties who concealed themselves behind trees and bushes. At length they arrived at the town of Etowahowee, which the inhabitants had forsaken after having removed every thing of value. Here, while the army encamped on a small plain, surrounded by hills, it was iniminated by volleys from the enemy, which wounded some men, and killed several horses. They were even so daring as to attack the purgat guards with such impetuosity as to be attended with difficulty; but, generally speaking, their parties declined an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery, sensible that, as many horses were killed or disabled, he could not proceed further without levying on them, ordered the women and children of the men to the brutal revenge of a savage enemy, resolved to return; and began his retreat in the night, that he might be less disturbed by the Indians. Accordingly, he pursued his route for two days without interruption; but afterwards sustained some straggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as soon as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having cost him about seven hundred pounds, and was attended with some sacrifices of life and interest.

§ XXIII. In revenge for these calamities, the Cherokees assembled to a considerable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudon, a small fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconsiderable garrison, ill supplied with provision and necessaries. After having sustained a long siege, and being reduced to the utmost necessity, he determined to practice a council of war with the other officers, to deliberate upon their present situation; when it appeared that their provisions were entirely exhausted; that they had subsisted a considerable time upon roots, and such supplies of pork and beans as the Indian women could introduce by stealth; that the men were so weak with famine and fatigue, that in a little time they would not be able to do duty; that, for two nights past, considering his situation and particular lack of victuals, they were so weak that they were unable upon the mercy of the enemy; that the garrison in general threatened to abandon the officers, and betake themselves to the woods; and that there was no prospect of relief, their communication having been long cut off from all the British settlements: for these reasons they were unanimously of opinion that it was impracticable to prolong their defence; that they should accept of an honourable capitulation; and Captain Stuart should be sent to treat with the warriors and the head men of the Cherokees, about the conditions of their surrender. This officer being accordingly despatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation on the twenty-seventh, and the terms permitted to retire. The Indians desired that, when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokee prisoners confined at that place should be released, all hostilities cease, a lasting accommodation be re-established, and a regulated trade re- established. This was acceded to, and the Indians of the fort, and had marched about fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were surrounded and surprised by a large body of Indians, who massacred all the officers except Captain Stuart, and slew about twenty of the soldiers: the rest were made prisoners, and distributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous intercession of the chiefs, who rejoiced, with the rest, in the success of all he could command, and conducted him safe to Hobston river, where he found Major Lewis advanced so far with a body of Virginians. The savages, encouraged by their success at Fort Loudon, undertook the siege of Ninety-six, and other small fortifications; but retired precipitately on the approach of a body of provincials.

§ XXIV. In the meantime, the British interest and empire were firmly established on the banks of the Ohio, by the possession of Fort Pitt, garrisoned by about one thousand men, and which had passed the winter at Pittsburgh, formerly Dun Queans, and employed that time in the most effectual manner for the service of his country. He repaired the old works, established new ones, surrounded the town of Monongahela, mounted the bastions that cover the isthmus with artillery, erected casemates, store-houses, and barracks for a numerous garrison, and cultivated with equal diligence and success the friendship and alliance of the Indians. The happy consequence of these measures were soon apparent in the production of a considerable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittsburgh, and in the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of the lands from whence they had been driven by the enemy on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

§ XXV. The incidents of the war were much more important and decisive conduct of Massachusetts; but, generally speaking, the interest of General Murray was left to command the garrison of Quebec, amounting in about six thousand men: that a strong garrison, in the hands of General Amherst, at the command of Prince Charles, in Nova Scotia, under the direction of Lord Colvii, an able and experienced officer, who had instructions to revisit Quebec in the beginning of summer, as soon as the river St Lawrence should be navigable; and that General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, would proceed by sea, and in the beginning of November by land, for maintaining the important conquest of Quebec, and subduing all the Lower Canada; the inhabitants of which
actually submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. The garrison, however, within the walls of Quebec, suffered greatly from the excessive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions; insomuch that three thousand, two hundred and forty thousand soldiers were shorn of the scurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for service. Such was the situation of the garrison, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence that the French commander, the Chevalier de Levis, was employed in assembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; that from the inhabitants of the country he had completed his eight battalions, regimented forty companies of the troops of different nations, and that he was about to march on Quebec, whenever the river St. Lawrence should be clear of ice, that he could use his four frigates, and other vessels, by means of which he was entirely master of the river.

§ XXXVI. The brigadier, considering the city of Quebec as no other than a strong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines, and intermuting his troops on the heights of Abraham, which, at the distance of only one and a half miles, were distant only one-quarter of a mile of the city, and might have been defended by a small force against a formidable army. Fanciful, and on every other necessity for this work, had been provided; and in the mean time, some bodies of Canadians were engaged in the projected lines; but the earth was so hardened by the frost, that it was found impracticable to proceed. Being informed on the night of the twenty-sixth, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of ten thousand men, with five hundred savages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Cagmogue to be broken down, secured the landing-places at Syllier and the Foulon; and next day, marching in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, he took possession of an advantageous situation, and thus defeated the scheme which the French commander had laid for cutting off the posts which the English had established. These being all withdrawn, the brigadier that same afternoon marched to the bank of the river, and ut his loss, although his rear was harassed by the enemy. Here he formed a resolution which has been censured by some critics in war, as a measure that savoured more of youthful impetuosity and over-bouring courage, than of that military discretion, which ought to distinguish a commander in such a delicate situation; but it is more easy to censure with an appearance of reason, than to act in such circumstances with any certainty of success. Mr. Murray, in his letter to Mr. Adams, says:—"they had not so decided an army as were greatly superior to him in number, yet, when he considered that the English forces were habituated to victory, that they were provided with a fine train of field artillery, that, in shutting them at once within the walls, he should have placed his whole force on the single chance of defending a wretched fortification; a chance which could not be much lessened by on action in the field, though such an action would double the chance of success: for these reasons he determined to hazard a battle; should the event prove unprosperous, he resolved to hold out the place to the last extremity; then to retreat to the Isle of Orleans, or Coudres, with the remainder of the garrison, and there wait for a reinforcement. In pursuance of these resolutions he gave the necessary orders over-night: and on the twenty-eighth day of April, at half an hour after six in the morning, marched out with his little army of three thousand men, which he formed on the heights in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by Colonel Hunter, consisted of two regiments of Amherst's and one of Welh, and the second battalion of royal Americans; the left, under Colonel Fraser, was formed of the regiments of Kennedy, Lascelles, Townsend, and the highlanders. Otway's regiment, and the third battalion of royal Americans, constituted the corps de reserve. Major Dunns corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was secured by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of Captain Donald Macdonell; and a body guard of three field-pieces. Brigadier Murray having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived their van had taken possession of the rising grounds about three quarters of a mile in her front; but that their army was on the march in one column. Thinking this was the critical moment to attack them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. They were soon driven from the heights, though not without a warm dispute; during which the body of their army advanced at a running and formed in columns. Their van consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred savages; eight battalions, formed in four columns, with some pursuivants, one hundred and twenty men, under a major body; their rear was composed of two battles, and some Canadians in the flanks; and two thousand Canadians formed the reserve. Their whole army amounted to upwards of twelve thousand men. Mr. Murray, with great gallantry, dispossessed their grenadiers of a house and windmill which they occupied, in order to cover their left flank; and in this attack the major and some of his officers were wounded: nevertheless, the light infantry pursued the fugitives to a corps which was forced to stand and sustain them; then the pursuers halted, and dispersed along the front of the right: a circumstance which prevented the wing from taking advantage of the first impression they had made on the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiously charged, and thrown into disorder; then they retired to the rear in such a shattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was instantly ordered to advance from the body of reserve, and sustain the right wing, which the enemy twice in vain attempted to penetrate. Meanwhile the left brigade of the British forces did not remain inactive; the French advanced the next day, with considerable doubts, and sustained with undaunted resolution the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until they were fairly fought down, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to a handful, notwithstanding that they secured the French garrison of a battalion of royal Americans, which had been stationed with the body of reserve, as well as from Kennedy's regiment, posted in the centre. The French attacked with great impetuosity; and at length a fresh column of the regiment de Rouillon penetrating the left wing of the British army, it gave way; the disorder was soon communicated to the right; so that after a very obstinate dispute, which lasted an hour and three quarters, Brigadier Murray was obliged to quit the field, with the loss of one thousand men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his
artillery. The enemy lost twice the number of men, and
suffered no essential advantages from their victory.

§ XVII. Mr. Murray, far from being dispirited by his
defeat, determined, as was natural, to revenge his
loss at Quebec, than
he resolved to prosecute the fortifications of the place,
which had been interrupted by the severity of the winter;
and the soldiers exerted themselves with incredible alacrity,
not only removing the works, but also in the defence
of the town, before which the enemy had opened trenched
on the very evening of the battle. Three ships anchored
at the Foulon below their camp; and for several days
they were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and
ammunition, while they worked incessantly at their
trenches before the town; and on the eleventh day of
May opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of
cannon. Brigadier Murray made the necessary dispositions
to defend the place to the last extremity: he raised two
cavaliers, contrived some outworks, and planted the ramp-
parts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery,
dragging them mostly by the soldiers. Though the enemy
conquered the place with great violence the first day,
their fire soon slackened; and their batteries were, in
a manner, silenced by the superior fire of the garrison;
nevertheless, Quebec would, in all probability, have re-
verted to its former owners, had a French fleet from Eu-
rope got the start of an English squadron in sailing up the
river.

§ XVIII. Lord Colville had sailed from Halifax,
with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-second
day of the last month; but was retained in his passage by
fogs, contrary winds, and great showers of ice floating
down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from
England with a small reinforcement, arrived about the
beginning of May, on the ice; in the river St. Law-
rence, where, with two ships, he prepared to wait for
the rest of his squadron, which had separated from him in the
passage; but one of these, the Lowestoff, commanded by
Captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebec on
the first of May, and had communicated to the garrison
the joyful news that the squadron was arrived in the
river. Commodore Swanton no sooner received intimation
that Quebec was besieged, than he sailed up the river with
all possible expedition, and on the fifteenth, in the evening,
anchored above Point Livi. The brigadier expressing
an earnest desire that the French squadron above the town
might be removed, the commodore ordered Captain Schom-
berg of the Diana, and Captain Deane of the Lowestoff, to
slip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's
fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a
great number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in
motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder.
One of the French vessels was driven upon the rocks above
Fort Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burned at Point
au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all
the other vessels were taken or destroyed.

§ XX. The enemy were so confounded and dispirited
by this disaster, and the certain information that a strong
English fleet was already in the river St. Lawrence, that
in the following night they raised the siege of Quebec,
and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their prov-
visions, implements, and artillery to Governor Murray,
who had mended to make a vigorous sally in the morning,
and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the besiegers,
which, from the information of prisoners and deserts, he
concluded to be only next morning, and at the enemy's
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of tools and utensils, two swivels, some barrels of pitch, and a large quantity of iron. The provincials were so incensed at sight of the scalp, that they burned a chapel, and all the houses of the enemy. Batteries being raised on the ness of the river St. Lawrence, and a few days' progress granted some troops whom no man could have been induced to fight even by death, but likewise by the armed sloops; and the disposition was made for giving the assault, when M. Pouchart, the governor, thought proper to beat a parley, and surrender on capitulation. The general, having taken possession of the fortress, it was proposed for fortifying the lake Ontario and the Mohawk river, that be resolved to maintain it with a garrison, and employed some days in preparing the fortifications.

§ XXI. From hence his navigation down the river St. Lawrence was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffs or rapids, and falls; among which he lost above fourscore men, forty-six boats, seventeen whale-boats, one row-galley, with some artillery, stores, and ammunition. On the sixth day of September the troops were landed on the island of Montreal, without any opposition, except some from flying parties, which exchanged a few shot, and then fled with precipitation. That same day he repaired a bridge which they had broken down in their retreat; and after a march of two leagues, formed his army on a plain before Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms. Montreal is, in general, the situation of the fort, which had been situated in an island of the river St. Lawrence, at an equal distance from Quebec and the lake Ontario. Its central situation renders it the staple of the Indian trade; yet the fort is too small; all these circumstances have been advantageous to the value of the place. General Amherst ordered some pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing place at La Chine, where he had left some regiments for the security of the boats, and determined to commence the siege in form; but in the morning of the seventh he received a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil by two officers, demanding a capitulation; which, after some letters had passed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reason to expect, considering that General Murray, with the troops from Quebec, had by this time landed on the island; and Colonel Haviird, with the body under his command, had just arrived on the south side of the river opposite to Montreal: circumstances equally favourable and surprising, if we reflect upon the different routes they pursued, through an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence of the motions of each other. Had any accident retarded the provision of the French, they were accomplished; the French would have been attacked by General Murray, who em barked with his troops at Quebec, on board of a great number of small vessels, under the command of Captain Deux, in the fleet of seven, in full navigation; and the provisions had surmounted the difficulties of an unknown, dangerous, and intricate navigation: and conducted the voyage with such success, that not a single vessel was lost in the expedition. M. de Levie, at the head of his forces, watched the motions of General Murray, who, in advancing up the river, published manifestos among the Canadians, which produced all the effect he could desire. Almost all the parishes on the south shore, as far as the river Sorel, submitted, and took the oath of neutrality: and Lord Rollo disarmed all the inhabitants of the north shore, as far as Trois Rivieres, which, though the capital of a district, being no more than an open village, was taken without resistance. In a word, General Amherst took possession of Montreal, and thus completed the conquest of Canada; a conquest the most important of any that ever the British arms achieved, whether we consider the safety of the English colonies in North America, now secured from invasion and encroachment; the extent and fertility of the country subdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great Britain. The terms of the capitulation may perhaps be thought rather too favourable; but the situation of the country was such that they could not, in all hope of relief; but little points like these ought always to be sacrificed to the consideration of great objects; and the finishing the conquest of a great country without bloodshed, was a great instance of humanity of General Amherst, whose conduct had been irreplaceable during the whole course of the American operations. At the same time, it must be allowed, he was extremely fortunate in having subordinate commanders who perfectly corresponded with his ideas; and a body of men so united and discowage, which others could dismay. Sir William Johnson, with a power of authority and inscriptions peculiar to himself, not only maintained a surprising ascendency over the most ferocious of all the Indian tribes, but kept them within the bounds of such salutary reformation, that not one was permitted to either the utmost subtlety or wickedness; and their humanity was perpetuated by them during the whole course of this expedition. The zeal and conduct of Brigadier-General Gage, the undaunted spirit and enterprising genius of General Amherst, the great General Hawley, who with Colonel Haviird, happily co-operated in promoting this great event.

§ XXII. The French ministry had attempted to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of store ships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Lawrence before their arrival, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Acadia, where they did not remain unmolested. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having received intelligence of them from Brigadier-General Whitmore, sailed thither with some frigates and a squadron of vessels. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store ships, and nineteen small vessels; the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain, which rendered these vessels which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined. All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now subdued, and subjected to the English government. In the month of December of the preceding year, the French colonists of Miramichi, Hickle卜 too, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Lawrence, made their submission by deputies to Colonel Fry, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission in the most formal manner by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves, and the people they represented, to repair in the spring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of Colonel Lawrence, governor of Halifax, in Nova Scotia. The French government, which had been accustomed to the formation of the Micmacs, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majesty. In a word, by the conquest of Canada, the Indian fur trade was carried into the hands of the British, and the French interest among the savage tribes, inhabiting an immense tract of country, was totally extinguished; and their American possessions shrank within the limits of Louisiana, an infant colony on the south of the Mississippi, which the British arms may at any time easily subdue.

§ XXXIII. The conquest of Canada being achieved, nothing now remained to be done in North America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg on the island of Cape Breton; for which purpose some able engineers had been sent from England with the ships commanded by Captain Byron. By means of mines artfully disposed and well constructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbish, the glass was melted, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were conveyed to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired so as to accommodate three hundred men occasionally; and the hospitals in the private houses, were left standing. The French still possessed, upon the continent of America, the fertile country lying on each side of the great river Mississippi, which disembroges itself into the gulf of Mexico, and the coast of New Spain, which they had rendered so ill provided, that, from being formidable, it scarce could have subsisted, unless the British traders had been base and treacherous enough to supply it from time to time with provisions and other necessaries. The same enterprising commission was employed on with divers Erench plantations in the West Indies;
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guished the captains and officers belonging to the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward Islands. In the month of September, Captains Orry, Douglas, and Taylor, of the ships Temple and Griffin, being on a joint cruise off the islands Granaditas, received intelligence that the Virgin, formerly a British sloop of war, which had been taken by them, then lay at anchor, together with three privates, under pretence of two forts on the island, sailed thither in order to attack them, and their enterprise was crowned with success. After a warm engagement, which lasted several hours, the enemy's batteries were silenced, and indeed, of the two forts, and the English captains took possession of the four prizes. They afterwards entered another harbour of that island, having first demolished another fort; and there they lay four days undisturbed, at the expiration of which they carried off three other prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ships bound to Martinique with provisions, and took them all without resistance. About the same time eight or nine privates were taken by the ships which Commodore Sir James Douglas employed in cruizing round the island of Guadaloupe, so that the British commerce in those seas suffered under his care and protection.

§ XXXVII. In the East Indies the British arms still continued to prosper. After the reduction of Arcot, the garrisons of Permacool and Allomorpa surrendered themselves prisoners of war in the beginning of May. The French Admiral, the Earl of Chatham, who had the misfortune to run ashore to the northward of Pondicherry. The important settlement of Carnal was reduced by the sea and land forces commanded by Rear-Admiral Cornwallis and Major Monson, and the French garrison made prisoners of war; and Colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beset by the English squadron.

§ XXXVIII. Notation of importance was in the course of the war, if the fact be remembered, by the naval force of Great Britain who attacked, in the seas of Europe. A powerful squadron still remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuse and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coast, and intercept the navigation of the enemy; though the principal aim of this armament seems to have been to watch and detain the few French ships which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans; an object, the importance of which will doubtless astonish pietists. The fleet employed on this service was alternately commanded by Admiral Boscowen and Sir Edward Hawke, officers of distinguished abilities, whose talents might have been surely rendered subservient to much greater national advantage. But in this case, the censured scene of action was, to take possession of a small island near the river Vannes, which he caused to be cultivated, and planted with vegetables, for the use of the men, and for the advantage of the English shore. The gentleman, sea air, and want of proper exercise. In the month of September, Sir Edward Hawke, who had by this time relieved Mr. Boscowen, detached the gallant Lord Howe, in the Magannisse, with the ships Prince Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little island of Dumet, about three miles in length, and two in breadth, abounding with fresh water. It was defended by a small fort, mounted with nine cannon, and manned with one company of the regiment of Bouron, who surrendered in a very short time after the ships had begun the attack. By this small conquest a considerable expense was saved to the nation in the article of transports employed to carry water for the use of the squadron.

§ XXXIX. Admiral Rodney still maintained his former station off the coast of Havre de Grace, to observe what should pass at the mouth of the Seine. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large ships were seen off Boulogne, and, not long after, ran from Harlfort, in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance; for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills, appeared the limit of the enemy's power. Sir Edward Hawke, was enabled to behold the issue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they stood backards and forwards upon the shoals, intending to amuse Admiral Rodney till night, and then proceed under cover of the darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his small vessels to be ready, and if that as soon as during the night they should make all the sail they could for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself stood with the larger ships to the steep coast of Port Bassin. The scheme succeeded. But the enemy's retreat cut off, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of those vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men for a short passage. A numerous destination was we cannot pretend to determine; but the French had provided a great number of these transports; for ten escaped into the river Orne leading to Caen; and in consequence of this disaster one hundred were unloaded, and sent up again to Rouen. This was not all the damage that the enemy sustained on this part of the coast. In the month of November, Captain Orry, of the Acteon, chased a large cracker, and drove her ashore between Cape Barfleur and La Hougue, where she perished. The cutters belonging to Admiral Rodney's squadron scoured the coast towards Dieppe, where a considerable fishery was carried on, and where they took or destroyed near one hundred vessels. But the French, though the English navy suffered nothing from the French during this period, it sustained some damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ship of the line, was driven on to the island of Portland, and the crew and cannon were saved. The Lynx, of twenty guns, founderd in the Cattegat, in Norway, and fifty of the men perished; and, in the West Indies, a tender belonging to the Dobis, commanded by Commodore Sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with a hundred chosn mariners.

§ XL. Of the domestic transactions relating to the war, the most considerable was the equipment of a powerful squadron for the support of some secret expedition. A numerous body of forces was assembled, and a great number of transports collected at Portsmouth. Generals were nominated to the command of this enterprise. The troops were actually embarked with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a prodigious expense. Notwithstanding these preparations, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction; and in the latter end of the season the undertaking was laid aside. The people did not fail to clamour against the inactivity of the summer, and complain of not withstanding the immense subsidies granted for the prosecution of the war, that they were struck in Europe for the advantage of Great Britain; but that her treasure was lavished upon fruitless parade, or a German alliance still more pernicious. It must be owned, indeed, that no nation exclusive of India could afford to be extravagant on British principles; for the surrender of Montreal was the natural consequence of the steps which had been taken, and of the measures concerted, in the course of the preceding year. It will be allowed, we apprehend, that the expense incurred by the armament at Portsmouth, and the body of troops there detained, would have been sufficient, if properly applied, to reduce the island of Mauritius in the Indian ocean, Martinique in the West Indies, or Minorca in the Mediterranean; and all these three were objects of importance. In all probability, the design of the armament was either to intimidate the French into proposals of peace; to make a diversion from the Rhine, by alarming the coast of Brittany; or to throw over a body of troops into Flanders, to effect a junction with the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, at the head of twenty thousand men, had made an irruption as far as the Lower Rhine, and even crossed that river; but he miscarried in the execution of these projects.

§ XLI. In the midst of these alarms some regard was paid to the improvements of natural knowledge. The Royal Society having made application to the king, representing to him the importance of the subject, he directed a circular letter, containing a hint that we should be enabled to behold the issue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they stood backards and forwards upon the shoals, intending to amuse Admiral Rodney till night, and then
of this phenomenon at the island of St. Helena near the coast of Africa, and at Bencoolen in the East Indies, his majesty granted a sum of money to defray the expense of sending the general troops to those stations, and ordered a ship of war to be equipped for their conveyance. Accordingly, Mr. Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. Robert华盛顿 were appointed to make the observations at St. Helena; and Mr. Charles Mason and Mr. Jeremiah Dyngarn undertook the voyage to Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra.

SE. XI.
Except the countries that were actually the scenes of war, no political revolution or disturbance disquieted the general tranquillity. At Smyrna, indeed, felt all the horrors and wreck of a dreadful earthquake, protracted in repeated shocks, which began on the thirteenth day of October, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. A great number of houses were overthrown at Smyrna, and many people buried under its ruins. It was felt through a space of ten thousand square leagues, comprehending the mountains of Libanus and Anti-libanus, with an infinite number of villages, that were reduced to heaps of rubbish. At Äcre, or Tripoli, the sea overflowed its banks, and poured into the streets, though right feet above the level of the water. The city of Saphet was entirely destroyed, and the greatest part of its inhabitants perished. At Damascus, the war of conquest and six thousand people lost their lives. The shocks diminished gradually till the twenty-fifth day of November, when they were renewed with redhead havoc; the earth trembled with the convulsions of the mountains, and Tripoli was destroyed. Balbok was entirely ruined, and this was the fate of many other towns and castles; so that the people who escaped the rains were obliged to squirm in the open fields of all Syria was threatened with the vengeance of Heaven. Such a dangerous ferment arose at Constantinople, that a revolution was apprehended. Mysten, the present emperor, had no sons, but his brother Bayazet, whose life he had spared, contrary to the maxim of ws ever more, it was made evident to one of the women with whom he was indulged in his confinement; a circumstance which aroused the jealousy of the emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to despatch his brother. The great officers of the Porte opposed this design, which was so disagreeable to the people that an inscription ensued. Several Turks and Armenians, taking it for granted that a revolution was at hand, bought up great quantities of grain; and a dreadful death was the consequence of this monopoly. The sultan assembled the troops, quieted the insurgents, ordered the engrossers of corn to be executed; and in a little time the repos of the city was re-established.

SE. XII.
Considering the prospect of a rupture in Italy, no new incident interrupted the tranquillity which the southern parts of Europe enjoyed. The King of Spain, however solicited by the other branch of the house of Bourbon to engage in the war, as its ally, refused to interpose in any other way than as a mediator between the courts of London and Versailles. He sent the Conde de Fuentes, a nobleman of high rank and character, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the King of Great Britain, in order to offer his good offices for effecting a peace; and the Conde, after having conferred with the English ministry, made an excursion to Paris: but his proposal with respect to a cessation of hostilities, if in reality such a proposal was ever made, did not meet with a cordial reception. Other differences subsisting between the courts of Great Britain and Spain he found no difficulty in compromising. His catholic majesty persisted in the execution of a plan truly worthy of a patriot king. In the first place he spared no pains and application to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of his kingdom. He remitted to his people all they owed the crown, amounting to three score millions of reals; demanded and exacted his father's debt, which he would not discharge with the utmost punctuality; an order was sent to the treasury, that ten millions of reals should be annually appropriated for this purpose, until the whole should be liquidated; and to the first year's payment he added fifty millions, to be divided equally among the legal claimants. He took measures for the vigorous execution of these resolutions, and ordered the establishment of a protected commerce; and felt the exquisite pleasure of being beloved as the father of his people. To give importance to his crown, and extend his influence among the powers of Europe, he engaged a powerful squadron of ships at Carthagena; and is said to have declared his intention to employ them against Algiers, should the bey refuse to release the slaves of the Spanish nation.

SE. XIII.
Portugal still seemed averted from the shock of the last war, although only five years had elapsed since that event. The Pope's nuncoo was not only for the court, but even sent under a strong guard to the frontiers: an indignity which induced the pontiff to order the Portuguese minister to Rome to evacuate the ecclesiastical dominions. In the meantime, another embarkation of Jesuits was sent from Lisbon to Civita Vecchia; yet the expulsion of these fathers did not restore the internal peace of Portugal, or put an end to the practice of plotting: for, even since their departure, some persons of rank have been either committed to close prison, or exiled from the kingdom. The Jesuits were not more fortunate in America; for in the month of October, in the foregoing year, an obstinate struggle took place between the Jesuits and the Portuguese at Tord and the Indians of Paraguay, who were under the dominium of the Jesuits: victory at length declared in favour of the two crowns; so that the vanquished were expelled innumerable, and the court of Portugal had made remonstrances to the British ministry against the preoccupancy of the English squadron under Admiral Boscawen, which had attacked and destroyed some French ships under the Portuguese fort in the bay of Lagos, his Britannic majesty thought proper to send the Earl of Kinroul as ambassador extraordinary to Lisbon, where that nobleman made such excursions for the insult of the English admiral, as entirely removed all misunderstanding between the two crowns; and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portuguese monarch, thus respected, soothed, and deprecatoup by a mighty nation, in the very zenith of power and prosperity. On the sixth of June, being the birthday of the King of Portugal, the marriage of his brother Don Pedro with the Princess of Brazil was celebrated in the chapel of the palace where the king resides, to the universal joy of the people. The nuptials were announced to the public by discharge of cannon, and celebrated with illuminations, and all kinds of rejoicing.

SE. XIV.
An accident which happened in the Mediterranean had like to have drawn the indignation of the Ottoman Porte against the Turks. The French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-eight brass cannon, having on board a complement of seven hundred men, besides seventy Christian slaves, under the immediate command of the Turkish admiral, had, in company with two frigates, five galleys, and other small vessels, sailed in June from the Dardanelles; cruised along the coast of Smyrna, Scio, and Troia; and at length anchored in the channel of Scagenia, where the admiral, with four hundred persons, went on shore, on the nineteenth day of September: the Christian slaves, seizing this opportunity, armed themselves with knives, and fell upon the three hundred that remained with such fury and effect, that a great number of them were put to death, and the Turks were forced to retreat overboard into the sea, where they perished; and the rest sued for mercy. The Christians having thus secured possession of the ship, hoisted sail, and bore away for Malta: which, though chased by the two frigates, and a Spaniard ship, they reached, by crowding all their canvas, and brought their prize safe into the harbour of Valette, amidst the acclamations of the people. The order of Malta, as a recom pensation for this signal act of resistance, assigned to the captors the whole property of the ship and slaves, together with all the effects on board, including a sum of money, which the Turkish commander had collected by contribution, amounting to a million and a half of

of Ireland, by the name, styles, and titles of the Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster.
florins. The grand signior was so enraged at this event, that he disengaged his admiral, and threatened to take vengeance on the order of Malta, for having detained the ship, and contemnanzed the capture.

§ XLVI. With respect to the dispute which had so long embroiled the northern parts of Europe, the neutral powers seemed as adverse as ever to a participation. The King of Denmark continued to perfect those plans which he had wisely formed, for increasing the wealth and promoting the happiness of his subjects; nor did he neglect any opportunity of improving natural knowledge, for the benefit of mankind in general. He employed men of ability, who were sent abroad into foreign countries, and to collect the most curious productions, for the advancement of natural history; he encouraged the liberal and mechanic arts at home, by magnificent rewards and peculiar protection; he invited above a thousand foreigners from Germany to become his subjects, and settle in certain districts of Jutland, which had lain waste above three centuries; and they forthwith began to build villages and cultivate the lands, in the dioceses of Wibourg, Arhus, and Roskilde. Their trading expenses from Altona to their new settlement were defrayed by the king, who moreover maintained them until the produce of the land could afford a comfortable subsistence. He likewise bestowed upon some of them a certain number of horses and cattle. Finally, this generous patron having visited these new subjects, who received him with unstepped emotions of joy and affection, he joined them in a common confederacy in which he participated among them, as an additional mark of his favour. Such conduct in a prince cannot fail to secure the warmest returns of loyalty and attachment in his people: and the execution of such laudable schemes will endear his name to the contemplation of posterity.

§ XLVII. The Dutch, as usual, persevered in prosecuting every branch of commerce, without being diverted to less subversive schemes of state policy. TheMemo- rations of France, or the remonstrances of Great Britain. The violation of the peace by their subjects in Bengal was no sooner known at the court of London, than orders were sent to General Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, to demand an explanation. He accordingly presented a memorial to the States-general, signifyin that their high mightinesses must doubtless be greatly astonished to hear, by the public papers, of the irregularities committed by their subjects in the East Indies; but that they would be much more amazed on perusing the piece annexed to his memorial, containing a minute account specified with the strictest regard to truth, of the irregular conduct of the abovementioned subjects, and the projects in the river of Bengal, at a time when the factors and traders of Holland enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the advantages of un molested commerce; at a time when his high mightinesses were so concerned about their high mightinesses, carefully avoiding giving the least umbrage to the subjects of the United Provinces. He observed, that the king his sovereign was deeply affected by those outrageous designs and machevious designs of the Dutch in the East Indies, whose aim was to destroy the British settlements in that country; an aim that would have been accomplished, had not the king victorious arms brought them to reason, and obliged them to sue for an accommodation. His high mightinesses would willingly believe that their high mightinesses had given no order for procuring to such extremities, and that the directors of their India company had no share in the transaction; nevertheless, he (the ambassador) with some direct and solemn assurance, in the name of the king his master, that all who should be found to have shared in the offence so manifestly tending to the destruction of the English settlements in the East Indies, would immediately be dismissed from all their stations in the company, and that all their high mightinesses should confirm the stipulations agreed upon immediately after the action by the directors of the respective companies, in consideration of which agreement among themselves, they would dispose of all their matters acknowledged their fault, in owning themselves the aggressors. To this remonstrance the States-general replied, that nothing of what was laid to the charge of their subjects had yet reached their knowledge: but they requested his Britannic majesty to suspend his judgment until he should be made perfectly acquainted with the grounds of those disputes; and they promised he should have reason to be satisfied with the exemplary punishment that would be inflicted upon all who should be found concerned in violating the peace between the two nations.

§ XLVIII. The war in Germany still raged with unrelenting fury, and the mutual rancour of the contending parties seemed to derive fresh force from their mutual disappointments: and the house of Brunswick, in its endeavours to render its princes implacable, and obstinately bent upon terminating the war with the destruction of the Prussian monarch. Her allies, however, seemed less actuated by this spirit of revenge. The French king had sustained so much damage and disgrace in the course of the war, that his resources failed, and his finances fell into disorder; he could no longer afford the subsidies he had promised to different powers; while his subjects clamoured loudly the burden of impositions, the ruin of trade, and the repeated dishonours entailed upon the arms of France. Theozzam's zeal for the alliance was evidently cooled by the irregular and defective payments of the subsidies she had stipulated. Perhaps she was in her mind, and charmed to see her armies retire from Germany at the approach of every winter; and the British ministry did not fail to exert all their influence to detach her from the Prussians. She had embossed and disdained, and distinguished in an intellectual parade of hostilities against the house of Brandenburgh; but the French interest began to lose ground in the diet of that kingdom. The King of Prussia, however, exhausted and exasperated at the article of men, betrayed no symptom of apprehension, and made no advance towards a pacification with his adversaries. He had employed the winter in recruiting his armies by every expedient that his fertile imagination could devise; in varying contributions to reinforce the vast subsidy he received from England, in filling magazines, and making every preparation for a vigorous campaign. In Westphalia, the same foresight and activity were exercised by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who in the beginning of summer found himself at the head of a very numerous army, paid by Great Britain, and strengthened by two-and-twenty thousand national troops.

§ XLIX. No alteration in the terms of this alliance was produced by the death of William, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who breathed his last, in an advanced age, on the twenty-eighth day of January, at Rintelen upon the Weser. He was succeeded in the landgrave's principality by his son, Prince Leopold, whose consort, the Princess Mary, daughter to the King of Great Britain, now, in quality of governor of her children, assumed the regency and administration of the crown of Hesse-Cassel, which she made in the lifetime of her father-in-law, and confirmed by her husband. She had for some years been separated from him, and resides with his father, at whose decease she retired with her children to the city of Zell. The present landgrave, who lived at Magdeburg as vice-governor under the King of Prussia, no sooner learned the news of his father's death, than he sent an intimation of it to that prince and the King of Great Britain; declaring, at the same time, that he would scrupulously adhere to the engagements of his predecessor.

§ L. The advances towards a peace, which had been made in the preceding year by the Kings of England and Prussia, in their letters published in July last, were still in question; and the Prince Louis of Brunswick, seemed to infuse in neutral powers a good opinion of their moderation. We have already seen that the King of Spain offered his best offices to assist in making up a treaty in quality of mediator; and the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negotiation. The King of Great Britain, by the mouth of his ambassador, thanked their high mightinesses for the advice he received from them; but the situation proved to be at the Hague by the ravages of war, which had extended desolation over the face of Europe; he readily closed with their gracious offer;
and in consequence of his high regard and invariable friendship for his high mightiness, wished earnestly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The Dutch had expressed their sentiments nearly to the same purpose. His ambassador declared, that his most christian majesty was highly sensible of the offer they had made of Breda, for holding the congress; that, in order to agree, he had on of his sincere desire to increase the good harmony that subsisted between him and the States-general, be accepted their offer with pleasure; but as he could take no step without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their answer, which could not fail to be favorable, since the Dutch had been enabled to hold oftener for holding the congress. King Stanzlaus having written a letter to his Britonice majesty, offering the city of Nancy for the same purpose, he received a civil answer, expressing the King of England's sense of his obliging offer, which however he declined, as a place not conveniently situated for all the powers interested in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the same nature likewise passed betw een the sovereigns of Nancy and the King of Prussia. As the proposals for an accommodation made by the King of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impression on their adversaries had they been altogether declined, the desire of Vaux to be employed upon the war was carried into a declaration professing their desire of peace; which declaration was delivered on the third day of April, by the Austrian minister residing at the Hague, to his severe highness Prince Louis of Brunswick; and a positive avowal was also made to him separately by the French and Russian ministers. These professions, however, did not interrupt the operations of the campaign.

§ 4. Though the French army under the Mareschall Duke de Bourgogne remained in cantonment in the neighbourhood of Friedbeurg, and Prince Ferdinand had retired from Cobsdoff to Marburg, where in the beginning of January he established his headquarters, the winter was by no means inactive. As far back as the twenty-fifth day of December, the Duke de Bourgogne, having called in his detachments, attempted to surprise the allied army by a forced march to Kleinn-lunes; but finding them prepared to give him a warm reception, nothing but a cannonade ensued, and he retreated to his former quarters. On the twenty-ninth Colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, consisting of four hundred men, under the command of Count Muret. These he attacked with such vigour, that the count was made prisoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except two-and-twenty, who escaped. On the 2d of January, the Marquis de Vaugue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a small detachment of the allies who were posted there. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillenbourg; the garrison of the allied troops being obliged to retire in the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation, than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief, on the seventh day of the month, when he attacked and totally defeated the besiegers, took seven hundred prisoners, including forty officers, with seven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon. On that very day, the highlanders, under Major Koch, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Bourgmont's regiment of dragoons was posted on the side of Dillenbourg, and routed him with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses, and all their baggage. The bands of the allies were also considerably injured by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline. On the eighteenth of January, M. de St Germain advanced on the left of the allies with the grenadiers of the French army, supported by eight battalions, and a body of dragoons: but he was encountered by the Duke of Holstein, at the head of a strong detachment, in the neighbour- hood of Osnahruck, where, the partisans of the allies having obliged him to retreat with precipitation. After this attempt the French parties disappeared, and their army retired into winter-quarters, in and about Frankfort on the Main; while Prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabruck; this last place being allotted to the British troops, as being the nearest to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with a detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Westphalia, where he safely ar- rived, accompanied by the Duke of Brunswick, with his uncle Prince Ferdinand, and some principal members of the regency of Hanover.

§ 5. I. The French general continued to send out detachments to keep up the quarters of the allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March, the Marquis de Blaisel marched at the head of two thousand four hundred men from Gisenc, where he commanded, to Marburg, forced the gates of the town, and compelled the garrison of the allies to take shelter in the castle. As he could not pretend to undertake the siege of the fortress, by the fire of which he was exceedingly galled, he determined of the town; the contribution of one hundred thousand florins, and carried some of the magistrates along with him as hostages for the payment of this impostion. He afterwards appeared at Hombourg, Alsfeld, and Hartford, the frontier posts of allies; but did not think proper to attack either, because he perceived that measures were taken for his reception. The French, with all their boasted politeness and humanity, are sometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the most barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau-Munsen- zelberg for having, without their permission, acknowledged the regency of the landgrave of Hesse Casel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magistrates of that place to pour all the gold and silver plate they contained in the church of the town, amounting to seven hundred and fifty thousand florins, on pann of being subjected to plunder. This order was signified by the Prince de Robecco; to whom the magistrates represented the impossibility of raising such a sum, as the country was totally exhausted, and their credit absolutely destroyed, in consequence of their inability to pay the interest of the capitals negociated in the course of the pre- ceeding year. He still insisted upon their finding the money before night; they offered to pay eighty thousand florins, which they raised with the utmost difficulty, and begged the payment of the rest might be postponed for a few weeks; but their request was rejected with disdain. The place was reinforced by the aid of a regiment, and squadrons dispersed in the principal squares and markets of the city, and the gates were shut. They even planted mediation in the war which had subsisted for some years between France and England; and this war bearing besides nothing in common with that which the two monarchs, with their allies, have ever entered on for some years against the King of Prussia.

Though the British and Prussian majesty in reality treat of his particular peace with England, through the good offices of his catholic majesty, whose mediation is still accepted.

"As to the war which regards directly his Prussian majesty, their majesties to the two monarctes and their allies, the sovereigns of the court of France, that of Vienna, Petersbourgh, and Versailles, residing there,

Their Britannic and Prussian majesty having thought proper to make known, by the declaration delivered, on their part, at the Hague, the 5th of February, 1760, to the king of England, and the princes of the court of France, their assurances of peace and oblation with His Britannic majesty and the King of Prussia on the 22nd of November 1756, to the monarchs and great powers of Europe,

Whereas the British and Prussians, in re-establishing the public tranquillity, they were ready to send plenipotentiaries to the congress of the said courts, as the most respected nation, his important office with these, the better part of the king to state his desire of holding an armistice with him, he acquaints the Emperor King of Hungary and Bohemia, his majesty's vassal, and the king of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as his majesty the king of Sweden, who ought specifically to be invited to the future conference.
cannon in the streets, and tarred matches were fixed to many houses, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. These expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of grenadiers entered the houses of the principal magistrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their best effects to the town-wall, burning the rest. Before the town was invested, a sufficient number of_active men, with victuals, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What he could not carry off he distributed among the poor inhabitants, and returned to General Imhoff's camp at Amensel, where, after a hundred prisoners. This excursion alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the Duke de Broglie in person advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg: but, being unable to follow them, he returned to Frankefort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetterau. This alarm was not so mortifying as the secession of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to ten thousand men, commanded by their duke in person, who left the French army in disgust, and returned to his own country. The imperial army, under the Prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumburg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry, having received a check from a body of Prussians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Lichtenfels upon the Maine. The small detachments of the French army, maintaining the grand army, in the bodies commanded by General Sporcken and the Count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of dragoons, and two regiments of English dragons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under General Gisbirds, and achieved some considerable exploits, particularly at Hosenfeld and Leckbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

The French, under the Marschal de Broglie were augmented to one hundred thousand; while the Count de St. German commanded a separate army on the Rhine, consisting of thirty thousand men, assembled from the quarters of Dusseldorp, Cologn, Cleves, and Weel. The second corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by such a division, would be considerably weakened; and the French court thought to form a third army in the Bosphere: but this did not appear. The Duke de Broglie was in such high favour with the French ministry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old generals, who now demanded and obtained their dismission; and every step was taken to render the campaign glorious to this admired commander: but, notwithstanding all their care, and his own exertion, he found it impossible to take the field early in the season, from want of provisions. However, having been established at Frankfort, his troops were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provision from the Upper Rhine; but this convenience depended upon his being master of the course of that stream, and maintaining it unapproachable, without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the use of his forces; so that he was obliged to be inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his marches. The same inconveniences operated more powerfully on the side of Prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhausted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his supplies from Hamburg and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weser. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of British troops from Embden, under the direction of Major-General Griffin; and before the end of the campaign, the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five-and-twenty thousand; a greater number than had served at one time upon the continent for two centuries. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped; but part of the troops left in the barracks of Munster, under General Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head against the French corps commanded by the Count de St. German.

The French, under General Imhoff was sent with a detachment to Kirchyn on the Orne; and General Gisblos, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirchfeld on the Fulda. The former of these had ordered Colonel Lecuck, with a body of our carabineers, to assist the officer in that, on the twenty-fourth of May, fell in with a French patrol, which gave the alarm at Burtsbach; when the garrison of that place, amounting to five hundred piquets, under General Waldemar, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, pursued, and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and dispersed. Colonel Lecuck, with the carabineers, entered Burtsbach, and until day-light were redeemed with all the money that could possibly be raised. This excitement, so little to the honour of a civilized nation, the French minister declared to the diet at Hatten, was agreeable to the instructions of his most Christian majesty.

§ LIII. By way of retaliation for the cruelty practised at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army, under General Lecuck, with a body of six thousand men, pursued the French in Fulda, and actually carried off hostages from that city; but retired before a strong body of the enemy, who took possession of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the towns of Hirchfeld and Vaca. Accordingly, they appeared at Vacha, situated on the frontiers of Hesse, and formed the head of the chain of cantonments which the allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with such vigour, that Colonel Freytag, who commanded the body to abandon the town; but he maintained himself on a rising ground in the neighbourhood, where he amused the enemy until two battalions of grenadiers came to his assistance. Thus reinforced, he promised a long action, until he was thus reduced to the. Small detachments of the grand army, to the number of the bodies commanded by General Sporcken and the Count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of dragoons, and two regiments of English dragons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under General Gisbird, and achieved some considerable exploits, particularly at Hosenfeld and Leckbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

§ LIV. By the twenty-fourth of June, Prince Ferdinand, quitting his situation at Fritzlar, marched to Friendorf, and encamped on the hills between Ziegenheim and Dusseldorp; where he received a small detachment of the grand army, which was sent by the Count de St. German, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of dragoons, and two regiments of English dragons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under General Gisbird, and achieved some considerable exploits, particularly at Hosenfeld and Leckbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

§ LVI. By the twenty-fourth of June, Prince Ferdinand, quitting his situation at Fritzlar, marched to Friendorf, and encamped on the hills between Ziegenheim and Dusseldorp; where he received a small detachment of the grand army, which was sent by the Count de St. German, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of dragoons, and two regiments of English dragons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under General Gisbird, and achieved some considerable exploits, particularly at Hosenfeld and Leckbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

§ LIX. In the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons under Major-General Griffin, was sent forward to Saxenhausen, to put the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince continued to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but judging their whole force did not exceed ten thousand infantry and seventeen squadrons, and being impelled by the impetuousity of his own courage, he resolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm and obstinate; but the enemy being contually engaged with both, having the advantage of a numerous artillery, all the prince's efforts were ineffectual. Prince Ferdinand, being at too great a distance to sustain him, sent him an order to rejoin the army, which was by this time forming at Saxenhausen. He forthwith made dispositions for a retreat, which, however, was attended with great confusion. The enemy observing the disorder of the allied troops, piled their artillery with reluished diligence, while a powerful fire was charged to their guns, and by this proceeding the likelihood the whole infantry of the allies would have been
General Kielmansegge with a body of troops for the defence of the city, decamped in the night of the thirteenth, and passed the Dythem without loss between Gieben and Dringenberg. The hereditary prince, who had the preceding day passed the same river, in order to reach the French, who was posted near Colbeke, now reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and found them possessed of a very advantageous camp between Warbourg and Ochsendorf. Prince Ferdinand having resolved to attack them, ordered the hereditary prince and General Spirochenk to turn their left, while himself advanced against their front, with the main body of the army. The enemy was accordingly attacked on the same undulations from the rear, with equal impetuosity and success. As the infantry of the allied army could not march fast enough to change at the same time, the Marquis of Granby was ordered to advance with the cavalry of the right; and the brigade of English artillery commanded by Captain Phillips, made such expedition, that they were up in time to second the attack in the most surprising manner. The French cavalry, though very numerous, retired at the approach of the marines, who swept them off the field, with some colours, and ten pieces of cannon; and about the same number were made prisoners. Monsieur de Muy lay all night under arms, on the heights of Volkmisse, from whence he next day retired towards Wolfzangen. By this success, the Marquis of Granby received orders to pass the river in pursuit of them, with twelve British battalions and ten squadrons, and encamped at Widia, about four miles from Warbourg, the heights of which were possessed by the enemy's grand army. By this success, Prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communications with Westphalia, and keep the enemy at a distance from the heart of Hanover. But to these objects he sacrificed the capture of Cassel for Prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, much more numerous than that which was left under General Kielmansegge, advanced towards Cassel, and made himself master of that city; then he reduced Munnau, Cassel, and partly took Kassel, and Briel. All that Prince Ferdinand could do, considering how much he was out-numbered by the French, was to secure posts and passes with a view to retard their progress, and employ detachments to harass and surprise their advanced parties. In a few days after the action at Warbourg, General Luckner repulsed a French detachment which cut off, had not the hereditary prince made a diversion in their favour, by charging in person at the head of the British dragoons, who acted with their usual gallantry and effect. This respite enabled the infantry to accomplish their design, and to turn about two hundred men and fifteen pieces of cannon. General Count Kielmansegge, Major General Griffin, and Major Hill, of Brandenburg's dragoons, distinguished themselves by their conduct and interpidity on this occasion. The hereditary prince exposed his life in the hottest part of the action, and received a slight wound in the shoulder, which gave him far less disturbance than he felt from the chargers and musketry, and the defeat inflicted by his defeat.

§ LVIII. Many days, however, did not pass before he found an opportunity of retaliating this disgrace. Prince Ferdinand receiving advice that a body of the enemy, commanded by Major-General Gaubaut, had advanced on the left of the allies to Ziegenlin, detached the hereditary prince to oppose them, at the head of six battalions of Hanoverians and Hessians, with Elliot's regiment of light horse, Luckner's hussars, and two regiments of chasseurs; of which the main body of about seven thousand men, encamped near the village of Excdrd, and a very warm action ensued, in which Elliot's regiment signalized themselves remarkably by repeated charges. At length victory declared for the allies. The principal detachments of the enemy, commander-in-chief and the Prince of Ahlton Coth, were taken, with six pieces of cannon, all their arms, baggage, and artillery. During these transactions, the Magunians and Hessians, under General of Dragoons, were advanced, and received orders to attack the heights of Corbach. He had, in advancing from Frankfort, to detach troops to the castle of Marpou and Dillenbourgh, which was occupied by the allies, and they fell into hands, the garrisons of both being obliged to surrender prisoners of war. These were but inconsiderable conquests; nor did the progress of the French general equal the idea which had been formed of his talents and activity. The Count de St. German, who was his second officer, and believed by many to be at least his equal in capacity, having now joined his corps to the grand army, and conceiving disgust at his being obliged to serve under the Duke de Broglio, relinquished his command, in which he was succeeded by the Chevalier de Muy. At the same time, the Marquis de Vuyy and the Count de Luc, two generals of experience and reputation, quitted the army, and returned to France, actuated by the same motives. 

§ LXI. The allied army having removed their camp from Schildhausen to the village of Kalle near Cassel, remained in that situation till the thirtieth day of July, were the troops were again put in motion. The Chevalier de Muy, having passed the Dythem at Straubergen, with the grand army of five thousand men, and extending this body down the banks of the river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia; while the Duke de Broglio marched up with his main wing to their camp at Kalle, and Prince Xavier of Saxony, who commanded their reserve on the left, advanced towards Cassel; Prince Ferdinand, leaving

\[ \text{HISTORY OF ENGLAND.} \]

\[ \text{[A. D. 1700.—Book III.} \]

\[ \text{through morrow and very difficult ground, suddenly dropped down on their march.} \]

\[ \text{[C. P. A letter from the Marquis of Granby, to the Earl of Holderness.} \]

\[ \text{My Lord,} \]

\[ \text{With the greatest satisfaction that I have the honour of communicating to the higher board of the success of the hereditary prince yesterday morning,} \]

\[ \text{in the shape of a hazardous, and bold attack on the French, in which the whole army was put in motion. It is about} \]

\[ \text{four in the afternoon of the twenty-sixth; the hereditary prince} \]

\[ \text{in command,} \]

\[ \text{with a body of more than ten thousand Hanoverian and Pfalz} \]

\[ \text{Bohemian foot soldiers, five hundred and} \]

\[ \text{four thousand cavalry.} \]

\[ \text{His army was under arms all day on the thirtieth, and about} \]

\[ \text{shut at night march'd off in six columns in the direction of} \]

\[ \text{Abouit five miles north moving, the whole army assembled, and bivouacked on the heights near Corbeke.} \]

\[ \text{The report of the troops at Corbeke, and the movements of} \]

\[ \text{the enemy, is so in the enemy's right flank, which he did by marching to Dobsheilburg} \]

\[ \text{in order to surprise the French,} \]

\[ \text{who had an advanced post near Dobsheilburg.} \]

\[ \text{His left wing was ordered to advance} \]

\[ \text{towards Dobsheilburg, and his right wing of Grenadiers, opposite to the left flank of} \]

\[ \text{the enemy,} \]

\[ \text{and his right wing to Oppenheim, where} \]

\[ \text{they had the enemy's right flank, and} \]

\[ \text{and his right to Oppenheim, where} \]

\[ \text{which place they had} \]

\[ \text{his field.} \]

\[ \text{He had} \]

\[ \text{the enemy's flank,} \]

\[ \text{after a very signal charge,} \]

\[ \text{and the enemy's front.} \]

\[ \text{The line march'd with the greatest dexterity to attack the enemy's front,} \]

\[ \text{but the enemy's flank,} \]

\[ \text{at the same time,} \]

\[ \text{of the brass, pressed on} \]

\[ \text{as much as possible, so troops could} \]

\[ \text{wallow within a few miles of the} \]

\[ \text{the weather,} \]

\[ \text{and whilst storming themselves to get us} \]
had advanced as far as Emnbeck, and surprised another at Northem. At the same period, Colonel Donap, with a body of the allied army, attacked a French corps of two thousand men, posted in the wood of Sababour, to prevent their being surprised by the French corps on their left. The two armies engaged, the French losing many of their officers. The French General retired, and, on being reinforced by the reduction of Ziegenheim, garrisoned by seven hundred men of the allied army, who, after a vigorous resistance, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

§ I.X. On the first day of August, Prince Ferdinand, being encamped at Buhne, received intelligence that a considerable body of the enemy, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, were in motion to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Gutzmar. He passed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops, and some artillery, and posted them in such an advantageous manner, as to render the enemy's attempt totally ineffectual, although the foragers were covered with great part of their army. On the same morning the hereditary prince set out on an expedition to beat up the quarters of a French detachment. Being informed that the volunteers of Clermont and Dauphine, to the number of one thousand three hundred, were in their march at a considerable distance from the French camp at Dierenberg, and passed their time in the most careless security, he advanced towards them from his camp at Warbourg, within a league of them. He found them marching, in companies, to meet any of their patrols; a circumstance that encouraged him to beat up their quarters by surprise: for this service he pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of horse-guards, and four regiments of dragoons. Leaving their tents standing, they began their march at eight in the evening, and passed the Dymel near Warbourg. About a league on the other side of the Dymel, at the village of Wietzen, they were joined by the light troops under Major Buhlov; and now the disposition was made both for entering the town, and securing a retreat, in case of being repulsed. When they were within two miles of Zierenberg, and in sight of the fires of the enemy's grand guard, the grenadiers of Maxwell, the regiment of Kingsley, and the hIGHLANDERS, advanced by three separate roads, and marched in profound silence; at length, the noise of their feet alarmed the French, who began to fire; when the Fusiliers pressed them, at a round pace with unloaded firelocks, pushed the piquets, threw the guard at the rear, and rushing into the town, drove every thing before them with incredible impetuosity. The attack was so sudden, and the surprise so great, that the French had not time to assemble their garrison, to form their line, or to withstand them. They fled, some through the windows; and in so doing, exasperated the allied troops, who, bursting into the houses, slaughtered them without mercy. Having remained in the place from two till three in the morning, they retired with about four hundred prisoners, including forty officers, and brought off two pieces of artillery. This nocturnal adventure, in which the British troops displayed equal courage and activity, was achieved with very little loss; but, after all, it deserves no other appellation than that of a partisan exploit; for it was attended with no sort of advantage to the allied army.

§ I.XI. Considering the superiority of the French army, we cannot account for the little progress made by the Duke de Broglie, who, according to our conception, might either have given battle to the allies with the utmost probability of success, or penetrated into the heart of Hanover, the conquest of which seemed to be the principal object of the French ministry. Instead of striking an important stroke, he retired from Immenhausen towards Cessel, where he fortified his camp as if he had thought himself in danger of being attacked; and the war was continued for some time by small actions. When, however, being sent with a strong party from the camp of the allied army, which passed with their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden: and attacked them in passing the river Orck with such vigour, that Forsen, with some of his cavalry, was taken, and Buhlov obliged to abandon this attack, we conclude that the action was just determined, when this last was reinforced by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had made a forced march of five German miles, which had fatigued the troops to such a degree, that he defeated them in the afternoon. His action was the first of several, which were executed by the allies until the last engagement at Winterberg, the 13th of September.

§ I.XII. Such was the position of the two opposite grand armies, when the world was surprised by an expedition to the Lower Rhine, made by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. Whether this excursion was intended to hinder the French from reinforcing their army in Westphalia; or to co-operate in the Low Countries with the armament now ready equipped in the ports of England; or to gratify the ambition of a young prince, overboiling with courage, and glowing with the desire of conquest—we cannot explain to the satisfaction of the reader; certain it is, the Austrian Netherlands were at this juncture entirely destitute of troops, except the French garrisons of Ostend and Nieuport, which were weak and inconsiderable. Had ten thousand English troops been landed on the coast of Blankenburg, they might have taken possession of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp, without resistance, and joined the hereditary prince in the heart of the country; in that case he would have found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and might have made such a diversion in favour of Hanover, as to transfer the seat of war from Westphalia into Flanders. The empress-queen might, indeed, have been induced, from the formality of declaring war against her, not been observed by Great Britain, but considering that she was the declared enemy of Hanover, and had violated the barrier treaties, in establishing which the kingdom of Great Britain had lavished away so much blood and treasure, a step of this kind, we apprehend, might have been taken, without any imputation of perfidy or injustice. Whatever the motives of the prince's expedition might have been, he certainly quitted the grand army of the allies in the month of September, and traversing Westphalia, with twenty battalions, and as many squadrons, appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbeck and Dusseldorp. On the twenty-ninth day of the month he sent a large detachment over the river at Roorst, which surprised part of the French partisan Fischer's corps at Rhynberg, and scoured the country. Next day, other parties, crossing at Rees and Emmerick, took possession of some of the places which the French had raised along the bank of the river; and here they found a number of boats, sufficient to transport the rest of the forces. Then the prince advanced to Cleve; and at his approach the French garrison retired; a body of five hundred men, under the command of M. de Barré, retired into the castle, which, however, they did not long defend; for on the third day of October they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, having in vain endeavoured to obtain more favourable conditions.
§ LXIII. A more important object was Wesel, which the prince invested and began to besiege in form. The approaches were made on the right of the Rhine, while the prince, preceding the army, passed over the Rhine, and kept his communication open with the other side, by a bridge above and another below the place. He had hoped to carry it by a vigorous exertion, without the formality of a regular siege, but he met with a warmer reception than he had expected; and his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, by swelling the river, endangered his bridges, and laid his trenches under water. The difficulties and delays occasioned by this circumstance entirely frustrated his design. The French, being quite acquainted with his motious, were not slow in taking measures to anticipate his success. M. de Castries was detached after him with thirty battalions and thirty-eight squadrons; and, by forced marches, arrived on the fourteenth day of October at Rhynberg, where the prince's light troops were posted. He attacked immediately, and compelled to abandon the post, notwithstanding all the efforts of the forces, who commanded in person, and appeared in the warmest parts of this short butsingular affair. The enemy, leaving five battalions, with some squadrons, at Rhynberg, marched by the left, and encamped behind the convent at Campen. The prince, having received intimation of these events, felt perhaps some forebodings that were on the march, determined to be beforehand with them, and attempt that very night to surprise him in his camp. For this purpose he began his march at evening, after having detached, five battalions, and five squadrons, under General Hock, with instructions to observe Rhynberg, and attack that post, in case the attempt on Campen should succeed. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the necessity of crossing a river to avoid the threatened encampment of irregulars which occupied the convent of Campen, at the distance of half a league in their front. This service occasioned some firing, the noise of which alarmed the French and animated their troops. A body of over-powering Fusilier's corps of irregulars which occupied the convent of Campen, at the distance of half a league in their front. This service occasioned some firing, the noise of which alarmed the French and animated their troops. A body of over-powering Fusilier's corps of irregulars, which did not show signs of retreat, which was not effected without confusion, and left the field of battle to the enemy. His loss, on this occasion, did not fall short of sixteen hundred choice men, killed, wounded, and captured; and the loss of Great Britain, who were always found in the foremost ranks of danger. All the officers, both of infantry and dragoons, distinguished themselves remarkably, and many were dangerously wounded. Among these, the nation regretted the loss of Lord Downe, whose wounds proved mortal; he was a young nobleman of spirit, who had lately embraced a military life, though he was not regularly trained in the service.

§ LXIV. Next day, which was the sixteenth of October, the enemy attacked an advanced body of the allies, which was posted in a wood near Everick, and extended along the Rhine. The firing of cannon and musketry was maintained till six o'clock of the night. The advance of the French infantry, commanded by M. de Cabot, marched through Walsch, and took post among the thicket, at the distance of a quarter of a league, in the front of the prince's army. By this time the Rhine was so much swelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in such a manner, that it was necessary to repair, and move lower down, the bridge which had been thrown over that river. This work was performed in the presence of the enemy; and the prince, passing without molestation, in order to Brummen, where he fixed his head-quarters. His passing the Rhine so easily, under the eye of a victorious army so much superior to him in number, may be counted among the fortunate incidents of his life. Such was the issue of this expedition which exposed the projector of it to the imputation of temerity. Whatever his arm might have been, besides the reduction of Wesel, with the strength of which he did not seem to have been well acquainted, he certainly miscarried in his design; and his miscarriage was attended with the loss of the most important part of the column, which, not only by the action, but also by the dangers engendered from the wet weather, the fatigue of long marches, and the want of proper conveniences, to mention the enormous expense in contingencies incurred by this fruitless undertaking.

§ LXV. In the month of November, while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, a body of the enemy attempted to beat up his quarters; having received intelligence of their designs, he flanked them in his advanced posts, and made a disposition for giving them a proper reception. He abandoned the tents that were in the front of his camp, and posted his infantry in ambushes behind those that were in the rear; at the same time he ordered some regiments of horse and hussars to fetch a compass, and fall upon the back of the enemy. This stratagem succeeded to his wish. The French detachment, believing the allies actually about their camp, began to pile up the tents in the utmost disorder; then the infantry sallied from the place where they were concealed, and fell upon them with great impetuousity: the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank. In a short time defeated by some resistance, they retreated to Wesel on this expedition, scarce two hundred escaped.

§ LXVI. The Duke de Broglie endeavoured, by sundry means, to take advantage of the allied army on the other side of the river; but left four-hundred horses, four squadrons, and twenty-three guns on the bank of the river. The destruction of Wesel and the breach of the walls of the town; the occupation of the bridge; the capture of Castries; the reduction of the camp of several regiments, and the retreat of the great Duke d'Orleans with his troops under the hereditary prince; but he found Prince Ferdinand too vigilant to be surprised, and too strongly situated to be attacked with any prospect of success. He therefore continued himself with his army, and detached two regiments of horse under the command of M. de Steimmile, with a considerable body of forces, to penetrate into the heart of Hanover: and on the fifteenth day of September, that officer falling in with a detachment of the allies, commanded by Major Bullow, was repulsed with great loss; the French, in warm and obstinate engagement, were defeated, and driven to Bulemont, with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and a good number of men, who fell into the hands of the victors. After this exploit, M. de Steimmile advanced to Halberstadt, and demanded of that capital a contribution of one million five hundred thousand livres: but the citizens had been so drawn by former exactions, that they could not raise above thirty thousand; for the remainder the French paid a tax for their victualling. The French took horses, with whom he crossed to the grand army encamped at Cassel, from whence they in a little time fell back as far as Gottingen.

§ LXVII. As the enemy retreated, Prince Ferdinand advanced his army in pursuit of the allies, established his headquarters about the latter end of November. While he remained in this position, divers skirmishes happened in the neighbourhood of Gottingen. Major-General Friedenbach, at the head of two regiments of Hanoverian and Brunswick guards, with a detachment of cavalry, attacked, on the twenty-ninth day of November, the French post at Heydemunde, upon the river Worrau. This he carried, took possession of the town, which the enemy hastily abandoned. Part of their detachment crossed the river in boats; the rest threw themselves into an intrenchment that covered the passage, which the allies endeavoured to force in several unsuccessful attempts, called as they were by the fire of the French and allies's artillery, which did not make the least impression. In the length M. Friedenbach was obliged to desist, and fell back into the town; from whence he retired at midnight, after having sustained considerable damage. Prince Ferdinand had it very much at heart to drive the French from Gottingen, and accordingly invested that city; but the French garrison, which was numerous and well provided, made such a vigorous defence, as baffled all the endeavours of the allies, who were moreover impeded by the rainy weather, to march in the night, and to destroy them from undertaking the siege in form. Nevertheless, they kept the place blocked up from the twenty-second day of November to the twelfth of the following month; when the garrison, in a desperate extremity, sent the issue of the Jacobin posts, and compelled them to raise the blockade. About the middle of December, Prince Ferdinand retired.
into winter-quarters; he himself residing at Uslar, and the
English troops being cantoned in the hospitable of Puder-
burse. Thus the enemy were left in possession of Hesse,
and the whole artillery, and a considerable part of the
forces of the elector of Hanover. If the allied army had
not been weakened for the sake of a rash, ill-concerted,
and unsuccessful expedition to the Lower Rhine, in all
probability the French would have been obliged to abandon
the footing they had gained in the course of this campaign;
and in particular to retreat from Gottingen, which they now
maintained and fortified with great diligence and circum-
scription.

CHAP. XIV.

§ 1. Exploit of the Swedes in Pomerania. § 1. Skirmishes between the
French and Austrians in Silesia. § 2. Position of the armies in
Silesia and Saxony. § 3. General Laudon defeats General Fouquet,
and occupies Klessen. § 4. And here begins the turn of Prussia, which is
repeated by Prince Henry of Prussia. § 5. The King of Prussia
marches into Silesia. § 6. The King of Prussia visits. § 7. The
march into Silesia. § 8. Defeat near Silesia, and loss to the
French of one hundred and twenty-eight men. § 9. The
march into Silesia. § 10. The King of Prussia
marches into Silesia. § 11. The march into Silesia. § 12. Death of
Prussian King Henry II. § 13. His character.

§ 1. The King of Prussia, after all his
labours, notwithstanding the great talents he had displayed, and the incredible efforts he had made, still found himself surrounded by his enemies, and in danger of being crushed by their closing, and contracting their
circle. Even the Swedes, who had languished so long, seemed to be resumed to exertion in Pomerania, during
the severity of the winter season. The Prussian General
Manteuffel had, on the twentieth day of January, passed the
river Peene, overthrew the advanced posts of the enemy
at Zieten, and penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of
Grieswale; but finding the Swedes on their guard, he
returned to Anclam, where his head-quarters were
established. This result was soon recalled with interest. On
the twenty-eighth day of the month, at five in the morning,
a body of Swedes attacked the Prussian troops posted in
the suburbs of Anclam, on the other side of the Peene, and
draw a brisk fire from thence to Gollmack; at the same time
General Manteuffel, being alarmed, endeavoured to rally
the troops; but was wounded and taken, with about two
hundred men, and three pieces of cannon. The victors,
having achieved this exploit, returned to their own quarters.
As for the Russian army, which had winterted on the other
side of the Vistula, the season was pretty far advanced
before it could take the field; though General Tottleben
was detached from it, about the beginning of June, at the head
of ten thousand Cossacks, and other light troops, with which
he made an irruption into Pomerania, and established his
head-quarters at Belgrad.

§ 2. At the beginning of the campaign the King of
Prussia, with great precautions for the preservation of
Silesia, the conquest of which seemed to be the
principal object with the court of Vienna. While the
Austrian army, under Marshal Count Daun, lay strongly
interested in the neighbourhood of Dresden, the King of
Prussia had endeavoured, in the month of December, to
make him quit this advantageous situation, by cutting off
his provisions, and making an irruption into Bohemia.
For these purposes he had sent a number of troops from
Cappel-
wa1de, Maxen, and Prettendorf, as if he intended to enter
Bohemia by the way of Passberg; but this scheme being
found impracticable, he returned to his camp at Freyberg;
and in January the Prussian and Austrian armies were
campaigning so near each other, that daily skirmishes
were fought with much success. The head of the Prussian
camp was formed by a body of four thousand men under
General Zettwiz, who, on the twenty-ninth day of Janu-
ary, was attacked with such impetuosity by the Austrian
General Beck, that he retreated in great confusion to Pord-
gau, with the loss of five hundred men, eight pieces of
artillery, and a considerable quantity of baggage, and
other baggage. Another advantage of the same nature was
gained by the Austrians at Neustadt, over a small body of
Prossians who occupied that city. In the month of March,
General Laudon, with a very small detachment of horse
and foot, in order to surprise the Prussians, who, in
attempting to effect a retreat to Steinau, were surrounded
accordingly, and very roughly handled. General Laudon
summoned them twice by sound of trumpet to lay down
their arms; but their commanders, the Captains Blumen-
thal and Zettwiz, rejecting the proposal with disdain, the
enemy attacked them on all hands with a great superiority
of number. In this emergency the Prussian captains
formed their troops into a square, and by a close continued
fire kept the Prussians at bay; until, perceiving that
the Croats had taken possession of a wood between Sieben-
hausen and Steinau, they, in apprehension of being inter-
cepted, abandoned their baggage, and forced their way to
Steinau, which they reached with great difficulty, having
been continually harassed by the Austrians, who paid dear
for this advantage. Several other petty exploits of this
kind were achieved by detachments on both sides before
the campaign was brought to a close. The King of Prussia
attacked a detachment of the enemy near Count Daun,
and at the same time detached a body of troops, as a reinforce-
were killed or taken; but the loss of the victors is said to have exceeded that of the vanquished. In July General Laudon undertook the siege of Glazt, which was taken after a very stout resistance; for on the very day the batteries were opened against the place, the garrison abandoned part of the fortifications, which the besiegers immediately occupied. The Prussians made repeated efforts to recover the place before it had lost; but they were repulsed in all their attempts. At length the garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. From this tame behaviour of the Prussians, one might imagine the garrison to be no very strong. A resistance which one cannot reconcile with the known sagacity of the Prussian monarch, as the place was of great importance, on account of the immense magazine it contained, including above one hundred brass cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vast quantity of ordnance.

V. Laudohn, encouraged by his success at Glazt, advanced immediately to Breslau, which he began to bombard with great fury; but, before he could make a regular attack, he found himself obliged to retire. Prince Henry of Prussia, one of the most accomplished generals which this age produced, having received repeated intelligence that the Russian army intended to join Laudon at Breslau, was ordered to advance before the purposeted junction. In the latter end of July he began his march from Giessen, and on the last day of that month had reached Linden, near Slavie, where he understood that Tottel's detachment only had passed through the place of Polnisch-Lissa, and that the second division of Lavrustin, had marched through Kosten and Gustin. The prince, finding it impossible to pursue them by that route, directed his march to Glogau, where he learnt that Breslau was besieged by General Laudon, and immediately advanced by forced marches to its relief. Such was his expedition, that in five days he marched above one hundred and twenty English miles; and at his approach the Austrian governor, and by his prudence and activity, he not only prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies, but also saved the capital of Silesia, and hampered Laudon in such a manner as subjected him to a defeat by the Prussian monarch, to whose motions we shall now turn our attention.

VI. Whether his design was originally upon Dresden, or he purposed to co-operate with his brother Prince Henry of Silesia, which his adversities seemed to have pitched upon as the scene of his operations, we cannot presume to determine; but certain it is, he, in the beginning of July, began his march to two columns through Lusatia; and Count Daun being informed of his march, ordered his army to join the march of the army of Saxony in the same manner, and by the body of troops under Lacy, to guard Saxony in his absence, he marched with great expedition towards Silesia, in full persuasion that the Prussian monarch would contest his route. In the month of July, the king, knowing that Daun was now removed at a distance, repassed the Pulants, which he had passed but two days before, and advanced with the van of his army towards Lichtenberg, in order to attack the forces of General Lacy, who was posted there; but the Austrians retired at his approach. Then the army marched to Marienstern, where the king received intelligence that Count Daun was in full march for Lauban, having already gained two marches upon the Prussians. Perhaps it was this distrust that determined the king to change his plans, and return to the Elbe. On the eighth day of the month he repassed the Sprehe, in the neighbourhood of Lauban, and began an attack upon the Prussians. On the thirteenth, his army having passed the Elbe at Kudetz, on a bridge of boats, encamped between Pirna and Dresden, which last he resolved to besiege, in hopes of reducing that place. How far this expectation was well grounded, we must leave the reader to judge, after having observed that the place was now much more defensible than it had been when the last attack of the Austrians upon it miscarried; that it was secured, in a manner not to be ascribed to General Macquarie, an officer of courage and experience.

This governor was summoned to surrender, answered that, having the honour to be intrusted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the last extremity. Batteries were immediately raised against the town on both sides of the Elbe; and the poor inhabitants subjected to a dreadful devastation, that their calamities might either drive them to the castle, or induce them to embrace articles of capitulation; but these expedients proved ineffectual. Though the suburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried, this advantage made no impression on General Macquarie. The town was surrounded on every side, and the utmost precaution was taken for the defence of the city; encouraged moreover by the vicinity of Lacy's body, and the arm of the empire, encamped in an advantageous position near Gross Seydlitz; and confiding that Count Daun would hasten to his relief. In hope he was not disappointed; the Austrian general, finding himself shunted by the strategem of the Prussian monarch, and being made acquainted with his enterprise against Dresden, continued his march towards the castle with such rapidity, that on the nineteenth day of the month he reached the neighbourhood of the capital of Saxony. In consequence of his approach the King of Prussia, whose heavy artillery was not arrived, resolved to carry his efforts against the city, so as to reduce to ashes the cathedral church, the new square, several noble streets, some palaces, together with the curious manufactary of porcelain. His vengeance must have been levelled against the citizens; for it affected neither the fortresses, nor the Austrian garrison, which Count Daun found means to reinforce with sixteen battalions. This supply, and the neighbourhood of three hostile armies, rendered it altogether impossible for the city to be held. The king, therefore, abandoned the undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured to bring Daun to a battle, which that general cautiously avoided. The battle, on the seventh of August, was the least of its crisis. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his brother Prince Henry, the Russians were fast advancing to join Laudon, who had already blocked up Schweidnitz and Nessin, and their junction seemed to threaten the loss of Silesia. The king had nothing to oppose to superior numbers but superior
activity, of which he determined to avail himself without delay. Instead of making a feint towards Silesia, he resolved to march thither in earnest; and for that purpose, crossing the Elbe, encamped at Dallwitz, on the further bank of the river; leaving General Hulsen, with fifteen thousand men, to guard him, and to maintain his footing in Saxony. On the third day of August he began his march for Silesia, followed by Count Daun with the grand Austrian army; while the detached body under Lacy took post at Reichenberg, and the imperial Austrian army encamped between Kresan and Cossendon, at a distance of ten miles. Count Daun’s army formed the centre of this chain, possessing the heights of Waldstadt and Hoehkirk; General Laudohn covered the ground between Jeschkendorf and Coschitz; the rising grounds of Parchwitz were secured by General Nauendorff; and M. de Beck, who formed the left, extended his troops beyond Cossendon. The king himself, on the evening of the 11th, with a view to turn the enemy, and reached Jauer; but at break of day he discovered a new camp at Prasutins, which consisted of Lacy’s detachment, just arrived from Lauen. The Prussians immediately passed to Kattsbach, to attack this general, who had occupied the river barrier at the head of the army of Count Daun, that he not only baffled the endeavours of the king to bring him to action, but, by posting himself on the heights of Heimersdorf, anticipated his march to Jauer. In vain the Prussian monarch attempted next day to turn the enemy on the side of the mountains, by Ponsen and Jagersdorf; the roads were found impassable to the ammunition wagons, and the king returned to the camp at Lignitz.

§ 8. While he remained in this situation, he received advice that four and twenty thousand Russians, under Count Czernichew, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Aurn, where they intended to cross that river; and he concluded the enemy had formed a design to close him in, and attack him with their joint forces. Daun had indeed projected a plan for surprising him in the night, and had actually put his army in motion for that purpose; but he was anticipated by the vigilance and good fortune of the Prussian monarch. That prince, reflecting that if he should wait for his adversaries in his camp, he ran the risk of being attacked at the same time by Lacy on his right, and by the enemy in front, of which he had lowered his position, in order to disconcert their operations; and, on the fourteenth day of the month, marched to the heights of Pasaiendorf, where he formed his army in the front of that fortification. On the 21st of the month, that Laudohn was in full march advancing in columns by Becowitz, he divided his army into two separate bodies. One of these remained on the ground, in order to maintain the posts against any attempts that might be made by Count Daun to succour Laudohn; and that this service might be the more effectually performed, the heights were fortified with batteries, so judiciously disposed as to impede and overawe the whole Austrian army. The king having taken this precaution, wheeled about with sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons, on the 22nd of August, to fall upon Laudohn as he should advance; but that general knew nothing of his design, until he himself arrived at the village of Pusowitz, when he learnt that the assault was imminent. The sun was in its first dawning, and a thick fog gradually dispersing, the whole detachment of the Prussian army appeared in order of battle, in a well chosen situation, strengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the best advantage. Laudohn was not a little startled to find himself cast off in his own snare; but he had advanced too far to retrace; and therefore making a virtue of necessity, resolved to stand an engagement. With this view he formed his troops as well as he could, in three ranks, in view of the smoke and dust of the gunpowder, and the tumult of the approaching Prussian army. The king rode along the line to animate the troops, and superintended every part of the charge; having passed through the most dangerous parts of the battle to such a degree that his horse was killed under him, and his clothes were shot through in several places. The Austrians maintained the contest with great obstinacy until six in the morning, when they gave ground and were pursued to the Katschabach; beyond which the king would not allow his troops to prosecute the advantage they had obtained. At noon, however, it was perceived that Count Daun would succeed in his attempt to advance against them from Lignitz. The general had actually begun his march to fall upon the Prussians on one side, while Laudohn would attack on the other; and he was not a little surprised to find they were decamped; and when he perceived a thick cloud of smoke at a distance, he immediately comprehended the nature of the king’s management. He then attempted to advance by Lignitz; but the troops were disposed in such a manner as to prevent the general from marching, and to impede his advance at Pasaiendorf, to dispute his march, were so advantageously disposed, as to render all his efforts abortive. Laudohn is said to have lost in the action above eight thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, including eighty officers, with twenty-three pair of colours and eighty-two pieces of cannon; over and above this loss, the Austrian general suffered greatly by desertion. The Prussians obtained the victory at the expense of one general, with nine hundred men killed, and twelve hundred wounded. Immediately after the action the victory marched to Parchwitz; while Daun detached Prince Lowenstein and General Beck with the reserve of his army, to join Prince Czernichew, who had encamped the day before at an intrenched camp, and was intimidated by the defeat at Lignitz, that he forthwith passed that river, and Prince Lowenstein retired on the side of Jauer. By this bold and well conducted adventure, the Prussian monarch not only escaped the most imminent hazard of a total defeat from the joint efforts of two strong armies, but also prevented the dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian forces. His business was now to open the communication with Bethlen and thus break Prince Henry, whom he joined at Neumark. The prince, after Laudohn was obliged to relinquish the siege of Breslaw, had kept a watchful eye over the motions of the Russian army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of that city; and without all doubt would have bombard ed it from some commanding heights, had they not been prevented by Prince Henry, who took possession of these posts, and fortified them with redoubts. The king having freed Breslaw from the neighbourhood of his enemies, and being strengthened by the junction with his brother, left a considerable detachment under the command of General Boltz, to protect the country against the Russian invaders; while he himself proceeded to Schwedt, which was blocked up by the Austrian forces under the command of the Mareschal Count Daun. In his march he fell upon a separate body under General Beck, made two thousand prisoners, and engaged in the destruction of several squadrons. This achievement had such an effect upon the enemy, that they raised the blockade, and retreated with some precipitation to the mountains of Lidshut.

§ 9. While the king thus exerted himself, with a spirit altogether unexamined, in defending Silesia, General Hulsen, who commanded his troops in Saxony, was exposed to the most imminent danger. Understanding that the army of the empire had formed a design to cut off his communications with Torgau, he quitted his camp at Munsen, and marched to Streih. The enemy having divided their forces into two bodies, one of them, on the twelfth day of August, attacked an advanced post of the Prussians; while the other attacked another. He learnt to save Hulsen’s camp, and prevent him from taking any step for the relief of his battalions, who maintained their ground with difficulty against a superior number of the assailants. In this emergency the Prussian general ordered his cavalry to make a circuit round a rising ground, and, if possible, charge the enemy in flank. This order was executed with equal vigour and success. They fell upon the imperial army with such impetuosity, as drove their batteries and hussars before each other in instantaneous confusion. A considerable number of the enemy were slain, and forty-one officers, with twelve hundred men, made prisoners. By this advantage, which was obtained at a very small expense, General Hulsen opened for himself a way to Torgau, whether he instantly retreated, or taken
that the whole army of the imperialists was advancing to cut off his communication with the Elbe. This retreat furnished the enemy with a pretext for claiming the victory.

§ 4. After all these heroic endeavours of the Prussian monarch and his officers, his fate remained in such a desperate situation as seemed to press approaching ruin: for though in person he commanded a numerous and well-appointed army, he found it absolutely impossible to drive the Russians out of Saxony, without the aid of the different detachments from the three separate armies of his adversaries. Bodies of Austrian troops secured the country of Lusatia; the Russians traversed the part of Silesia, and made inroads even into Brandenburg. The imperial army was stationed in Saxony, confronting the Swedish army, meeting with no opposition, advanced into the heart of Pomerania; so that the king was not only threatened on every side, but all correspondence between him and his hereditary dominions was at this juncture intercepted.

§ 5. His adversaries, having been hitherto baffled by his activity and resolution in their designs upon Silesia, now meditated a scheme, the execution of which he could not but feel in the most sensible manner. The Russian army being on its retreat from Silesia, Count Czerniechow was sent with a strong detachment into the March of Brandenburg; while a numerous body of Austrians advanced into Lusatia, proceeded to the same country from Saxony, with instructions to join the Russians at the gates of Berlin. The Prussian general, Hulsen, finding himself too weak to cope with the army of the empire in Mosina, had fallen back to this extremity, where he was joined by the first sumptuous articles of capitulation of the French, which, being refused, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In favour of the city the foreign ministers there residing interposed their mediation with such zeal and activity, that in a very short time the inhabitants were indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and immunity from violence to their persons and effects. The enemy promised that the Russian irregulars should not enter the town; before the great armies appeared. At their approach the Prussian generals retreated, leaving three weak battalions in the place, in hopes they might be the means of obtaining some sort of terms for the city. They made no resistance, however; but after the first sumptuous articles of capitulation of the French, which had been their best resource; and in danger of being driven into his hereditary country of Brandenburg, which was unable either to maintain, or even to recruit, his army. The enemy, on this occasion, made a great effort against the grand Austrian army, under Count Daun, who had passed the Elbe at Torgau, and advanced to Eulentburg, from whence however he retreated to his former camp at Torgau; and the king chose his situation between this last place and Schultza, at Langeseuchen, where his horses attacked a body of horse under General Breslano, and made four hundred prisoners. The right wing of the Austrians being at Grosseuth, and their left at Torgau, the Prussian king determined to attack them next day, which was the third of November. His design was to march through the wood of Torgau by three different routes, with thirty battalions and fifty squadrons of horse, and left wing of the licentious soldiery of Markrene to Neuden; the second, by Pechkutz to Elsnack; and the third, consisting of cavalry, to penetrate by the wood of Wildenhain to Vogelsang. On the other hand, General Zieten was directed to take the great Leipzig road, with thirty battalions and seventy squadrons of the right; and, quitting it at the ponds of Torgau, to attack the villages of Spant and Grosseuth. The king's line, in its march, fell in with a corps of Austrians under General Wolziger, which was in the forest of all the above, and another more considerable body, posted in the wood of Wildenhain, likewise retreated to Grosseuth, after having fired some pieces of artillery; but the dragon's of St. Leon, being engaged between two bodies of infantry, were either killed or taken. By two in the afternoon the king had penetrated through the wood to the
plain of Neiden, from whence another body of the enemy retired to Torgau. The Elector of Saxony, on small arms declared that General Zieten was already engaged. The Prussians immediately advanced at a quicker pace, and passing the morasses near Neiden, mellowed to the right in three lines, and soon came to action. Dorn had chosen a very advantageous situation; his right extended to Gersowich, and his left to Zinne; while his infantry occupied some eminences along the road of Leipsic, and his front was strengthened with no less than two hundred cannon. Upon a comparison of forces, the Prussians had the advantage on an extent of ground, which terminated in hillocks to wards the Elbe; and against this the king directed his attack. It had already given his troops to understand, that the Prussian army was in such a situation, they must either conquer or perish: and they began the battle with the most desperate impetuosity; but they met with such a warm reception from the artillery, small arms, and in particular from the Austrian carabiniers, that their grenadiers were shattered and repulsed. The second charge, though enforced with incredible vigour, was equally unsuccessful: then the king ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon some regiments of infantry with such fury as obliged them to give way. These, however, were compelled to retire, in their turn, before about seventy battalions of the enemy, who advanced towards Torgau, stretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to Zinne. While the Prussians dispersed their cavalry, and returned to the charge, the third line of Prussian infantry, under the general of the vineyard of Suptitt, and General Zieten, with the right wing, took the enemy in rear. This disposition threw the Austrians into disorder; which was greatly augmented by the disaster of Count Daux, who was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and carried off the field of battle. But the Prussians could not pursue their victory, because the action had lasted until nine; and the night being unusually dark, they hesitated in their design against Hanover. Their loss was considerable; for they lost the Elbe on three bridges of boats thrown over the river at Torgau. The victor possessed the field of battle, with seven thousand prisoners, including two hundred officers, twenty-one pair of colours, one standard, and about forty pieces of cannon. The carnage was very great on both sides: about three thousand Prussians were killed, and five thousand wounded; and, in the first attack, two general officers, with fifteen hundred soldiers, were made prisoners by the enemy. The king, as usual, exposed his person in every part of the battle, and a musket-ball grazed upon his breast. In the morning the King of Prussia entered Torgau; then he secured Meissen, and took possession of this celebrated city. The notification of this unexpected victory, his position was nearly the same at the opening of the campaign.

§ XIII. The Austrians, however, notwithstanding this chat decided to evacuate ground in the neighbourhood of Dresden; while the Prussians overtook them on the outskirts of cantonment in and about Leipsic and Meissen. As the Austrian general had, after the battle, recalled his detachment, General Landowk abandoned Landschut, which again fell into the hands of the Prussians, and the imperial army was obliged to retire into Franconia. The Swedes, having penetrated a great way into Pomerania, returned again to their winter-quarters at Stralsund; and the Russian general marched back to his way to the Vistula; so that the Confederates gained little else in the course of this campaign, but the contributions which they raised in Berlin, and the open country of Brandenburgh. Had all the allies been heartily bent upon crushing the Prussian monarch, one would imagine the Russians and Swedes might have joined their forces in Pomerania, and made good their winter-quarters in Brandenburgh, where they could have been supplied with materials from the Baltic, and been able to march in execution of their plan. But, in all probability, such an establishment in the empire would have given umbrage to the Germanic body.

§ XIV. The diet of Poland being assembled in the beginning of the same period, some of the diet, torn by the disputes between the partisans of France and the partisans of Prussia, and by the disputes between the partisans of, the diet, tore up a tumultuous manner, even before they had been chosen a marshal. The elector of Saxony, having brooked the abuse about the same period, seemed determined to proceed upon business. They elected Count Axel Ferson, their grand marechal, in opposition to Count Horn, by a great majority; which was an unlucky circumstance for the Prussian interest at Stockholm, insomuch as the same majority obstinately persisted in opinion, that the war should be prosecuted in the spring with redoubled vigour, and the army in Germany reinforced to the number of at least thirty thousand foot and horse. This circumstance made but little impression upon the Prussian monarch, who had maintained his ground with surprising resolution and success since the beginning of this campaign; and now enjoyed, in prosperous winter, which he is said to have termed his best auxiliary.

§ XV. The animosity which inflamed the contending parties was not confined to the operations in war, but broke out, as usual, in printed declarations, which the belligerent powers diffused all over Europe. In the beginning of the season the states of the circle of Westphalia had been required, by the imperial court, to furnish their contingent of troops against the King of Prussia, or to commute for this contingent with a sum of money. In consequence of this demand, some of the Westphalian estates had sent deputies to confer with the assembly of the circle of Cologne; and to these the king signified, by a declaration dated at Munster, that as this demand of money was extraordinary than contrary to the constitutions of the empire, should they comply with it, or even continue to assist his enemies, either with troops or money, he would consider them as having actually taken part in the war against him and his allies, and treat them accordingly on all occasions. This intimation produced little effect in his favour. The Duke of Mecklenbourg adhered to the opposite cause; and the Elector of Cologne co-operated with the French in support of it. The way of revolution for this partiality, the Prussians ravaged the country of Mecklenburg, and the Hanoverians levied contributions in the territories of Cologne. The parties thus aggrieved bad recourse to complaints and remonstrances. The duke's envoy at Ratisbon communicated a rescript to the imperial ministers, representing that the Prussian troops under General Werner and Colonel de Bellug, had distressed his country in the autumn by grievous exactions; that afterwards Prince Eugen of Wurttemberg, in the service of Prussia, had demanded an exorbitant quantity of provisions, with some millions of money, and a great number of recruits; or, in lieu of these, that the duke's forces should act under the command of Hanover. By way of retaliation for this partiality, the Prussians ravaged the country of Mecklenburg, and almost depopulated, by their oppressions, the dukedom, which would put a stop to these violent proceedings. This declaration was by some considered as the prelude to his renouncing his engagements with the house of Austria. As the imperial court had threatened to put the Elector of Hanover under the ban of the empire, in consequence of the hostilities which his troops had committed in the electorate of Cologne, his resident at Ratisbon delivered to the ministers who assisted at the diet a memorial, requesting that the emperor should be power, singly, to subject any prince to the ban, or declare him a rebel; and that, by arrogating such a power, he exposed his authority to the same contempt into which the Pope's bulls of excommunication were so justly fallen. With respect to the Elector of Cologne, he observed, that this prince was the first who commenced hostilities, by allowing his troops to co-operate with the French in their invasion of Hanover, and by celebrating with rejoicings at Ratisbon the advantages which they had gained at Warsaw; he therefore gave the states of the empire to understand, that the best way of screening their subjects from hostile treatment would be a strict observance of neutrality in the present disputes of the empire.

§ XVI. This was a strain much more affectual among princes and powers who are generally actuated by interested motives, than was the repetition of complaints, equally pathetic and unwavering, uttered by the unfortunate King
of Poland, Elector of Saxony. The damage done to his capital by the last attack of the Prussian monarch on that city, affected the old king in such a manner, that he published at Vienna an appeal to all the powers of Europe, from the outcry and unpremeditated outrages which distinguished the course of his adversaries in Saxony. All Europe participated in the fate of this exiled prince, and sympathized with the distress of his country; but, in the breasts of his enemies, reasons of state and convenience overruled the suggestions of humanity; and his friends had but little chance of securing themselves in vain for the deliverance of his people.

§ XVII. From this detail of continental affairs, our attention is naturally recalled to Great Britain, by an incident of a very interesting nature, that occurred in the month of June, which, however, shall postpone till we have recorded the success that, in the course of this year, attended the British arms in the East Indies. We have already observed, that Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general, Lally, in the field, and reduced divers of the enemy's settlements on the coast of Coromandel, at length cooped them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal seat of the French East India company, large, populous, well fortified, and secured with a numerous garrison, under the immediate command of their general. In the month of October Admiral Stevens sailed from Trincomalee with all his squadron, in order to its being detached, except five sail of the line, which, under the command of Captain Udall, he forced on land to block up Pondicherry by sea, while Mr. Coote carried on his operations by land. By this dispositions, and the vigilance of the British officers, the place was so hemmed, as to be completely distrest for want of provisions, even before the enemy could be enabled to take a regular position; and it was rendered all regular approaches impracticable. These being taken by the twenty-sixth day of November, Colonel Coote directed the engineers to patch up on proper places for erecting batteries, that should enable the French to flank the work of the garrison, without exposing their own men to any severe fire from the enemy. Accordingly, four batteries were constructed in different places, so as to overlook the enemy's quarters, and opened artillery on the eighth day of December at midnight. Though raised at a considerable distance, they were fired with good effect, and the besieged returned the fire with great vivacity. This mutual cannonading continued until the twenty-ninth day of the month, when the engineers were employed in raising another battery, near enough to effect a breach in the north-west counter-guard and curtain. Though the approaches were rendered some days a violent storm, which almost ruined the works, the damage was so repaired, a considerable post was taken from the enemy by assault, and afterwards regained by the French garrisons, through the intrepidity of the sepoys by whom it was occupied. By the twenty-seventh, the magazines and guns were exhausted within point-blank: a breach was made in the curtain; the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were rained, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The garrison and inhabitants of Pondicherry were now reduced to an extremity of famine which would admit of no hesitation. General Lally sent a colonel, attended by the chief of the Jesuits, and two civilians, to Mr. Coote, with proposals of surrendering the garrison prizes of war, and demanding a capitulation in behalf of the French East India company. On this last subject he made no reply; but next morning took possession of the town and citadel, where he found a great quantity of artillery, ammunition, ammunitions, and military stores; then he secured the garrison, amounting to above two thousand Europeans. Lally made a gallant defence; and, had he been properly supplied with provision, the conquest of the place would not have been so easily achieved. He certainly flatter-

ed himself with the hopes of being supplied; otherwise an effect of his experience would have demanded a capitulation, before he was reduced to the necessity of acquiescing in the conqueror's terms, which might have thought it proper to impose. That he spared no pains to procure supplies, appears from an intercepted letter written by this commander to Monsieur Raymond, French resident at Pullicat.—The bill is no bad sketch of the writer's character, which seems to have a strong tincture of oddity and extravagance.
instance upon record. A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a healthy constitution, unaccustomed to excess, and far advanced beyond that period of life when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity.

§ XX. Thus died George II. at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years, distinguished by a very important character, and marked by a succession of vicissitudes of fortune. He was in his person taller than the middle size, well shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion. In his disposition he is said to have been hasty, prone to anger, and much addicted to the use of strong words.

The administration, under which his fortune, his fortune, was a step so likely to aggravate the disorder of the nation, so big with cruelty, ingratitude, and insolence, that it seems to deserve an appellation which, however, we do not think proper to bestow. An inglorious war was succeeded by the death of a people, which proved of short duration; yet in this interval England exhibited such a proof of commercial opulence, as astonished all Europe. At the close of a war which had drained it of so much treasure, and increased the public debt to an enormous burden, the great national interest was not one would hardly think the ministry durst have proposed, even before one half of the national debt was contracted. A much more unpopular step was a law that passed for naturalizing the Jews—a law so odious to the people in general, that it was soon repealed, at the request of that minister by whom it had been chiefly patronized.

An ill-concerted peace was in a little time productive of fresh hostilities, and another war with France, which Britain began to prosecute under unfavourable auspices. Then the whole political system of Germany was inverted. The King of England abandoned the interest of that house, which had so long been protected, and took into his bosom a prince whom he had formerly considered as his inveterate enemy. The unpriuipitous beginning of this war against France being imputed to the minister of the day, the conduct of that minister was fiercely assailed by the people, as seemed to threaten a dangerous insurrection. Every part of the kingdom resounded with the voice of dissatisfaction, which did not even respect the throne. The king found himself obliged to accept of a minister presiding over the people; and the measure was attended with consequences as favourable as his wish could form. From that instant all clamour was hushed; all opposition ceased. The enterprising spirit of the new minister, it is true, itself carried that spirit into the war; and conquest every where attended the efforts of the British arms. Now appeared the fallacy of those maxims, and the falsehood of those assertions, by which former ministers had established, and endeavoured to excuse, the practices of corruption. The supposed dissolution, which had been insisted on as the source of parliamentary opposition, now entirely vanished; nor was it found necessary to unmask means for securing a majority, in order to answer the purposes of the administration. England, for the first time, saw a minister of state in full possession of popularity. Under the auspices of this minister, it saw a national militia formed, and trained to discipline by the most regular spirit; the general machine of contrivance, contrived to secure a constant majority in parliament, was overturned, and the inventor of it obliged to quit the reins of government. Professed patriots, who had, in one particular instance, meted out punishment, and destroyed persons, in the name of the people, is now found necessary to unmask means for securing a majority, in order to answer the purposes of the administration. England, for the first time, saw a minister of state in full possession of popularity. Under the auspices of this minister, it saw a national militia formed, and trained to discipline by the most regular spirit; the general machine of contrivance, contrived to secure a constant majority in parliament, was overturned, and the inventor of it obliged to quit the reins of government. Professed patriots, who had, in one particular instance, meted out punishment, and destroyed persons, in the name of the people, is now found necessary. Nor did they murmur at seeing great part of their treasure diverted into foreign channels; nor did they seem to bestow a serious thought on the accumulating load of the national debt, which already exceeded the immense sum of one hundred millions.

§ XXI. In a word, they were intoxicated with victory; and as the king happened to die in the midst of their transports, asseconded by the final conquest of Canada, their good humour, their spirit, and the general magnificence of encomiums. A thousand pens were drawn to paint the beauties and sublimity of his character, in poetry as well as prose. They extolled him above Alexander in courage and heroism, above Twelve in magnificence, in clemency, Antoninus in piety and benevolence, Solomon in wisdom, and St. Edward in devotion. Such hyperbolical eulogiums served only to throw a ridicule upon a character which was otherwise respectable. The two unver-
sities vied with each other in lamenting his death; and each published a huge collection of elegies on the subject: nor did they fail to exalt his praise, with the warmest expressions of affection and regret, in the compliments of condolence and congratulation which they presented to his successor. The same panegyric and pathos appeared in all the addresses with which every other subject in the kingdom approached the throne of our present sovereign; insomuch that we may venture to say, no prince was ever more popular at the time of his decease. The English are naturally warm and picturesque; and in generous natures, although not those of any other passion run not. The sudden death of the king was lamented as a national misfortune by many, who felt a truly filial affection for their country; not that they implicitly subscribed to all the exaggerations which had by the liberally poored forth on his character; but because the nation was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while involved in a dangerous and expensive war, of which he had been personally the chief mover and support. They knew the burden of royalty devolved upon a young prince, who, though heir-apparent to the crown, and already arrived at years of maturity, had never been admitted to any share of the administration, nor made acquainted with any schemes or secrets of state. The real character of the new king was very little known to the generality of the nation. They dreaded an abrupt change of measures, which might have rendered useless all the advantages obtained in the course of the war. As they were ignorant of any plans they dreamed of, of the ministry, which might fill the kingdom with danger and confusion. But the greatest shock occasioned by his death was undoubtedly among our allies and fellow-subjects, who, by his death, were deprived of their prop and patron, at a time when they could not pretend of themselves to make head against the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded. But these obstinate and apprehensive nations, like mice before the rising sun; and the people of Great Britain enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of seeing this foes repaired in such a manner, as must have ample fulfilled the most sagacious wishes of those who undertook good works.

§ XXIII. The commerce of Great Britain continued to increase during the whole course of this reign; but the increase was not the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the necessities of government, the growing expenses of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impositions: its increase, therefore, must have been owing to the natural progress of interest, and the sure and certain advantages that arise from the lowest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffic has flowed to its highest mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ced, until it reaches the same limits as before: War, which naturally impedes the traffic of other nations, had opened new sources to the merchants of Great Britain; the superiority of her naval power had crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce; so that she now supplied, on her own terms, all those foreign markets at which, in time of peace, she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade was augmented to a surprising pitch; and this great augmentation alone enabled her to maintain the war at such an enormous expense. As this advantage will cease when the French are at liberty to re-establish their commerce, and prosecute it without molestation, it would be for the interest of Great Britain to be at continual variance with that restless neighbour, provided the contest could be limited to the operations of a sea-war, in which England would be always invincible and victorious. The writers of the humane and were freely and fully exercised in this reign. Considerable progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by divers individuals; among whom we number Sanderson, Bradley, and Newton, and the two Briosi. Philosophy became a general study; and the new doctrine of electricity grew into fashion. Different methods were discovered for rendering sea-water potable and sweet; and divers useful hints were communicated to the public by the learned Doctor Stephen Hales, who directed all his researches and experiments to the benefit of society. The study of alchemy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemistry was perfectly understood, and assiduously applied to the purposes of sophistication. The clergy of Great Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare, were pronounced the first ministers of the church who had long signalized himself by the strength and boldness of his genius, his extensive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But these promotions were granted to reasons of state convenience, and personal friendship, rather than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other ecclesiastics of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was ecclesiastical merit confined to the established church. Many instances of extraordinary genius, unattached to any visible denomination, appeared among the dissenting ministers of Great Britain and Ireland: among these we particularize the elegant, the primitive Foster; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

§ XXV. The progress of reason, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not, however, entirely banished those ridiculous sects and schisms of which the kingdom had been formerly so productive. Impositions and fanaticism still hung upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusion of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affection of superior sanctity, and maintained by pretensions to some intimations in the mysteries of the faith. Many of the lower ranks of life were infected with this species of enthusiasm, by the unwarued endeavours of a few obscure preachers, such as Whitfield, and the two Wesleys, who propagated their doctrine to the most remote and least instructed parts of the nation. Many of these preachers, in order to raise their sabbaths, and to enable their own brethren to acquit themselves of their sole prop and patron, at a time when they could not pretend of themselves to make head against the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded. But all these sects and apprehensions vanished like mist before the rising sun; and the people of Great Britain enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of seeing this foes repaired in such a manner, as must have ample fulfilled the most sagacious wishes of those who undertook good works.
his intention of prosecuting works of public emulation; they obtained a settlement under a parliamentary sanction in England, where they soon made a considerable number of proselytes, before their principles were fully discovered and explained.

§ XXVI. Many ingenious treatises on metaphysics and morality appeared in the course of this reign, and a philosophical spirit of inquiry diffused itself to the utmost extremities of the united kingdom. Though few discoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well understood in all its different branches, and many of its professors distinguished themselves in other provinces of literature. Besides the numerous essays on Eden and Bute, the library of London contributed to the improvement of surgery, which was brought to perfection under the auspices of a Cheshireman and a Sharpe. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flourished in the country, as large, in oil and grain, were increased nearly to the most remote and barren provinces of the island.

§ XXVII. The mechanic powers were well understood, and judiciously applied to many useful machines of necessary and domestic use; particularly the building and construction of all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the avowance and oppressions of contractors obliged the handicraftsmen to exert their ingenuity, not in finishing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchasing bad materials, and performing his task in a hurry; in concealing flaws, substituting solid for solidity, and sacrificing reputation to the thirst of lucre. Thus, many of the English manufacturers, being found slight and unservicable, grew little distinguished; thus the art of producing them more perfect may in time be totally lost at home. The cloths now made in England are inferior in texture and fabric to those which were manufactured in the beginning of the century; and a sound judgment may be pronounced upon almost every article of hardware. The razors, knives, scissors, hatchets, swords, and other edge utensils, prepared for exportation, are generally ill tempered, half finished, flawed, or botched; and the muskets, which are sold for seven or eight shillings a-piece to the exporter, so carelessly and unconscientiously prepared, that they cannot be used without imminent danger of mutiny and rupture, which were formerly mistrusted. A merchant man upon the coast of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in some member by the bursting of the English firearms, can leave the field at his pleasure; and the expense of character and humanity, will naturally cease, whenever those Africans can be supplied more honestly by the traders of any other nation.

§ XXVIII. Genius in writing spontaneously arose; and though neglected by the great, flourished under the culture of a public which had pretensions to taste, and piqued itself on encouraging literary merit. Swift and Pope we have mentioned on another occasion. Young still lived, and went abroad to attend to the business of his estate. Mr. Thomson, the poet of the seasons, displayed a luxuriancy of genius in describing the beauties of nature. Akenside and Armstrong excelled in didactic poetry. Even the ephemeral did not disdain the advantage in the Leonidas of Glover, and the Epomand of Wilt. The public acknowledged a considerable share of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and Wordsworth. Numerous theatrical arts had that excellence. The Tragedy of Macbeth, and the Husband of Hoddle, are the only comedies of this age that bid fair for reaching posterity. The exhibitions of the stage were improved to the most exquisite entertainment by the talents and management of Garrick, who greatly surpassed all his predecessors of this and perhaps every other nation, in his genius for acting; in the sweetness and variety of his tones, the irresistible magic of his eye, the fire and vivacity of his action, the elegance of attitude, and the whole panoply of expression. Quite excelled in dignity and declamation, as well as in exhibiting some characters of humour, equally exquisite and peculiar. Mrs. Cibber breathed the whole soul of female tenderness and passion; and Mrs. Fritchard displayed all the dignity of distemper.

That Great Britain was not barren of poets at this period, appears from the detached performances of Johnson, Masoii, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wortons; besides a garder of other original production in verse, which was chiefly devoted to the graces of lyric poetry, and acquired the applause of their countrymen. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher sphere of life, embellished by the nervous style, superior sense, and extensive erudition of a Cooke; by the elegance, and the polished muse of a Lyttelton. King shone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female sex distinguished themselves by their taste and ingenuity. Miss Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge; Mrs. Lennox signalized herself by many successful efforts of genius, both in poetry and prose; and Miss Reid excelled the celebrated Rosalina in portrait-painting, both in miniature and oil, a curious art in which she was a most proficient. The same vates was transfused into the novels of Filding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life, with equal strength, humour, and propriety. The field of history and biography was cultivated by many writers, among whom we distinguish the copious Guthrie, the circumstantial Ralph, the laborious Carter, the learned and elegant Robertson, and above all, the ingenious, penetrating, and witty young Hume, who among the first writers of the age, both as an historian and philosopher, Nor let us forget the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for censure, intelligence, and precision. Johnson, inferior to none in philosophy, philology, and political science, distinguished himself in the field of poetry, and classical learning, stands foremost as an eturiist, justly admired for the dignity, strength, and variety of his style, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he investigates the human heart, tracing every interesting emotion, and so naturally and touching the passions of the side of virtue was successfully pursued by Richardson in his Pamela, Clarissa, and Grandison; a species of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much superstition, we find a sublime system of ethics, an amazing knowledge and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman classics made their appearance in English translation; and many of the trophies, which were destroyed in the first view; the characters, of the celebrated literary men among these we place, after Pope's Homer, Virgil by Pitt and Warton, Horace by Francis, Polibius by Hampson, and Sophocles by Franklin. The war introduced a variety of military treatises, translated by a host of translators, who were natives of Europe. Conscious of the want of a national language; and a free country, like Great Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucrations. Every literary production of merit, calculated for amusement or instruction, that appeared in any country or of the reign of Christendom, was immediately imported, and naturalized among the English people. Never was the pursuit after knowledge so universal, or literary merit more regarded, than at this juncture, by the body of the British nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the crown, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of Queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of its unbounded empire. The peace from courts and preferment, possessed a moderate benefit in the country, and employed his time in a conscientious discharge of his ecclesiastical functions. Thomson, with the most benevolent genius, and a tender mind, the most ingenuous heart, and the most exalted breast, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in chancery by the bounty of Lord Talbot, of which he was divested by the succeeding chancellors of his country. He enjoyed a pension from Frederick Prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the sequel. About two years before his death, he obtained, by the interest of his friend Lord Lyttelton, a comfortable place; but he did not live to taste the bliss-
ings of easy circumstances, and died in debt. None of the rest whom we have named enjoyed any share of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who succeeded to the place of head at the death of Cibber; and some of them, whose merit was the most universally acknowledged, remained exposed to all the storms of indigence, and all the stings of mortification. While the queen lived, some countenance was given to learning. She conversed with Newton, and corresponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity; the royal family on certain days dined in public, for the satisfaction of the people: the court was animated with a freedom of spirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death that spirit began to languish, and a total stagnation of gaiety and good humour ensued. It was succeeded by a sullen calm, an ungracious reserve, and a still rotation of insipid forms.

§ XXIX. England was not defective in other arts that embellish and amuse. Music became a fashionable study, and its professors were generally caressed by the public. An Italian opera was maintained at a great expense, and well supplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were instituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compositions of Handel were universally admired, and he himself lived in affinity. It must be owned at the same time that Gemmum was neglected, though his genius commanded esteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who distinguished themselves by their talents in this art, Green, Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the most remarkable.

§ XXX. The British soil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced some artists of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the scenes of ordinary life; in humour, character, and expression. Hayman became eminent for historical designs and conversation pieces. Reynolds and Ramsay distinguished themselves by their superior merits in portraits; a branch that was successfully cultivated by many other English painters. Wootton was famous for representing live animals in general; Seymour for race horses; Lambert, and the Smiths, for landscapes; and Scot for sea pieces. Several spirited attempts were made on historical subjects, but little progress was made in the sublime parts of painting. Essays of this kind were discouraged by a false taste, founded upon a reprobation of British genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practiced by Grignem, Baron, Ravenet, and several other masters; great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of sculpture or statuary were raised by Rysbrach, Roubiliac, and Wilton. Architecture, which had been cherished by the elegant taste of Burlington, soon became a favourite study; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in stucco, with all the diligence of execution; but a passion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture an absurd Chinese taste, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and useful arts, will doubtless be the consequence of that encouragement given to merit by the society instituted for these purposes, which we have described on another occasion. As for the royal society, it seems to have degenerated in its researches, and to have had very little share, for half a century at least, in extending the influence of true philosophy.

We shall conclude this reign with a detail of the forces and fleets of Great Britain, from whence the reader will conceive a just idea of her opulence and power.

\[20,559\]
BRIEF STATEMENT

OF THE

ARMIES AND FLEETS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE YEAR 1760.

LAND FORCES.

In Great Britain, under Lord Viscount Ligonier, Commander-in-chief.
2 Troops of Horse-Guards.
2 do. Horse-Grenadiers.
5 Regiments of Dragoons.
3 do. Foot-Guards.
23 do. Foot.

In Ireland, under Lieut.-Gen. Earl of Roches, Commander-in-chief.
2 Regiments of Horse.
8 do. Dragoons.
17 do. Foot.

In Jersey, under Colonel Boscawen.
1 Regiment of Foot.

At Gibraltar, under Lieut.-Gen. Earl of Home, Governor.
6 Regiments of Foot.

In Germany, under Lieut.-Gen. Marquis of Granby, Commander-in-chief.
1 Regiment of Horse-Guards.
2 do. Horse.
3 do. Dragoon-Guards.
6 do. Dragoons.
16 do. Foot.

In garrison at Embden.
2 Regiments of Highlanders.

In North America, under Major-General ‘Amhent, Commander-in-chief.
21 Regiments of Foot.

In the West Indies.
5½ Regiments of Foot.

In Africa.
2 Regiments of Foot.

In the East Indies.
4 Battalions of Foot.

Total: 31 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons.
97 do. Foot.

Besides these, Great Britain maintained Hanoverian, Hessian, and other German auxiliaries, to the amount of 60,000.

NAVY.

At or near home, under Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral Boscawen, &c.

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In the East Indies, under Vice-Admiral Pococke.

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In the West Indies, under Rear-Admiral Holmes.

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In North America, under Commodore Lord Colville.

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In the Mediterranean, under Vice-Admiral Saunders.

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At or near Home . . . . . . . . . 62 Ships
To the East Indies . . . . . . . 17
West Indies . . . . . . . . . . 20
North America . . . . . . . . . 12
the Mediterranean . . . . . . . 10
Total 121
List of Men of War, French and English, taken, sunk, or casually lost; from the year 1755 to the year 1760.

**French ships taken.**

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**Ditto destroyed.**

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